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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

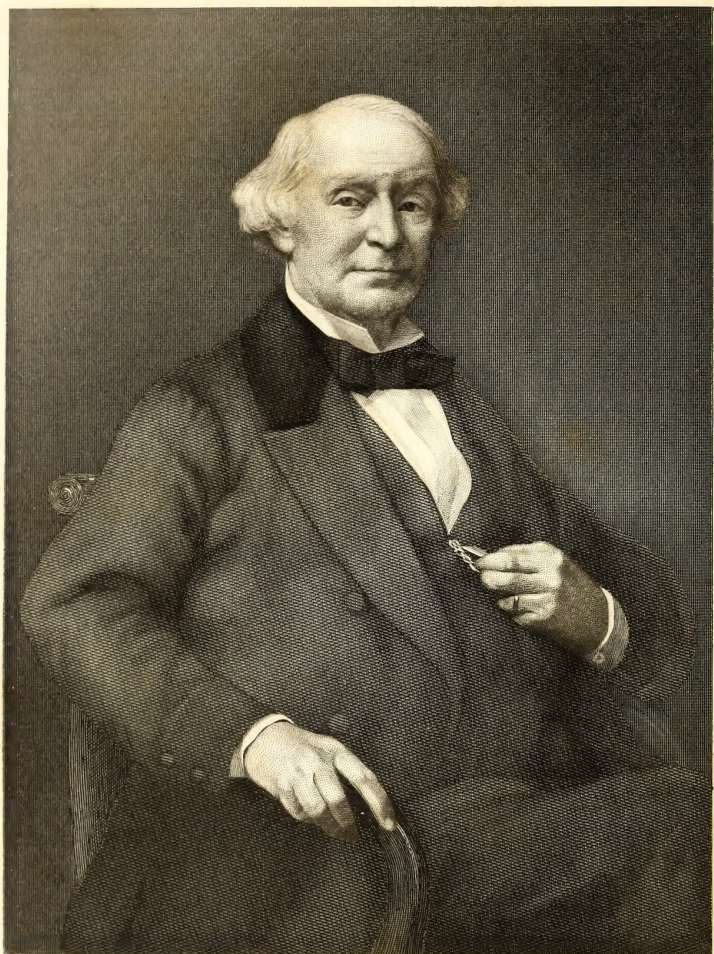
MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Committee of Publication.

EDWARD J. YOUNG.

ALEXANDER McKENZIE.

CHARLES C. SMITH.



R. P. Vernon, F.R.S.

J. A. J. Wilson, Sc.

George E. Ellis.

906-21

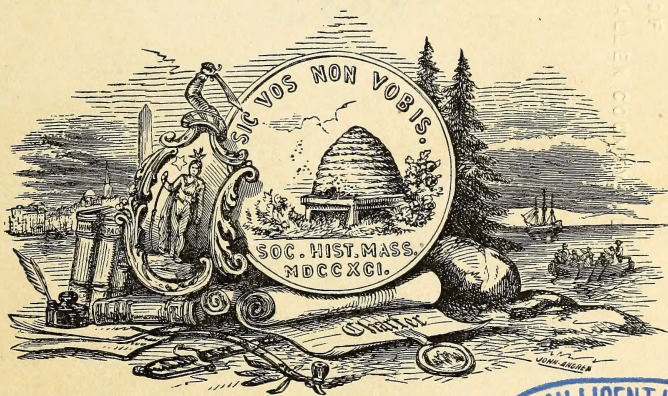
PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Massachusetts Historical Society.

SECOND SERIES. — VOL. X.

1895, 1896.



BOSTON:
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.XCVI.



UNIVERSITY PRESS:
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PREFACE.

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IN this volume will be found the record of eleven stated meetings of the Society, from March, 1895, to April, 1896, both inclusive. Among the matters to which prominence is given in its pages are the various questions connected with the proposed removal of the Society's rooms to a new site, where adequate accommodations can be provided for the Library and Cabinet, and the Society may, with increased means, enter on wider fields of usefulness. There are also a large number of communications of general interest, especially Mr. APPLETON's Century of the United States Senate; Mr. PIERCE's account of the diary of John Rowe, followed by numerous extracts from the diary; Mr. HAS-SAM's paper on the Confiscated Estates of Boston Loyalists; Dr. GREEN's paper on Benjamin Thompson; Mr. WINSOR's paper on Early Printed Books relating to the New England Indians; the letters from John Quincy Adams to his brother Thomas Boylston Adams; the letters of Jonathan Sewall and Mrs. Mehetabel Higginson; and Mr. PIERCE's paper on Recollections as a Source of History. Much interest will likewise be felt in

the various tributes paid to the five Resident Members who have died since the last volume was issued; and there are memoirs of GEORGE E. ELLIS by Octavius B. Frothingham; of EDWARD BANGS by John Lowell; of OCTAVIUS B. FROTHINGHAM by Josiah P. Quincy; and of MARTIN BRIMMER by Samuel Eliot, each of which is accompanied by a portrait.

For the Committee,

CHARLES C. SMITH.

Boston, June 1, 1896.

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OFFICERS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

ELECTED APRIL 9, 1896.

President.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D. LINCOLN.

Vice-Presidents.

JUSTIN WINSOR, LL.D. CAMBRIDGE.

HON. SAMUEL A. GREEN, LL.D. BOSTON.

Recording Secretary.

REV. EDWARD J. YOUNG, D.D. WALTHAM.

Corresponding Secretary.

HENRY W. HAYNES, A.M. BOSTON.

Treasurer.

CHARLES C. SMITH, A.M. BOSTON.

Librarian.

HON. SAMUEL A. GREEN, LL.D. BOSTON.

Cabinet-Keeper.

SAMUEL F. McCLEARY, A.M. BROOKLINE.

Executive Committee of the Council.

ARTHUR LORD, A.B. PLYMOUTH.

EDWARD L. PIERCE, LL.D. MILTON.

THORNTON K. LOTHROP, LL.B. BOSTON.

ABBOTT LAWRENCE LOWELL, LL.B. BOSTON.

HON. CHARLES R. CODMAN, LL.B. COTUIT.

RESIDENT MEMBERS,

AT THE DATE OF THE PRINTING OF THIS BOOK, IN THE ORDER OF
THEIR ELECTION.

1844. Rev. Lucius Robinson Paige, D.D.	1875. Charles Franklin Dunbar, LL.D. Charles Francis Adams, LL.D. William Phineas Upham, A.B.
1860. Hon. Samuel Abbott Green, LL.D. Charles Eliot Norton, LL.D.	1876. Hon. William Everett, LL.D. George Bigelow Chase, A.M. Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, LL.D.
1861. Rev. Edward Everett Hale, D.D. Hon. Horace Gray, LL.D. Rev. Edwards Amasa Park, LL.D.	1877. John Torrey Morse, Jr., A.B. Justin Winsor, LL.D. James Elliot Cabot, LL.D.
1863. William Henry Whitmore, A.M.	1878. Henry Lee, A.M. Gamaliel Bradford, A.B. Rev. Edward James Young, D.D. Hon. John Lowell, LL.D.
1864. Hon. William Crowninshield Endicott, LL.D.	1879. William Whitwell Greenough, A.B. Robert Charles Winthrop, Jr., A.M. Henry Williamson Haynes, A.M.
1865. Samuel Eliot, LL.D. Josiah Phillips Quincy, A.M.	1880. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, A.M. Rev. Edward Griffin Porter, A.M. John Codman Ropes, LL.B.
1866. Henry Gardner Denny, A.M.	1881. Rev. Henry Fitch Jenks, A.M. Horace Elisha Scudder, A.B. Rev. Edmund Farwell Slafter, D.D. Hon. Stephen Salisbury, A.M.
1867. Charles Card Smith, A.M. Hon. George Silsbee Hale, A.M.	
1869. William Sumner Appleton, A.M. Hon. Theodore Lyman, LL.D.	
1871. Abner Cheney Goodell, Jr., A.M. Edward Doubleday Harris, Esq.	
1873. Hon. Mellen Chamberlain, LL.D. Winslow Warren, LL.B. Charles William Eliot, LL.D.	

John Tyler Hassam, A.M.
Rev. Alexander McKenzie, D.D.

1882.

Arthur Lord, A.B.
Arthur Blake Ellis, LL.B.
Clement Hugh Hill, A.M.
Frederick Ward Putnam, A.M.
James McKellar Bugbee, Esq.
Hon. John Davis Washburn, LL.B.
Rev. Egbert Coffin Smyth, D.D.

1883.

Francis Amasa Walker, LL.D.
Rev. Arthur Latham Perry, LL.D.

1884.

Hon. John Elliot Sanford, A.M.
Uriel Haskell Crocker, LL.B.
Hon. Roger Wolcott, LL.B.
Edward Channing, Ph.D.

1886.

Samuel Foster McCleary, A.M.
William Watson Goodwin, D.C.L.
Hon. George Frisbie Hoar, LL.D.
Rev. Alexander Viets Griswold
Allen, D.D.

1887.

Charles Greeley Loring, A.M.
Solomon Lincoln, A.M.
Edwin Pliny Seaver, A.M.

1889.

Albert Bushnell Hart, Ph.D.
Thornton Kirkland Lothrop, LL.B.
George Otis Shattuck, LL.B.

James Bradley Thayer, LL.D.
Hon. Henry Stedman Nourse, A.M.

1890.

Henry Fitz-Gilbert Waters, A.M.
Abbott Lawrence Lowell, LL.B.

1891.

Rev. Samuel Edward Herrick, D.D.
Hon. Oliver Wendell Holmes, LL.D.
Henry Pickering Walcott, M.D.

1892.

John Fiske, LL.D.
George Spring Merriam, A.M.

1893.

Edward Lillie Pierce, LL.D.
Hon. Charles Russell Codman, LL.B.
Barrett Wendell, A.B.
James Ford Rhodes, LL.D.

1894.

Hon. Edward Francis Johnson, LL.B.
Hon. Walbridge Abner Field, LL.D.
Henry Walbridge Taft, A.M.
Rt. Rev. William Lawrence, D.D.
William Roscoe Thayer, A.M.

1895.

Rev. Morton Dexter, A.M.
Hon. Thomas Jefferson Coolidge, A.M.
Hon. William Wallace Crago, LL.D.

1896.

Francis Cabot Lowell, A.B.
Granville Stanley Hall, LL.D.
Alexander Agassiz, LL.D.
Hon. James Madison Barker, LL.D.
Theodore Ayrault Dodge, Esq.

HONORARY OR CORRESPONDING MEMBERS,

ELECTED UNDER THE ORIGINAL ACT OF INCORPORATION, 1794, IN THE ORDER
OF THEIR ELECTION.

1850.	1854.
James Hammond Trumbull, LL.D.	Rev. William Scott Southgate, D.D.

HONORARY MEMBERS,

ELECTED SINCE THE PASSAGE OF THE ACT OF 1857.

1871.	1880.
David Masson, LL.D.	Theodor Mommsen.
1874.	1882.
Marquis de Rochambeau.	William Edward Hartpole Lecky,
1876.	LL.D.
Rt. Rev. William Stubbs, D.D.	1887.
Hon. William Maxwell Evarts, LL.D.	Ernst Curtius.
	Hon. Carl Schurz, LL.D.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS,

ELECTED SINCE THE PASSAGE OF THE ACT OF 1857.

1858.
Hon. William Henry Trescot.
1864.
Goldwin Smith, D.C.L.
1866.
Hon. John Meredith Read, A.M.
Joseph Jackson Howard, LL.D.
1869.
Charles Janeway Stillé, LL.D.
M. Jules Marcou.
1870.
Charles Jeremy Hoadly, LL.D.
John Foster Kirk, LL.D.
1873.
Hon. Manning Ferguson Force,
LL.D.
1874.
Samuel Rawson Gardiner, LL.D.
1875.
Hon. John Bigelow, LL.D.
Henry Charles Lea, LL.D.
Hubert Howe Bancroft, A.M.
1876.
Rev. Richard Salter Storrs, LL.D.
1877.
M. Gustave Vapereau.
1878.
John Austin Stevens, A.B.
Joseph Florimond Loubat, LL.D.
Charles Henry Hart, LL.B.
1879.
Rev. Moses Coit Tyler, LL.D.
Hermann von Holst, Ph.D.
Franklin Bowditch Dexter, A.M.
John Marshall Brown, A.M.
Hon. Andrew Dickson White, LL.D.
George Washington Ranck, Esq.

1880.
James McPherson Le Moine, Esq.
Rt. Hon. Sir George Otto Trevelyan,
Bart., D.C.L.
Henry Adams, A.B.
1881.
Julius Dexter, A.B.
Rev. Henry Martyn Baird, D.D.
Hon. William Wirt Henry.
Vicomte d'Haussonville.
1882.
Rt. Hon. James Bryce, D.C.L.
1883.
Rev. Charles Richmond Weld, B.D.
Herbert Baxter Adams, Ph.D.
Signor Cornelio Desimoni.
1885.
Hon. Jabez Lamar Monroe Curry,
LL.D.
Amos Perry, LL.D.
1886.
Horatio Hale, A.M.
Hon. William Ashmead Courtenay.
1887.
Rt. Rev. Mandell Creighton, D.D.
John Andrew Doyle, M.A.
1891.
Abbé Henry Raymond Casgrain,
Litt.D.
Alexander Brown, Esq.
1894.
John Nicholas Brown, Esq.
Capt. Alfred Thayer Mahan, D.C.L.
Hon. Jacob Dolson Cox, LL.D.
1896.
Leslie Stephen, LL.D.
James Burrill Angell, LL.D.

MEMBERS DECEASED.

Members who have died since the last volume of Proceedings was issued, May 25, 1895, arranged in the order of their election, and with date of death.

Resident.

Hon. Martin Brimmer, A.B.	Jan. 14, 1896.
William Goodwin Russell, LL.D.	Feb. 6, 1896.
Rev. Octavius Brooks Frothingham, A.M.	Nov. 27, 1895.
Hon. William Steele Shurtleff, A.M.	Jan. 14, 1896.
Benjamin Marston Watson, A.B.	Feb. 19, 1896.

Corresponding.

William Wetmore Story, D.C.L.	Oct. 7, 1895.
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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

MARCH MEETING, 1895.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 14th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the First Vice-President, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, in the chair.

After the reading of the record of the last meeting and of the list of donors to the Library, the Vice-President said that he had received a letter from our associate, the Hon. Martin Brimmer, relative to a memorial to the late Francis Parkman, to which members of the Society would have an opportunity to contribute.

In anticipation of the approaching Annual Meeting, the following Committees were appointed to report in April:—

To nominate candidates for the various offices, — Mr. Solomon Lincoln, the Hon. John Lowell, and Mr. Thornton K. Lothrop.

To examine the Treasurer's accounts, — Messrs. Hamilton A. Hill and A. Lawrence Lowell.

To examine the Library, — Mr. Edward L. Pierce, Rev. Edward G. Porter, and the Hon. Edward F. Johnson.

The Vice-President then called attention to the will of the late President of the Society, Dr. George E. Ellis, and read the following extracts from the will:—

“Seventh. As there is no one dependent or having claims upon me, I feel at liberty to dispose of my property mostly to impersonal and public objects, in connection with which I have found much of the pleasure and profit of my life, wishing that what I have gathered with pains and care may not be scattered to the four points of the compass by the

chances of inheritance, and that many others may share in the benefit I have derived from it. I therefore give, devise, and bequeath in trust to the Massachusetts Historical Society, of which I am now the President, the sum of thirty thousand dollars, and also the dwelling-house, numbered 110 Marlboro' Street, now owned and occupied by me with substantially, that is to say, except as otherwise hereinafter provided, all its contents, including library, ornaments, furniture, &c., therein in perpetuity, and also all policies of insurance on any property hereby devised or bequeathed to it in force at my decease. This provision in my Will is further indicated and directed by certain instructions drawn by me and hereinafter given, which I wish to stand as parts of this instrument, addressed to my said Executor as to the disposal of certain articles in my house, and to said Massachusetts Historical Society, declaring the uses, trusts, and purposes on and for which the devise and bequests herein made to said Society are made.

.
"Ninth. The following are the instructions hereinbefore referred to. To the Executor of my Will — The following are addressed to you as instructions for the disposition of certain articles in my house among the persons to whom they are assigned to be made by you. As you will legally have charge of these matters after my decease, I give you some directions as follows : —

"All my strictly private papers not connected with business affairs are to be destroyed. In connection with some person to be appointed by the Massachusetts Historical Society, who shall be one of its members, an inventory is to be made of the property and articles that are to accrue to that Society. . . .

"Tenth. To the members of the Massachusetts Historical Society — My esteemed associates and friends.

"I have devised and bequeathed to said Society in this my Will, the sum of thirty thousand dollars and also my present dwelling-house in Boston, in trust for perpetuity, for uses and purposes such as I will now indicate.

"Perhaps more in the future than at the present time it may be of service to the Society to have a place in this part of the City answering some of the uses of a Club House confined strictly to members of the Society, where Committees may meet in the evening, and where individuals may at their leisure pursue investigations with such facilities as may here be afforded them.

"My wish and expectation are that the bequest in money will yield sufficient annual income to insure, maintain, and repair the property without drawing upon the funds of the Society.

"The property of every kind herein devised and bequeathed to said Society is to be under the care, disposal, management, and regulation of

the Council of the Society for the time being acting as a Committee. If they see fit they may allow any officer or member of the Society without a family to reside in the house free of rent, he meeting his own household charges; or an employee may be engaged at due compensation beyond the privilege of rent of assigned portions of the house. I am perfectly willing, indeed I much prefer, instead of myself dictating minute or even general conditions for the enjoyment and improvement of this trust by the Society, to leave all such matters to their discretion, good judgment, and appreciation of my single purpose to contribute to the welfare, prosperity, and useful resources of an honored fellowship in association with which for now nearly half a century I have found much good. The Society has my full allowance, and may infer my approbation if urgent or reasonable occasion should present itself to dispose of the real estate which is here bequeathed for the purpose of an equivalent that may be more convenient and eligible, but the real estate which I give the Society liberty to exchange for that which is bequeathed must not require in its purchase any portion of the above named sum of thirty thousand dollars, and any money or other things received from the sale or exchange of, or insurance on, the property hereby devised or bequeathed to said Society, or anything substituted therefor, shall be used so far as practicable to rebuild, restore, or replace the property sold, exchanged, or insured."

The Vice-President added that as this whole matter was one of great importance, it had been thought desirable by the Council to bring it before the Society; and inquired what action should be taken.

Mr. R. C. WINTHROP, JR., then said:—

I hope the Society will take no hasty action in so important a matter as this will of Dr. Ellis, which few of us have seen, and the precise language of which, as just read from the chair, still fewer of us can remember. Many gentlemen present are perhaps unaware that in familiar conversation our late President not infrequently dropped hints with regard to his testamentary intentions, and that these supposed intentions of his long ago became a subject of perplexity and embarrassment to some of his associates who had the welfare of the Society much at heart. Fully eleven years ago he took occasion partly to describe to my father a will he then had in view. He did not mention how large a provision he intended to make for Harvard University and how small a one for his own family, but he confined himself to what he purposed doing for this Society,

and began by intimating that we should receive at his death a fund of twenty-five or thirty thousand dollars, at which my father expressed the utmost gratification. Dr. Ellis went on, however, to explain that he was considering a scheme by which the Society should also come into possession of his estate in Marlborough Street with its contents, upon condition that the house should be kept up as a sort of literary club for the use of members and perhaps a home for one or more of our number who might be in narrow circumstances. Rightly or wrongly, my father felt aghast at a plan which he feared would inevitably lead us into pecuniary embarrassment; for not only would the Society derive no practical benefit from a fund the income of which was to be devoted to the maintenance of a dwelling-house in another part of the town, but this income was more than likely to prove insufficient for that purpose, thereby leading us into all sorts of incidental outlay. He pointed out to Dr. Ellis the narrow means of the Society, aside from its building in Tremont Street, its Library and its Publishing Fund, — he reminded him that we were dependent for our running-expenses upon a lease of our two lower floors to the city of Boston (a lease, by the bye, which has recently terminated), and he urged the importance in the future of trying to make our rooms more convenient and attractive for the use of members rather than embark in any outside enterprise. He drew attention, moreover, to the very limited accommodations of 110 Marlborough Street, — a house which can never be made fire-proof, which is inconveniently arranged for literary gatherings, and which is built upon a lot of land so small that it can never be utilized as a site for that spacious edifice which it is our hope to be able one day to erect. As delicately as he could, and with the freedom of old friendship, he endeavored to impress upon Dr. Ellis that if he really had the interest of the Society at heart, the best way to show it would be to bequeath to us an unrestricted fund, to be forever associated with the name of its donor; and he ventured to hint that the maintenance of the house might well be left to a relative of the testator with a suitable provision for that purpose. Finding his suggestions not altogether acceptable, he did not renew them, but he took occasion to confer on the subject with the late Charles Deane, upon whose judgment in matters affecting this Society he had great reliance, and who, he found, entirely concurred with him.

I should be the last person to contend that, after this lapse of time, we must be guided by the opinions of deceased members when we are fully competent to exercise our own judgment. I do contend, however, that we are not bound to carry out the wishes of our late President unless it can be shown that in so doing we are consulting the real welfare of the Society. It seems to me incumbent upon us to give the subject careful consideration, in order to understand thoroughly our financial position and prospects. I have not chanced to meet a single member who ventured to assert that it is either desirable or practicable for us to add to our responsibilities by assuming the conduct of a club-house or an almshouse. I have chanced to meet a number of members who expressed the opinion that our wisest course would be to take the house, sell it at the most convenient opportunity, and devote the proceeds to an accumulating-fund to be used in the distant future in part payment of a new building. I am entirely willing to do this, but I should like to feel sure that we can do it legally. It seems fairer to all concerned to take a little time to consider ; and as the testator died not quite three months ago, there can be no immediate hurry in reaching a final settlement of his estate. I therefore move : —

Voted, That a committee of three be appointed from the Society at large to confer and advise with the Council in relation to the acceptance of the bequests under the will of the late President George E. Ellis, and to consider any questions of general policy which may arise in connection therewith.

The Hon. GEORGE S. HALE, executor of Dr. Ellis's will, briefly stated what he understood were the wishes of Dr. Ellis in the matter, and his own desire that the Society should come to an early decision in regard to it. Remarks of an informal character were also made by the Hon. WILLIAM EVERETT, Mr. ALBERT B. HART, Mr. HENRY W. HAYNES, and the Hon. JOHN LOWELL ; and on motion of Mr. HAYNES, it was voted to substitute for the vote offered by Mr. Winthrop the following : —

Voted, That the Society accept the bequests of the late Dr. George E. Ellis.

Mr. HAYNES then moved the adoption of the vote offered by Mr. Winthrop, with the omission of the words "the acceptance of," which motion was adopted ; and Messrs. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., Henry W. Haynes, and Winslow Warren were appointed members of the Committee under this vote.

Hon. GEORGE S. HALE then offered the following :—

Voted, That the Massachusetts Historical Society hereby authorize George S. Hale, as Executor of the Will of George E. Ellis, deceased, to deliver to John Harvard Ellis, or his Guardian, the articles which the memorandum of instructions signed by said deceased, dated January 1, 1891, directs should be given to said John Harvard Ellis.

This vote was referred to the Council and Advisory Committee with full power.

The FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT said :—

The death of Lincoln Flagg Brigham, a Resident Member of the Society, took place at his home in Salem on the night of Tuesday, 26th of February. Born at Cambridge, in 1819, of old Massachusetts stock, and appointed by Governor Banks a Judge of the Superior Court of the Commonwealth when that Court was organized in 1859, Judge Brigham was, ten years later, in 1869, made Chief Justice of the same Court by Governor Claflin. In 1890 he had completed thirty-one years of continued and honorable service on the bench, and failing health then compelled his resignation. He thus took his seat on the bench at forty, to leave it at seventy-one ; and, with one great exception only, he filled out the longest term any magistrate has ever sat as Chief Justice in our Massachusetts Courts. For thirty years (1830–1860) Lemuel Shaw presided over the Supreme Court of the Commonwealth ; Judge Brigham presided over its Superior Court for twenty-one (1869–1890).

Chosen a Resident Member of the Society at the meeting of May 14, 1885, Judge Brigham has rarely attended its meetings ; indeed, the mere fact that the sessions of his Court were held at the same hours would alone have prevented his so doing ; nor, accordingly, did he ever actively interest himself in the affairs of the Society. The trend of his thought was legal

rather than historical, and his associations in active life were not with us, but almost exclusively with the bar and his associates on the bench. Thus, personally, I do not remember ever but once to have met him, and that was in the lobby of his Court when I went to him for friendly advice as to method of procedure in an annoying legal matter in which I was concerned. Under these circumstances, it is not in my power to speak of Judge Brigham as of one I have known. In common with all who associate with the bench and bar, I have heard often, but once only have I been cognizant, of those qualities which gave him eminence in his profession, — his knowledge of the law and of the practice of his Court; his modesty and kindliness of disposition; his courtesy and unfailing patience; his consideration for younger men; his devotion to his calling, and that easy dignity which arose from an innate sense of what his position called for. An eminent and beloved as well as highly respected magistrate, he has closed a long judicial career at once useful to the State and creditable to himself.

There is, however, one line of reflection suggested by the death of another of our associates at this particular juncture which it may be of interest to the Society to follow out. Dr. Holmes died in October, Mr. Winthrop in November, Dr. Ellis in December, Judge Hoar in January; and now, in February, Chief Justice Brigham has gone, — all men of eminence in Massachusetts, — four of them closely identified with our Society. Looking back over our necrology for the last twenty years, I find that our roll of Resident Membership as it now stands has in that period been approximately renewed, — that is, although twenty-two of those who were members in March, 1875, are members now, about eighty-eight new members have been chosen since then, and there are at this time but ninety-three names on the Resident roll. During those twenty years the number and occurrence of deaths have varied greatly, but not often have they followed one upon another with the regularity that has marked them of late; indeed, never in the history of the Society have so many members of note passed away in such rapid succession. They died full of years, too, as well as honors; for the average age of the five I have named exceeded fourscore, while their average term of membership of this Society was nearly twoscore.

But, in looking over the record, it is curious, as well as in-

teresting, to note the irregularity with which death comes: at times the Society seems to enjoy almost an immunity from it, and then again vacancies occur in succession rapid enough for periods of pestilence. Of late, for instance, we have lost five of our number in as many months, — a mortality which, if continued through the year, would exceed all precedent; yet, on the other hand, seven years ago, in 1886–88, more than eighteen months (November 21, 1886–June 4, 1888) passed without a single vacancy arising. This is the longest period of immunity within the twenty years; though an almost equal time (sixteen months) broken by a single death alone, recently elapsed between the death of Russell Lowell (August 12, 1891) and that of Fitch Edward Oliver (December 8, 1892). The average death-rate has been about nine in two years; but in some years this rate has been nearly or quite doubled, — such was 1893, when eight of our members dropped away, three in the two months of January and February. Again, in 1889, we lost seven members; though, in mortality, 1881, with its nine vacancies, heads the list. In 1879 four deaths occurred in the month of January alone, and three in 1882; indeed, from causes probably connected with advancing age and inclemency of the season, the first month of the year seems peculiarly lethal to our Society, for, out of eighty-four deaths of Resident Members during the twenty years, — eight vacancies having arisen from resignation, — no less than fifteen, about one-fifth of the whole, occurred in January, while, on the other hand, two only occurred in the corresponding summer month of July.

It is an old saying that there is nothing new under the sun. Recently in looking over a file of familiar letters written by John Quincy Adams from St. Petersburg to his brother at Quincy, I came across one, dated January 24, 1812, in which was this paragraph: "We have all been sick, with what used to be called the influenza; but here it is called the grippe. Not one of us, men, women, or children, have escaped an attack of this troublesome, but it is said not dangerous, enemy." This, the Society will remember, was written not in Boston two months since, but in St. Petersburg, eighty-three years ago. It goes far to explain the curious mortality of January, both then and now; but, as further illustrating the test to which our winters put the human frame under certain conditions of age and mode of life, it is perhaps worthy of notice that while,

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	1st Congress, 1789.	2d Congress, 1791.	3d Congress, 1793.	4th Congress, 1795.	5th Congress, 1797.	6th Congress, 1799.	7th Congress 1801.
New Hampshire	P. Wingate.	Wingate.	S. Livermore.	Livermore.	Livermore.	Livermore.	Livermore, r. S. Olcott.
Massachusetts	J. Langdon.	Langdon.	Langdon.	Langdon.	Langdon.	Langdon.	J. Sheafe, r. W. Plumer.
Rhode Island	T. Dalton.	G. Cabot.	G. Cabot.	Cabot r. B. Goodhue.	Goodhue.	Goodhue, r. J. Mason.	Mason.
Connecticut	C. Strong.	Strong.	Strong.	Strong r. T. Sedgwick.	Sedgwick.	S. Dexter, r. D. Foster.	Foster.
New York	T. Foster.	Foster.	Foster.	Foster.	Foster.	Foster.	Foster.
New Jersey	J. Stanton.	Stanton.	W. Bradford.	Bradford.	Bradford, r. R. Greene.	Greene.	Greene, r. C. Ellery.
Pennsylvania	O. Ellsworth.	Ellsworth.	Ellsworth.	Ellsworth r. J. Hillhouse.	Hillhouse.	Hillhouse.	Hillhouse.
Delaware	W. S. Johnson.	Johnson, r. R. Sherman.	Sherman, d. S. M. Mitchell.	J. Trumbull, r. U. Tracy.	Tracy.	Tracy.	Tracy.
Pennsylvania	P. Schuyler.	A. Burr.	Burr.	Burr.	J. S. Hobart, ¹ r. W. North, J. Watson.	Watson, r. G. Morris.	Morris.
New Jersey	R. King.	King.	King.	King, r. J. Laurance.	Laurance.	Laurance, r. J. Armstrong.	Armstrong, r. D. Clinton.
Pennsylvania	J. Elmer.	J. Rutherford.	Rutherford.	Rutherford.	Rutherford, r. F. Davenport.	J. Schureman, r. A. Ogden.	Ogden.
Delaware	W. Paterson, r. P. Dickinson.	Dickinson.	F. Frelinghuysen.	Frelinghuysen, r. R. Stockton.	Stockton.	J. Dayton.	Dayton.
Pennsylvania	W. Maclay.	Morris.	A. Gallatin, u. J. Ross.	Ross.	Ross.	Ross.	Ross.
Delaware	R. Morris.	Read.	Read, r. H. Latimer. ¹	W. Bingham.	Bingham.	Bingham.	P. Muhlenberg, r. G. Logan.
Maryland	G. Read.	Bassett.	J. Vining.	Latimer.	Latimer.	Latimer.	S. White.
Virginia	R. Bassett.	Carroll, r. R. Potts.	Potts.	Vining.	Vining, r. J. Clayton, d. W. H. Wells.	Wells.	Howard.
North Carolina	C. Carroll.	Henry.	Henry.	Potts, r. J. E. Howard.	Howard.	Howard.	Howard.
South Carolina	J. Henry.	Monroe.	Monroe.	Henry.	Henry, r. J. Lloyd.	Lloyd, r. W. Hindman.	Hindman, R. Wright.
Georgia	W. Grayson, d. J. Walker, J. Monroe.	Lee, r. J. Taylor.	Taylor, r. H. Tazewell.	S. T. Mason.	Mason.	Mason.	Mason.
	R. H. Lee.	Johnston.	A. Martin.	Tazewell.	Tazewell.	W. C. Nicholas.	Nicholas.
	S. Johnston.	Hawkins.	Hawkins.	Martin.	Martin.	J. Franklin.	Franklin.
	B. Hawkins.	Butler.	Butler.	T. Bloodworth.	Bloodworth.	Bloodworth.	D. Stone.
	P. Butler.	Izard.	Izard.	Butler, r. J. Hunter.	Hunter, r. C. Pinckney.	Pinckney.	Pinckney, r. T. Sumter.
	R. Izard.	Few.	J. Jackson.	J. Read.	Read.	Read.	J. E. Colhoun.
	W. Few.	Gunn.	Gunn.	Jackson, r. G. Walton, J. Tattnall.	Tattnall.	A. Baldwin.	Baldwin.
	J. Gunn.	M. Robinson.	Robinson.	Gunn.	Gunn.	Gunn.	Gunn.
Vermont		S. R. Bradley.	Bradley.	Robinson, r. I. Tichenor.	Tichenor, r. N. Chipman.	Chipman.	Chipman.
Kentucky		J. Brown.	Brown.	E. Paine.	Paine.	Paine.	S. R. Bradley.
		J. Edwards.	Edwards.	H. Marshall.	Marshall.	Marshall.	Brown.
				W. Cocke.	Cocke, a. Jackson, r. D. Smith.	J. Anderson.	J. Breckenridge.
				W. Blount.	Blount, a. J. Anderson.	W. Cocke.	Anderson.
							Cocke

¹ K. Johns was appointed to succeed Read, but was not admitted to a seat.

¹ P. Schuyler was first chosen, but never took his seat.

	15th Congress, 1817.	16th Congress, 1819.	17th Congress, 1821.	18th Congress, 1823.	19th Congress, 1825.	20th Congress, 1827.	21st Congress, 1829.
New Hampshire	D. L. Morrill.	Morrill.	Morrill.	S. Bell.	Bell.	Bell.	Bell.
Massachusetts	Mason, r. C. Storer.	* M. F. Parrott.	* Mills.	* Parrott.	* L. Woodbury.	* Woodbury.	* Woodbury.
Rhode Island	Asmum, r. P. Mellen.	Mellen, r. E. H. Mills.	* Mills.	* Mills.	* D. Webster.	* Webster.	* Webster.
Connecticut	H. G. Otis.	* Otis.	* J. Lloyd.	* Lloyd.	* Lloyd, r. N. Silsbee.	* Silsbee.	* Silsbee.
New York	Hunter.	* Hunter.	* J. D'Wolf.	* D'Wolf.	* D'Wolf, r. A. Robbins.	* Robbins.	* Robbins.
New Jersey	J. Burrill.	* Burrill, d. N. R. Knight.	* Knight.	* Knight.	* Knight.	* Knight.	* Knight.
Pennsylvania	Dana.	* Dana.	* E. Boardman.	* H. W. Edwards.	* Edwards.	* S. A. Foot.	* Foot.
Delaware	Daggett.	* J. Lannan.	* Lannan.	* G. W. Findlay.	* Findlay.	* Willey.	* Willey.
Maryland	Sanford.	* Sanford.	* M. Van Buren.	* Van Buren.	* Van Buren.	* Van Buren, r. C. E. Dudley.	* Dudley.
Virginia	King.	* King.	* King.	* King.	* N. Sanford.	* Sanford.	* Sanford.
North Carolina	Wilson.	* Wilson, r. S. L. Southard.*	* Southard.	* J. McIlvaine.	* McIlvaine, d. E. Bateman.	* Bateman, r. M. Dickerson.	* Dickerson.
South Carolina	M. Dickerson.	* Dickerson.	* Dickerson.	* Dickerson.	* Dickerson.	* Dickerson, r.	* T. Frelinghuysen.
Georgia	Roberts.	* Roberts.	* W. Findlay.	* Findlay.	* Findlay.	* I. D. Barnard.	* Barnard.
Vermont	Lacock.	* W. Lowrie.	* Lowrie.	* Lowrie.	* W. Marks.	* Marks.	* Marks.
Kentucky	Horsey.	* Horsey.	* C. A. Rodney.	* C. A. Rodney.	* Clayton.	* Clayton.	* McLane, r. A. Naudain.
Tennessee	N. Van Dyke.	* Van Dyke.	* Van Dyke.	* Van Dyke.	* Van Dyke, d. D. Rodney, H. M. Ridgely.	* Ridgely.	* J. M. Clayton.
Ohio	Hanson.	* W. Pinkney.	* Pinkney, d. S. Smith.	* Smith.	* Smith.	* Smith.	* Smith.
Louisiana	Goldborough.	* E. Lloyd.	* Lloyd.	* Lloyd, r. E. F. Chambers.	* Chambers.	* Chambers.	* Chambers.
Indiana	Barbour.	* Barbour.	* Barbour.	* Barbour.	* Barbour, r. J. Randolph.	* J. Tyler.	* Tyler.
Mississippi	J. W. Eppes.	* J. Pleasants.	* Pleasants, r. J. Taylor.	* Taylor, d. L. W. Tazewell.	* Tazewell.	* Tazewell.	* Tazewell.
Illinois	Stokes.	* Stokes.	* Stokes.	* J. Branch.	* Branch.	* Branch.	* Branch, r. B. Brown.
Alabama	Macon.	* Macon.	* Macon.	* Macon.	* Macon.	* Macon, r. J. Iredell.	* Iredell.
Maine	Gaillard.	* Smith.	* Smith.	* R. Y. Hayne.	* Hayne.	* Hayne.	* Hayne.
	Troup, r. J. Forsyth.	* Gaillard.	* Gaillard.	* Gaillard, d. W. Harper, W. Smith.	* Cobb.	* Cobb, r. O. H. Prince.	* Prince.
	Tait.	* F. Walker.	* N. Ware.	* Ware, d. T. W. Cobb.	* J. M. Berrien.	* Berrien.	* Berrien, r. J. Forsyth.
	Tichenor.	* J. Elliott.	* Elliott.	* Elliott.	* Seymour.	* Seymour.	* Seymour.
	Chace, r. J. Fisk, r. W. A. Palmer.*	* Palmer.	* Palmer.	* D. Chace.	* Chace.	* Chace.	* Chace.
	J. J. Crittenden.	* R. M. Johnson.	* Johnson.	* Johnson.	* Johnson.	* Johnson.	* G. M. Bibb.
	Talbot.	* W. Logan, r. I. Talbot.	* Talbot.	* Talbot.	* Rowan.	* Rowan.	* Rowan.
	Campbell, r. J. H. Eaton.	* Eaton.	* Eaton.	* Eaton.	* Eaton.	* Eaton, r. F. Grundy.	* Grundy.
	Morrow.	* W. A. Trimble.	* Trimble, d. E. A. Brown.	* Brown.	* Jackson, r. H. L. White.	* White.	* White.
	Ruggles.	* Ruggles.	* Ruggles.	* Ruggles.	* Harrison.	* Harrison, r. J. Burnet.	* Burnet.
	Fromentin.	* J. Brown.	* Brown.	* Brown, r. J. S. Johnston.	* Johnston.	* Johnston.	* Johnston.
	H. Johnson. ¹	* Johnson.	* Johnson.	* Johnson, r. D. Bouigny.	* Bouigny.	* Bouigny.	* Bouigny.
	Taylor.	* Taylor.	* Taylor.	* Taylor.	* W. Hendricks.	* Hendricks.	* Hendricks.
	Noble.	* Noble.	* Noble.	* Noble.	* Noble.	* Noble.	* Noble.
	W. Leake.	* Leake, r. D. Holmes.	* Holmes.	* Holmes.	* Holmes, r. P. Ellis, T. B. Reed.	* Ellis.	* Ellis.
	T. H. Williams.	* Williams.	* Williams.	* Williams.	* Williams.	* Williams.	* R. H. Adams, ¹ d. G. Poindexter.
	N. Edwards.	* N. Edwards.	* Edwards.	* Edwards, r. J. McLean.	* Kane.	* Kane.	* Kane.
	J. B. Thomas.	* Thomas.	* Thomas.	* Thomas.	* Thomas.	* Thomas.	* J. McLean, d. D. J. Baker, J. M. Robinson.
		* J. W. Walker.	* Walker, r. W. Kelly.	* Kelly.	* I. Pickens, ¹ J. McKinley.	* McKinley.	* McKinley.
		* W. R. King.	* King.	* King.	* King.	* King.	* King.
		* J. Chandler.	* Chandler.	* Chandler.	* Chandler.	* Chandler.	* Chandler, r. Sprague.
		* J. Holmes.	* Holmes.	* Holmes.	* Holmes.	* Holmes.	* Holmes.
			* D. Barton.	* Barton.	* Barton.	* Barton.	* Barton.
			* T. H. Benton.	* Benton.	* Benton.	* Benton.	* Benton.

¹ W. C. C. Claiborne was first chosen, but died without taking his seat.

¹ H. Chambers was first chosen, but died without taking his seat.

¹ T. B. Reed was first chosen, but died without taking his seat.

	37th Congress, 1861.	38th Congress, 1863.	39th Congress, 1865.	40th Congress, 1867.	41st Congress, 1869.	42d Congress, 1871.	43d Congress, 1873.
New Hampshire	Hale.	Hale.	A. H. Cragin.	Cragin.	Cragin.	Cragin.	Cragin.
Massachusetts	Clark.	Clark.	Clark, r. G. G. Fogg.	Clark, r. G. G. Fogg.	Patterson.	Patterson.	B. Wadleigh.
Rhode Island	Sumner.	Sumner.	Wilson.	Wilson.	Sumner.	Sumner.	Sumner, d. W. B. Washburn.
Connecticut	Wilson.	Wilson.	Sprague.	Sprague.	Wilson.	Wilson.	G. S. Boutwell.
Connecticut	Anthony.	Anthony.	Anthony.	Anthony.	Sprague.	Sprague.	Sprague.
New York	Dixon.	Dixon.	Dixon.	Dixon.	W. A. Buckingham.	Buckingham.	Buckingham, d. W. W. Eaton.
New Jersey	Foster.	Foster.	Foster.	Foster.	Ferry.	Ferry.	Ferry.
New Jersey	King.	Harris.	Morgan.	Morgan.	R. E. Fenton.	Fenton.	Fenton.
Pennsylvania	Harris.	Thomson, d. R. S. Field, J. W. Wall.	Wright, d. F. T. Frelinghuysen.	Frelinghuysen.	Conkling.	Conkling.	Conkling.
Pennsylvania	Ten Eyck.	Ten Eyck.	J. P. Stockton, u. A. G. Cattell.	J. P. Stockton.	Stockton.	Stockton.	Stockton.
Delaware	Cameron, r. D. Wilmot.	C. K. Buckalew.	Buckalew.	Buckalew.	F. T. Frelinghuysen.	Frelinghuysen.	Frelinghuysen.
Delaware	Cowan.	Cowan.	Riddle.	Riddle.	Scott.	Scott.	Scott.
Maryland	Bayard.	Bayard, r. G. R. Riddle.	Saulsbury.	Saulsbury.	Cameron.	Cameron.	Cameron.
Maryland	Saulsbury.	Saulsbury.	Johnson.	Johnson.	Bayard.	Bayard.	Bayard.
Virginia	Kennedy.	Hicks.	J. A. J. Creswell.	Johnson, r. W. P. Whyte.	E. Saulsbury.	Saulsbury.	Saulsbury.
Virginia	Kearse, d. T. H. Hicks.	L. J. Bowden.		G. Vickers.	Hamilton.	Hamilton.	Hamilton.
North Carolina	Mason, W. T. Willey.	Carlie.			Vickers.	Vickers.	G. R. Dennis.
North Carolina	Hunter, J. S. Carlie.				J. F. Lewis.	Lewis.	Lewis.
South Carolina	Bragg.			J. C. Abbott.	Johnston.	Johnston.	Johnston.
South Carolina	Clingman.			J. Pool.	Robertson.	Robertson.	Ransom.
Georgia				T. J. Robertson.	Robertson.	Sawyer.	A. S. Merrimon.
Vermont				F. A. Sawyer.	H. V. M. Miller.	T. M. Norwood.	Robertson.
Vermont	Foot.	Foot.	Foot, d. G. F. Edmunds.	Edmunds.	J. Hill.	J. Hill.	J. J. Patterson.
Kentucky	Collamer.	Collamer.	Collamer, r. L. P. Poland.	Edmunds.	Edmunds.	Edmunds.	Norwood.
Kentucky	Powell.	Powell.	J. Guthrie.	Guthrie, r. T. C. McCreery.	Morrill.	Morrill.	J. B. Gordon.
Tennessee	J. C. Breckinridge, e. G. Davis.	Davis.	Davis.	Patterson.	McCreery.	McCreery.	Morrill.
Tennessee	Johnson.	D. T. Patterson.	D. T. Patterson.	Fowler.	W. G. Brownlow.	Brownlow.	Stevenson.
Ohio	Nicholson.	J. S. Fowler.	J. S. Fowler.	Sherman.	H. Cooper.	Cooper.	Davis, d. W. B. Machen.
Ohio	S. P. Chase, r. J. Sherman.	Sherman.	Sherman.	Wade.	Sherman.	Sherman.	Brownlow.
Louisiana	Wade.	Wade.	Wade.	W. P. Kellogg.	A. G. Thurman.	Thurman.	Cooper.
Louisiana				Harris.	Kellogg.	Kellogg.	Sherman.
Indiana	H. S. Lane.	Lane.	Lane.	J. S. Harris.	Harris.	J. R. West.	Thurman.
Indiana	Bright, e. J. A. Wright, D. Turpie.	T. A. Hendricks.	Hendricks.	O. P. Morton.	Morton.	Morton.	West.
Mississippi				Hendricks.	D. D. Pratt.	Pratt.	Morton.
Illinois	Trumbull.	Trumbull.	Trumbull.	Trumbull.	A. Ames.	Ames.	Ames, r. H. R. Pease.
Alabama	Douglas, d. O. H. Browning, W. A. Richardson.	Richardson.	R. Yates.	Yates.	H. R. Revels.	J. L. Alcorn.	Alcorn.
Maine	Fessenden.	Fessenden, r. N. A. Farwell.	W. P. Fessenden.	G. E. Spencer.	Trumbull.	Trumbull.	R. J. Oglesby.
Missouri	Morrill.	Wilson, B. G. Brown.	Morrill.	W. Warner.	Spencer.	Spencer.	Logan.
Missouri	W. P. Johnson, e. R. Wilson.	Henderson.	Brown.	Fessenden.	Warner.	G. Goldthwaite.	Goldthwaite.
Arkansas	Polk, e. J. B. Henderson.		Henderson.	Morrill.	Fessenden, d. L. M. Morrill.	Morrill.	Morrill.
Michigan	C. B. Mitchell.	Chandler.	Chandler.	C. D. Drake.	H. Hamlin.	Hamlin.	Hamlin.
Michigan	Chandler.	Howard.	Howard.	Drake, r. D. T. Jewett, F. P. Blair.	Blair.	Schurz.	Schurz.
Florida	Bingham, d. J. M. Howard.			A. McDonald.	McDonald.	P. Clayton.	Clayton.
Texas				Rice.	Rice.	Rice.	S. W. Dorsey.
Wisconsin	Hemphill.			Chandler.	Howard.	Chandler.	Chandler.
Wisconsin	Wigfall.			A. S. Welch.	Gilbert.	T. W. Ferry.	Ferry.
Iowa	Doolittle.	Doolittle.	Doolittle.	T. W. Osborn.	Osborn.	Osborn.	Gilbert.
Iowa	T. O. Howe.	Howe.	Howe.	M. C. Hamilton.	Hamilton.	Hamilton.	S. B. Conover.
California	Grimes.	Harlan, r. S. J. Kirkwood.	Grimes.	J. W. Flanagan.	Flanagan.	Flanagan.	Hamilton.
California	Latham.	J. Conness.	Conness.	M. H. Carpenter.	Carpenter.	Carpenter.	Carpenter.
Minnesota	J. A. McDougall.	McDougall.	McDougall.	Harlan.	Howe.	Howe.	Howe.
Minnesota	Wilkinson.	McDougall.	C. Cole.	Grimes, r. J. B. Howell.	Harlan.	Harlan.	W. B. Allison.
Oregon	Rice.	A. Ramsey.	Norton.	E. Cassery.	Cole.	G. G. Wright.	Wright.
Oregon	J. W. Nesmith.	Nesmith.	Nesmith.	Cole.	Norton, d. W. Windom, O. P. Stearns.	W. Windom.	Cassery, r. J. S. Hager.
Kansas	Baker, d. B. Stark, B. F. Harding.	Nesmith.	G. H. Williams.	Ramsey.	Ramsey.	Ramsey.	A. A. Sargeant.
Kansas	J. H. Lane.	Lane.	Lane, d. E. G. Ross.	Corbett.	Corbett.	Corbett.	Windom.
	S. C. Pomeroy.	Pomeroy.	Pomeroy.	Williams.	Williams.	Williams.	Ramsey.
		W. P. Willey.	Willey.	Ross.	Ross.	Ross.	J. H. Mitchell.
		P. G. Van Winkle.	Van Winkle.	Pomeroy.	A. Caldwell.	A. Caldwell.	Caldwell, r. R. Crozier, J. M. Harvey.
		J. W. Nye.	Nye.	Van Winkle.	H. G. Davis.	H. G. Davis.	J. J. Ingalls.
		W. M. Stewart.	Stewart.	Nye.	Boreman.	Boreman.	Davis.
				Stewart.	Stewart.	Stewart.	Boreman.
				Thayer.	Thayer.	Thayer.	Nye.
				T. W. Tipton.	Tipton.	Tipton.	Stewart.
							Hitchcock.
							Tipton.

	44th Congress, 1875.	45th Congress, 1877.	46th Congress, 1879.	47th Congress, 1881.	48th Congress, 1883.	49th Congress, 1885.	50th Congress, 1887.
New Hampshire	Cragin.	E. H. Rollins.	Rollins.	Rollins.	A. F. Pike.	Pike, d. P. C. Cheney.	W. E. Chandler.
Massachusetts	Wadleigh.	Wadleigh.	C. H. Bell, H. W. Blair.	Blair.	Blair.	Blair.	Blair.
Rhode Island	Boutwell.	Dawes.	Dawes.	Dawes.	Dawes.	Dawes.	Dawes.
Connecticut	Anthony.	G. F. Hoar.	Hoar.	Hoar.	Hoar.	Hoar.	Hoar.
Connecticut	Eaton.	Burnside.	Burnside.	Burnside, d. N. W. Aldrich.	Aldrich.	Aldrich.	Aldrich.
New York	Ferry, d. J. E. English, W. H. Barnum.	Anthony.	Anthony.	J. R. Hawley.	Hawley, d. W. P. Sheffield, J. Chace.	Hawley.	Chace.
New Jersey	F. Kerman.	Eaton.	Eaton.	O. H. Platt.	Platt.	Platt.	Hawley.
New Jersey	Conkling.	Barnum.	Kernan.	T. C. Platt, r. W. Miller.	Miller.	Miller.	F. H. Hise.
Pennsylvania	Randolph.	Kernan.	Conkling.	Conkling, r. E. G. Lapham.	Lapham.	W. M. Everts.	Everts.
Pennsylvania	Frelinghuysen.	Randolph.	Randolph.	W. J. Sewell.	Sewell.	Sewell.	R. Blodgett.
Delaware	Cameron.	McPherson.	McPherson.	McPherson.	McPherson.	McPherson.	McPherson.
Delaware	Bayard.	Wallace.	Wallace.	Cameron.	Cameron.	Cameron.	Cameron.
Maryland	Saulsbury.	Cameron, d. J. D. Cameron.	Cameron.	Bayard.	Bayard, r. G. Gray.	Gray.	Saulsbury.
Maryland	Whyte.	Saulsbury.	Saulsbury.	Saulsbury.	Saulsbury.	Saulsbury.	Saulsbury.
Virginia	Dennis.	Whyte.	Whyte.	Gorman.	Gorman.	Gorman.	Gorman.
North Carolina	R. E. Withers.	Dennis.	J. B. Grooms.	Grooms.	Grooms.	E. K. Wilson.	Wilson.
South Carolina	Johnston.	Withers.	W. Mahone.	Mahone.	Mahone.	Riddleberger.	Riddleberger.
Georgia	Ransom.	Johnston.	Johnston.	Johnston.	H. H. Riddleberger.	Riddleberger.	Ransom.
Georgia	Merrimon.	Ransom.	Ransom.	Ransom.	Ransom.	Ransom.	Ransom.
South Carolina	Robertson.	Merrimon.	Z. B. Vance.	Vance.	Vance.	Vance.	Vance.
Georgia	Patterson.	M. C. Butler.	Butler.	Butler.	Butler.	Butler.	Butler.
Vermont	Gordon.	Patterson.	W. Hampton.	Hampton.	Hampton.	Hampton.	Hampton.
Vermont	Edmunds.	B. H. Hill.	Hill.	Hill, d. P. Barrow.	A. H. Colquitt.	Colquitt.	Colquitt.
Kentucky	Stevenson.	Gordon.	Gordon, r. J. E. Brown.	Brown.	Brown.	Brown.	Brown.
Tennessee	McCreery.	Edmunds.	Edmunds.	Edmunds.	Edmunds.	Edmunds.	Edmunds.
Tennessee	A. Johnson, d. D. M. Key, J. E. Bailey.	Morrill.	Morrill.	Morrill.	Morrill.	Morrill.	Morrill.
Ohio	Cooper.	J. B. Beck.	Beck.	Beck.	Beck.	Beck.	Beck.
Louisiana	Sherman.	McCreery.	J. S. Williams.	Williams.	Williams.	J. C. S. Blackburn.	Blackburn.
Louisiana	Thurman.	Bayley.	Bayley.	H. E. Jackson.	Jackson.	Jackson, r. W. C. Whitthorne.	Whitthorne.
Indiana	West.	G. Harris.	Harris.	Harris.	Harris.	Harris.	Harris.
Indiana	Morton.	Sherman, r. S. Matthews.	Pendleton.	Pendleton.	Pendleton.	H. B. Payne.	Sherman.
Mississippi	J. E. Eustis.	Thurman.	J. Sherman.	Sherman.	Sherman.	Sherman.	Sherman.
Mississippi	B. K. Bruce.	B. F. Jonas.	Jonas.	Jonas.	Jonas.	J. B. Eustis.	Eustis.
Illinois	Lamar.	Kellogg.	Kellogg.	Kellogg.	R. L. Gibson.	Gibson.	Gibson.
Alabama	Oglesby.	Morton, d. D. W. Voorhees.	Voorhees.	Voorhees.	Voorhees.	Voorhees.	Voorhees.
Maine	Logan.	McDonald.	McDonald.	McDonald.	Harrison.	Harrison.	D. Turpie.
Maine	Spencer.	Bruce.	Bruce.	Bruce.	George.	George.	George.
Missouri	Goldthwaite.	L. Q. C. Lamar.	Lamar.	Lamar.	Lamar.	Lamar, r. E. C. Walthall.	Walthall.
Arkansas	Morrill, r. J. G. Blaine.	J. A. Logan.	J. A. Logan.	Logan.	Logan.	Logan, d. C. B. Farwell.	Farwell.
Michigan	Hamlin.	D. Davis.	Davis.	Davis.	S. M. Cullom.	Cullom.	Cullom.
Florida	Bogey.	G. S. Houston, d. L. Pryor, J. L. Pugh.	Pugh.	Pugh.	Pugh.	Pugh.	Pugh.
Arkansas	F. M. Cockrell.	Morgan.	Morgan.	Morgan.	Morgan.	Morgan.	Morgan.
Michigan	I. P. Christiancy.	Blaine.	Blaine.	Blaine, r. W. P. Frye.	Frye.	Frye.	Frye.
Florida	C. W. Jones.	Hamlin.	G. G. Vest.	Hale.	Hale.	Hale.	Hale.
Texas	Hamilton.	Bogey, d. D. H. Armstrong, J. Shields.	Cockrell.	Cockrell.	Vest.	Vest.	Vest.
Wisconsin	S. B. Maxey.	Cockrell.	Cockrell.	Cockrell.	Cockrell.	Cockrell.	Cockrell.
Iowa	A. Cameron.	A. H. Garland.	Garland.	Garland.	Garland.	Garland, r. J. H. Berry.	Berry.
California	Howe.	Dorsey.	Walker.	Walker.	Walker.	J. K. Jones.	Jones.
California	Allison.	Christiancy, r. Z. Chandler.	Chandler, d. H. P. Baldwin.	Conger.	Conger.	Conger.	F. B. Stockbridge.
Minnesota	N. Booth.	Ferry.	Ferry.	Ferry.	T. W. Palmer.	Palmer.	Palmer.
Minnesota	Sargent.	Jones.	Jones.	Jones.	Jones.	Jones.	S. Pasco.
Oregon	Windom.	Conover.	Conover.	Conover.	Call.	Call.	Call.
Kansas	S. J. R. McMillan.	R. Coke.	Coke.	Coke.	Coke.	Coke.	Coke.
Kansas	Mitchell.	Maxey.	Maxey.	Maxey.	Maxey.	Maxey.	J. H. Reagan.
West Virginia	Kelly.	Cameron.	Cameron.	Cameron.	Sawyer.	Sawyer.	Sawyer.
Nevada	Ingalls.	Howe.	M. H. Carpenter.	Alison.	Alison.	J. C. Spooner.	Spooner.
Nevada	A. T. Caperton, d. S. Price, F. Hereford.	S. J. Kirkwood.	Kirkwood.	Kirkwood, r. J. W. McDill.	Wilson.	Wilson.	Wilson.
Nebraska	W. Sharon.	Booth.	Booth.	Farley.	Miller.	Miller, d. G. Hearst, A. P. Williams.	G. Hearst.
Nebraska	Hitchcock.	Sargent.	Sargent.	Farley.	Stanford.	Stanford.	Stanford.
Colorado	A. S. Paddock.	Windom.	Windom.	McMillan.	Sabin.	Sabin.	Sabin.
	J. B. Chaffee.	McMillan.	McMillan.	McMillan.	McMillan.	McMillan.	C. K. Davis.
	H. M. Teller.	Mitchell.	Grover.	Grover.	Dolph.	Dolph.	Dolph.
		Ingalls.	Plumb.	Plumb.	Ingalls.	Ingalls.	Ingalls.
		Davis.	Davis.	Davis.	J. E. Kenna.	Kenna.	Kenna.
		Hereford.	Hereford.	Hereford.	Camden.	Camden.	C. J. Faulkner.
		Jones.	Jones.	Jones.	Jones.	Jones.	Jones.
		A. Saunders.	Saunders.	Saunders.	Fair.	Fair.	W. M. Stewart.
		Paddock.	Paddock.	Paddock.	C. F. Manderson.	Manderson.	Manderson.
		Chaffee.	Chaffee.	Chaffee.	Van Wyck.	Van Wyck.	A. S. Paddock.
		Teller.	Teller.	Teller.	Hill.	Hill.	Teller.
					T. M. Bowen.	Bowen.	Bowen.

¹ J. A. Garfield was first chosen, but never took his seat.

of the total of eighty-four deaths in our active membership since 1875, no less than forty-two, or exactly one-half, have occurred in December, January, February, and March, and but eighteen, or nearly one-fifth, have occurred in June, July, August, and September.

The subject is, perhaps, the reverse of cheerful ; the facts in connection with it are, however, not only interesting but, in some respects, suggestive, — and especially so in connection with the rapid succession of deaths it has been my fortune of late to be called upon to announce from this chair. However others may regard it, for myself I seem of late to have had imposed upon me more than enough of mortuary reflection amid the urns and sepulchres ; and I confess, accordingly, to a certain solace in contemplating those facts of record which, however prosaic, seem to indicate that the season of year more congenial to longevity is now at hand.

The preparation of a memoir of Chief Justice Brigham has been assigned by the Council to Mr. Lincoln.

Mr. WILLIAM S. APPLETON presented a complete roll of the members of the United States Senate during the first century after the organization of the government, and read the following communication : —

A Century of the Senate of the United States.

This roll is believed to contain the names of all the men who sat in the Senate of the United States during its first century, with the few who never sat there though having a perfect right to do so. Of unsuccessful claimants of seats, the first is mentioned, and no more ; during the years of reconstruction they were many. I think that nowhere else can one find such a list of Senators, at once contemporary and consecutive ; and the trouble necessary to make it has been great. The nearest approach to it is in the "Political Register and Congressional Directory" of Ben Perley Poore, and that is not absolutely correct. The accuracy claimed for the present work is the result of careful study of the pages of the official authorities, the Annals of Congress, Congressional Globe, and Congressional Record. The end of each term is marked by a star ; *d.* means died, *e.* expelled, *r.* resigned, *u.* unseated.

No man now lives who sat in the Senate during its first

half-century; and, in fact, there is no survivor of any Congress before the Thirtieth, of which three Senators still live; only four others are alive who sat in the Senate before 4 March, 1861. The Senate is a small body; but it is a curious fact that the Fiftieth Congress is the only one in which the roll of membership was absolutely unchanged, though thrice before only one seat was held by more than one man. The longest unbroken period of service is still that of Benton of Missouri, who sat in the Senate for five terms, or fifteen successive Congresses.¹ King of Alabama, and Anthony of Rhode Island, sat in thirteen; ² Gaillard of South Carolina, and Sumner of Massachusetts, sat in twelve; Knight of Rhode Island sat in eleven; and Pearce of Maryland, and Wilson of Massachusetts, sat in ten.

Very noticeable is the number of odd names which have been represented in the Senate. Among the dead are the following: Izard, Few, Gunn, Potts, Cocke, Hindman, Condit, Tiffin, Horsey, Bibb, Posey, Lacock, Bledsoe, Leake, Willey, Grundy, Waggaman, Hanna, Lumpkin, Bagby, Hannegan, Pennybacker, Turney, Speight, Spruance, Yulee, Gwin, Toucey, Slidell, Bigler, Pugh, Hemphill, Wigfall. On the other hand, no fewer than five men named Smith were Senators in the Ninth Congress.

According to my reckoning, 848 men belong to the first century of the Senate. Very few of them have made such a mark in history as to entitle them to appear in European dictionaries of biography; and in fact very many are figures of no importance even in American history. Fortunately but few stand condemned by the judgment of public opinion, though such are certainly Aaron Burr, David R. Atchison, Jesse D. Bright, and Jefferson Davis; more receive, and will receive, honor for their abilities and services. Of Presidents of the United States, there sat in the Senate: Monroe, J. Q. Adams, Jackson, Van Buren, W. H. Harrison, Tyler, Pierce, Buchanan, Johnson, and Benjamin Harrison, and Garfield was a Senator elect; while of defeated candidates are found Burr, Clinton, Rufus King, Crawford, Mangum, Webster, Hugh L. White,

¹ Morrill of Vermont will have equalled this at the end of the Fifty-fourth Congress.

² Edmunds of Vermont equalled this at the end of the Fifty-first Congress, when he resigned.

Clay, Cass, Frémont, Breckinridge, John Bell, Douglas, and Blaine. Of the other men of prominence who have been Senators, perhaps John C. Calhoun stands out most conspicuous.

Mr. EDWARD L. PIERCE then communicated extracts from the diary of John Rowe, a Boston merchant, covering the period from 1764 to 1779, with introductory remarks:—

The Diary of John Rowe, a Boston merchant, includes the period from Sept. 8, 1764, to July 15, 1779, with three breaks in it,—one from Aug. 17, 1765, to April 10, 1766, another from June 1, 1775, to December 24 of the same year, and the third from Nov. 19, 1776, to Aug. 12, 1778. The missing volume which makes the second break was, according to his memorandum in the next volume, “mis-laid or taken out of his store”; the other two breaks are supposed to have occurred since his death. The Diary is paged continuously, the last page being numbered 2493; and as this page completes a volume, it is likely that later volumes have disappeared.

The Diary is owned by Mrs. Anne Rowe Payson, grand-niece of John Rowe, being granddaughter of his brother Jacob who lived in Quebec, and daughter of John Rowe,—the “Jack” Rowe, mentioned often in the Diary, who at the age of seven years was adopted by his uncle, arriving in Boston Oct. 19, 1772, shortly after his arrival being sent to Rev. Mr. Nicholl’s school at Salem, and later (that school being broken up soon after the battle of Lexington) removed to the school of Rev. Phillips Payson at Chelsea.¹ The owner of the Diary, Mrs. Payson, and her only descendant, Mrs. Anne Rowe Cunningham, live on the Milton estate of Governor Jonathan Belcher, which passed from the Belchers to John Rowe, the Boston merchant. Here the Governor had lived in what he described in his letters as his “cave,” “wigwam,” “little cottage,” and “lowly cottage.” This was burned in 1776, and the present house was built shortly after.²

¹ This John Rowe was born in Quebec, July 26, 1765; was a graduate of Harvard College in 1783, being a classmate of Harrison Gray Otis and William Prescott; married in Gloucester, April 26, 1792, and died at his home in Quincy, very near the Milton line, May 24, 1812. He lived in Gloucester for a while, and represented that town in the House of Representatives for the years 1796–1805 (except for the year 1803) and Essex County in the Senate for the year 1806.

² Teele’s History of Milton, pp. 109–114, 512, 514, 515; Belcher Papers, 6 Collections, vol. vii. pp. xvi, note, 416, 418, 549.

This Society has published journals or letters relative to affairs in Boston covering a part of the period (1764-1779) included in Rowe's Diary, among others: Timothy Newell's Journal, April 19, 1775-March 17, 1776, 4 Collections, I. 261-276; Ezekiel Price's Diary, May 23, 1775-Aug. 17, 1776, Proceedings, November, 1863, 185-262; Letters of John Andrews, Feb. 24, 1772-April 11, 1776, Proceedings, July, 1865, 316-412; Thomas Newell's Diary, Jan. 1, 1773-Dec. 22, 1774; Proceedings, October, 1877, 334-363; Letters of Rev. Andrew Eliot, April 25, 1775-Feb. 19, 1776, Proceedings, September, 1878, 280-306; Benjamin Boardman's Diary, July 31-Nov. 12, 1775, Proceedings, May, 1892, 400-413; and Jabez Fitch, Jr.'s, Diary, Aug. 5-Dec. 13, 1775, Proceedings, May, 1894, 40-91. Other journals and memoirs concerning the period are cited in the "Memorial History of Boston," III. 154, note.

The other printed diaries above referred to cover a briefer period than Rowe's; and their authors, or most of them, have a standpoint different from his. Several of them, like Rowe, have much to say of the weather; but that part of his record is omitted in this summary. Rowe himself, without being an acute observer of men and events, was an intelligent merchant; and while we could wish he had reserved a part of the space which he gave to the ever-recurring names of persons whom he met at dinners and clubs for a record of the opinions they expressed, still there remains much which illustrates the public and social life of Boston at this eventful period.

The purpose of this paper is to call attention to interesting points in the Diary, and to give a general knowledge of its contents, which may perhaps be of service to other investigators of local and general history. I have classified the miscellaneous facts and experiences which the diarist states, submitting also a copy of so much of his record as relates to the contest with Great Britain both before the Revolution and during a considerable part of it. I offer as an excuse, if one is needed, for some incidents and details which have been thought worthy of mention, that the newspapers of the period confine themselves mostly to grave documents, telling us but very little of what was going on in the life of the people.

At the time Rowe's Diary begins, — in September, 1764, — the British government was just putting in force its scheme of

taxing the Colonies for the purpose as avowed of "defraying the expenses of defending, protecting, and securing the same." The Sugar Act, which imposed duties not only on sugar and molasses but on other articles hitherto exempt, had been passed the previous spring. Otis's pamphlet on "The Rights of the British Colonies asserted and proved" had been issued. In May and during the summer and autumn, protests against the new policy were being made by the Boston town-meeting and the General Court. The Stamp Act was to follow the Sugar Act in less than a twelvemonth. Rowe's Diary thus opens at the initial stage of the Revolution.

The Diary comprises the period of the imposition of the new and hated taxes, the passage and repeal of the Stamp Act, the Boston massacre, the throwing overboard of the tea, the beginning of civil war at Lexington and Concord, the siege of Boston, the evacuation by the British troops, and the visit of the French fleet to the town. The battle of Bunker Hill occurred during the period included in a lost volume.

Boston was, at the period covered by the Diary, a town of sixteen thousand inhabitants, — about the present population of Northampton, or Quincy, in this State, and Concord, New Hampshire, or Burlington, Vermont.

John Rowe was born in Exeter, England, Nov. 16, 1715, and died in Boston, Feb. 17, 1787. His grandfather Jacob Rowe (though the suggestion has been made that he was a great-uncle) held in Exeter the offices of steward, receiver, sheriff, and mayor, holding the last-named office in 1712. Jacob and John Rowe, brothers, emigrated to America, the date of their coming not known; the former going to Quebec, where he became commissary-general, and John coming to Boston. The latter was here as early as 1736, when he was only twenty-one years old, as he purchased that year a warehouse on Long Wharf. This early purchase indicates that he brought considerable means with him; and, besides, he continued to own property in his native city till his death, bequeathing it to his relatives who remained behind. The family is not now traceable in Devonshire.

John Rowe's portrait, at the supposed age of twenty-five, is in the possession of his grand-niece Mrs. Payson, and has been reproduced in F. S. Drake's "Tea Leaves." His costume as there shown is that of a gentleman of the period.

Rowe and his wife were doubtless buried (though no record of interment is preserved) in his vault under the first Trinity Church, a wooden building; and the vault is not supposed to have been disturbed by the subsequent construction of the stone edifice. The vaults were being cleared at the time of the fire of 1872; and the remains found in Rowe's are probably among the "unknown" which were then removed to the Trinity Church tomb in Mt. Auburn Cemetery.

John Rowe was married in 1743 to Hannah Speakman, who survived him eighteen years, dying July 9, 1805, at the age of eighty.¹ Her sister was the first wife of Ralph Inman, the Cambridge Loyalist, with whose family Rowe continued always to be very intimate. The sisters are said to have been twins. Rowe bought in 1764 the estate on the north side of Pond Lane, now Bedford Street, where he lived till his death, and where his widow remained till her death. The year after his purchase he pulled down the house he found standing there on the north side of the lane, and built a new one, into which he moved Oct. 16, 1766. His record of that day is: "Slept this night for this first time in our new house, which is a very good, handsome, and convenient house." Another entry, April 3, 1767, is: "The Governour and his son came to see our new house this afternoon." This house with grounds about it was sold in 1817 by Rowe's heirs to Judge William Prescott;² and here he and his son the historian lived. It was demolished in 1845. A picture of it is given in the quarto edition of Ticknor's "Life of William H. Prescott." Rowe owned a considerable tract, measuring nearly three acres, known as "Rowe's Pasture." Without attempting to define its limits accurately, it may be said in a general way that it extended from Bedford Street to Essex Street, with Washington (then Newbury) and Kingston streets as western and eastern limits, not, however, touching Washington Street at any point, and small lots belonging to other people perhaps jutting in here and there. On this ample tract he raised, as his Diary shows, crops of hay and vegetables, and pastured sheep and cattle. He owned houses and lots on the south side of Essex Street as well as in other parts of the town; and one

¹ A portrait of Mrs. Rowe is in the possession of Mrs. Charles Amory, Jr., of Boston.

² Shurtleff's Topographical and Historical Description of Boston, p. 409.

of his wharves still bears his name. He owned property in other towns, — Dighton, Plymouth, Malden, Medford, Gloucester, Milton, Hardwick, Stoughton, Grafton, Shelburne, Deerfield, and also in Hartford and Woodstock, Connecticut.

Rowe became one of the foremost merchants of Boston. The "Massachusetts Centinel," in noting his death, calls him "an eminent merchant of this place." John Adams¹ names him among the very rich men with whom he had been acquainted in the way of business, placing him among those who had acquired wealth by their own industry, — unlike Hancock, Bowdoin, and Pitts, who had acquired it by descent or marriage. His ships traversed the ocean, and ran along the coast. One of them carried Josiah Quincy, Jr., to Charleston, South Carolina, in February, 1773. His whaling-sloop "Chagford" goes out April 14, 1767; and his sloop "Polly" comes in, Sept. 5, 1771, with 150 barrels of oil. He bought, May 6, 1765, "a cargo of coals of two gentlemen from Newberry." His imported merchandise was miscellaneous, meeting the wants of the people of that day. We get glimpses of what it was here and there. On May 31, 1765, his "warehouse fell in with fish." He dealt largely in salt. On July 3, 1767, a quantity of silk stockings, ribbons, Spanish silk, and Indian and English taffetys were stolen at night from his store. The British troops, when evacuating Boston in March, 1776, took from him "linens, checks, cloths, and woollens," goods of the value of 2260 pounds sterling. Mrs. Commodore Hood visited his store, Dec. 8, 1768, and bought twenty-four yards of superfine silk. A vessel (probably Rowe's) arrives, July 22, 1767, from Madeira with seventy pipes of wine. Governor Hutchinson's accounts² show a purchase, July 19, 1770, of Rowe of a quarter cask of port-wine for eight pounds. He was the owner of one of the tea-ships, though in history less is said of his cargo than of Francis Rotch's, which arriving first was the first to be dealt with. Until the conflict between the Colonies and the mother country became one of force, he was largely purveyor for the English fleet, which was rarely absent altogether from the harbor. He was one of the Proprietors of Long Wharf, — that ancient corporation in which leading merchants like Hancock, Winslow, Oliver, Wells, and Boutineau were shareholders. He was also one of the Proprietors of Point Shirley.

¹ Works, ii. 296.

² Diary and Letters, i. 77.

Rowe enjoyed excellent health. He makes the entry, Nov. 27, 1773: "This day is my birthday. I am fifty-eight years old. I am at present very hearty and strong, but in my knees rather feeble. I bless God for all his mercies to me"; and again, Nov. 27, 1778: "This day I am sixty-three years old, and I am, thank God, very hearty, though my limbs fail me at times." One of his generous way of living had occasionally need of medical remedies, of which an emetic was the one most frequently resorted to. He records, April 18, 1773: "The doctor has made an apothecary shop in my stomach," — a method of treatment which, in connection with a remedy of his own selection, "a little Geneva of mint," brought the desired relief. He "hurt" his leg, July 25, 1772, on a fishing-excursion. Dr. Heron was his attendant, and, the patient improving too slowly, Dr. Peterson was called in. The doctors were unable "to dry up the wound," and a month after the injury it was "dressed with tincture of myrrh." One record (that of June 13, 14, 1769) gives us reason to prize that then unknown friend of the human race, — anæsthetics: "I went to bed much afflicted with toothache. . . . Sent for Dr. Lloyd to have my tooth drawn; had not resolution to go through the operation."

Mrs. Rowe, like her husband, enjoyed good health. He records, Aug. 4, 1776: "This is Mrs. Rowe's birthday. She is this day fifty-one years old and very hearty and well." She, however, met once (July 15, 1774) with a severe accident in town, when, as she was returning from a funeral, the horses took fright and ran, and, the carriage being upset and herself thrown out, she became unconscious. Her case was thought critical for some days. Dr. Lloyd administered "annidine drops," and he was assisted by Dr. White. Relatives and friends, not hired nurses, watched with the patient. In a week she had much improved; and her husband, whose daily entries speak of her as "my dear, dear Mrs. Rowe," wrote: "She is growing better, for which I and all her friends rejoice." Her husband left her a large part of his property, with full power to dispose of it by will.

Rowe's sentiments in relation to the controversy with Great Britain were those of a moderate, holding in this respect the same position as that of his relatives, intimate friends, and the

mass of his fellow-merchants. He was a public-spirited citizen, and wished well to his town and colony, no one more so. He was as strongly opposed as any to the new restrictions on trade which the parent country had put in force, and generally he was not in sympathy with its repressive policy.¹ He served on committees appointed by the town or by merchants to set forth the grievances of the Colony, sometimes willingly and sometimes not so willingly. He was a member of a committee, Sept. 18, 1765 (Otis, chairman), to express the thanks of the town to Conway and Barré for "their noble, generous, and patriotick speeches" in Parliament, and served on similar committees, April 21, 1766, Dec. 4, 1767, and March 14, 1768, — the last being appointed for a recognition of John Dickinson's "Farmer's Letters." He served on a committee, Dec. 18, 1765 (Samuel Adams, chairman), to protest against the shutting up of the courts; on committees, Nov. 20, Dec. 17 and 21, 1767, and June 15 and 17, 1768, to instruct the representatives; on a committee, Oct. 28, 1767, of which he was chairman, to prevent importations, particularly of foreign superfluities, and encourage domestic produce and manufactures; on a large committee, June 14, 1768, to wait on Governor Bernard with a petition for the redress of grievances; and on a committee, September 12 of the same year, to wait on the Governor and inquire as to the reported coming of troops to Boston, and to recommend measures required in the emergency. He signed, Sept. 14, 1768, as one of the selectmen, an address to other towns, protesting against Bernard's dissolving the General Court and against the taxes levied by Parliament. He was chairman of a committee, in June, 1779, to fix the prices of merchandise, and to bring to punishment offenders against the Act prohibiting monopolies and forestalling.² As chairman of a merchants' committee, he signed, June 22, 1779, in its behalf a communication to Congress, testifying their patriotic devotion, and reprobating the attempt of "sordid and unprincipled wretches" to depreciate the paper currency by which independence had been almost secured, and "to force a currency of gold and silver on its ruins." This document also expresses "anxiety

¹ S. G. Drake, in his "History of Boston," p. 657, states Rowe's signature to a petition to the General Court as early as Dec. 17, 1760, charging the Crown officers with appropriating to their own use money derived from forfeitures.

² Independent Chronicle, June 24, 1779.

for the security of that important staple, the fishery," as the main support of the future commerce of the Northern States. Congress, on receiving the petition, passed a resolution of thanks, July 27, 1779, which was communicated to the committee by Elbridge Gerry, James Lovell, and Samuel Holten, then members from Massachusetts.

Rowe, however, while considering the conduct of the British government impolitic and harsh, was indisposed to carry opposition beyond argument, appeal, and protest; and at no time did he favor measures looking to forcible resistance and independence. His position is misconceived when he is classed with the "Patriots," — the party who supported separation from the mother country, and had in view the use of force outside of law to promote that end.¹ Towards Samuel Adams and William Molineux he was not well affected, as his Diary shows. He was, however, prudent enough to keep up pleasant personal relations with both sides. He did not join the patriotic exodus from Boston when the siege began, preferring to remain in order to protect his property.² This may have counted against him with the Patriots; for when after the British evacuation he proposed to join in the ceremonies for the interment of Dr. Warren, a brother Mason, he encountered rude treatment from the populace, and found it prudent to withdraw. His close relations with the family of Captain John Linzee, an English navy officer, must have made him an object of suspicion. The popular feeling was, however, soothed in time by his amiable manners, the good offices he freely distributed among his townsmen, his active service on a relief committee, and his general usefulness as a citizen; so that before peace was reached he was elected a representative to the General Court. The looting and pillaging attending the close of the British occupation, in which he was a sufferer, must have sensibly cooled his

¹ This error is found in Frothingham's "Siege of Boston," p. 23; John Adams's Works, ii. 158, note; F. S. Drake's "Tea Leaves," p. 63. Gordon, in his History, i. 209, says Rowe was "a merchant who had been active on the side of liberty in matters of trade," — a statement which, limited to "matters of trade," is true enough. S. G. Drake's "History of Boston," p. 700, note, citing an anonymous memorandum, gives currency to the absurd imputation that Rowe led the mob in the assault on Hutchinson's house. Hutchinson himself may have thought (Diary and Letters, i. 67) that the class of merchants to whom Rowe belonged had stirred up violence against the Crown officers.

² He seems, however, to have applied, April 28, 1775, for a pass to go out with his effects, which was for some reason refused.

attachment to the country of his birth. He is very cautious in his Diary about revealing himself even to himself, perhaps apprehensive that as one volume had unaccountably disappeared, others might fall into the hands of the public, — a fate which befell the letters of some of his distinguished friends.

The words "who knows how tea will mingle with salt water?"¹ said to have been spoken by Rowe in the Old South Meeting House on the evening of Dec. 16, 1773, with a view to instigate the destruction of the tea, must, in the light of his Diary, be regarded as apochryphal. The only authority for the statement is an anonymous writer,² who half a century after the transaction interviewed survivors of the period, some of whom spoke from personal knowledge and others from report only. They disagreed as to the number of ships and the wharf where the ships lay, and some of them were chary as to the information they gave. This writer's account bears intrinsic evidence of untrustworthiness.

Rowe was childless; but his house was well filled with young people, — his wife's nephews the Speakmans, her nephew George Inman (and his cousin John Inman) and her nieces Sarah and Susanna Inman. The last-named was adopted by him, and called familiarly "Sucky" in his Diary.³ Born March 23, 1754, she married, Sept. 1, 1772, at the age of eighteen, Captain John Linzee, then commanding the British warship "Beaver," brother of Captain, afterward Rear-Admiral, Robert Linzee, and also of Admiral Samuel Hood's wife.⁴ He had been an *habitué* for three years at Rowe's house, where she was living. Rowe was very fond of her, and the day after her marriage gave her husband written authority to draw on him every New Year's Day for twenty

¹ F. S. Drake's "Tea Leaves," lxiii; Memorial History of Boston, iii. 49.

² Niles's "Principles and Acts of the Revolution," pp. 485, 486.

³ Sarah died, Sept. 14, 1773, after a brief illness. George's career is elsewhere noted.

⁴ Rowe's Diary states that Robert and John were brothers. See also "The Dictionary of National [English] Biography" under "Samuel Hood, Admiral, Viscount." It should be mentioned, however, that the traditions of Captain John Linzee's family do not agree with the statement of Rowe's Diary that he was the brother of Admiral Robert Linzee.

The late William Amory, of Boston, owned the portraits of Captain John and Mrs. Linzee, his grandfather and grandmother, and also of Mrs. Linzee's parents, Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Inman; and they remain with the Amory family.

pounds sterling; and his will, as well as his wife's, provided liberally for her and her children. Three days after her wedding he records: "Capt. Linzee sailed this forenoon and carried my dear Sucky with him; I wish them happy together." Absent for nearly three years, they arrived in Boston Easter Sunday, April 16, 1775, in the "Falcon," which he was then commanding, bringing with them their first-born, Samuel Hood Linzee, the future admiral, born Dec. 27, 1773. Rowe brought the three to his house the same day. Linzee was just in time to take part in the first armed conflict of the Revolution. On April 19, 1775, Rowe records: "Capt. Linzee and Capt. Collins in two small armed vessels were ordered to bring off the troops to Boston, but Lord Percy and Generall Smith thought proper to encamp on Bunker Hill this night." The fact of this order has escaped the attention of historians. Linzee had also on the 20th an engagement with the American troops below Cambridge bridge.

Mrs. Linzee and her child remained for the next nine months with Rowe, or with her father then living in town,—her husband while active on duty being with her from time to time. He was at Rowe's house at dinner and for the evening on the day before and the day after the battle of Lexington, and was there each day till his next sailing, May 1, from Boston; and now and then till after the siege his presence at Rowe's house is recorded.¹ He commanded, June 19, the "Falcon," one of the six vessels which cannonaded the American works on Bunker Hill. He sailed, Jan. 20, 1776, in the "Falcon" for England, taking his wife, his son, and infant daughter Hannah, born in Boston, and also his brother-in-law George Inman. Later he commanded the "Pearl"; and after the war, as commander of the "Penelope," he was in Boston Harbor, Sept. 9, 1790, and applied to Governor Hancock for permission to enter the harbor with his ship, offering to fire a salute and expecting one in return. Hancock's answer is not known, but it was certainly one of consent; for it appears that the "Penelope" sailed from Boston, September 17, leaving, however, its commander behind, "lying very dangerously ill of a fever at his house in this town."² He

¹ Linzee's name appears as being at Rowe's April 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, Dec. 27, 28, 1775; Jan. 2, 7, 11, 14, 1776. Rowe's Diary from May 30, 1775, to Dec. 25, 1775, is missing.

² Massachusetts Centinel, Sept. 18, 1790.

recovered, and resumed his command. His wife with her children about this time made her way to Boston, and occupied a house on Essex Street, bequeathed to her by Rowe, subject to his wife's life estate, whence, according to a letter of her husband, still preserved,¹ there was an open walk across the field to Mrs. Rowe's house on Pond Lane. Linzee resigned his commission in 1791, and joined his wife in Boston. She died a year later, at the age of thirty-nine, the mother of nine children. He removed to Milton, to a house near the bridge over the Neponset River, where, according to tradition and Samuel Breck's "Recollections," he lived an eccentric and lonely life, dying, in 1798, at the age of fifty-six. His eldest son, the admiral, has descendants in England, not however bearing his name. His other children remained in this country; and some of their descendants bearing his name live in or near Boston. From Captain Linzee's eldest daughter, born in Boston, descended a branch of the Boston Amorys, one of whom became the wife of William H. Prescott, grandson of Colonel William Prescott; and thus in the historian's descendants is united the blood of combatants on opposite sides on the memorable June 17, 1775. Their swords crossed are a possession of this Society.

Rowe held various trusts and offices. He was treasurer of the Charitable Society, and spent many evenings at its meetings. From 1750 (his connection with the order began some years earlier) till his death he held high offices in the Masonic fraternity, and in 1768 became Grand Master of the order in North America. The lodge in Boston suspended its regular meetings April 19, 1775, till it was called together in 1787 to attend his funeral; and a few months afterwards it resumed its sessions.

Rowe often served by the choice of town-meetings on important business committees (Aug. 26, 1765; Jan. 7, May 7, 1766); was once at least moderator (March 30, 1774); served as one of the fire-wards, whose meetings he often mentions; was sometimes overseer of the poor; and was selectman for the years 1766, 1767, and 1768, declining a re-election in March, 1769. He was a candidate for Representative at the election

¹ Some of Captain Linzee's letters are in the possession of his grandson John W. Linzee, of Boston.

in May, 1765, when he failed, receiving 238 votes, — James Otis, who was chosen, receiving 388, and the other successful candidates, Thacher, Cushing, and Gray, a still larger number. At the special election in September, 1765, for filling the vacancy caused by the death of Oxenbridge Thacher, there was no choice on the first ballot, — the vote being Samuel Adams 247, Rowe 137, John Ruddock 110, and John Hancock 40. Adams was chosen on the next ballot, and this was the beginning of his legislative career. The next May, Rowe, who had 309, was defeated by Hancock, who had 437, — Otis, Cushing, and Adams receiving each between six and seven hundred.¹ The story is, as told by Gordon in his *History*,² that Adams promoted the election of Hancock, saying, when Rowe's name was mentioned for the place, and pointing at the same time to Hancock's house, "Is there not another John that may do better?" This piece of gossip, which has been much copied,³ is quite untrustworthy. It is not unlikely, however, that Adams threw his influence against Rowe, not thinking him earnest enough for the work in hand, or perhaps piqued by his rivalry at the special election. Rowe was again unsuccessful in 1767, when he received only 134 votes; and he was not afterwards a candidate for a considerable period. He was, however, chosen a member for the years 1780–1784. As a member in 1780 (being chosen also at the election in October), he took part in the inauguration of the State Constitution. He failed of a re-election in 1781, when there were several candidates, Samuel Adams heading the list; but Adams, already chosen a Senator, elected to go to the higher chamber, and at a special election (June 12) Rowe received 300 out of 394 votes cast.⁴ Why Adams, chosen a Senator a few weeks before, was placed on the Representative ticket, particularly as his subsequent choice between the two offices shows that he did not wish to go to the House, is not easily understood. Rowe as a Representative moved, March 17, 1784, the restoration of the "Cod Fish" to its former place in the State House as the symbol of an important industry. The removal of this relic to the

¹ Drake's "History of Boston," p. 719, is in error in stating Rowe's election at this time.

² I. 142.

³ John Adams's Works, ii. 158, note; Wells's "Life of Samuel Adams," i. 119.

⁴ Adams's biographer, Wells, does not refer to this double election, only mentioning his election as Senator.

new legislative chamber, March 7, 1895, has revived his memory.

Rowe was greatly interested in Trinity Church, connecting himself with it somewhere between 1741 and 1744, — probably in 1743, at the time of his marriage, when it was only eight years old.¹ Late in that year he bought pew 82, as appears by the records. His wife's relatives the Speakmans appear to have been connected with it from the first. The subscription list, open from 1741 to 1744 for its organ, bears his name with twenty pounds annexed to it. He was chosen a vestryman in 1760, and continued to be one till his death, except for one or two years (1776–1777), when he was warden. He became a communicant in 1766. He was from the first a generous giver, and for most of the time of his connection with the church he contributed a larger sum to its funds than any one else. He was rarely absent from both Sunday services, except when ill, or troubled in spirit, or the barber failed to come; notes always the text, which he copies at length; follows closely the sermons, which he remarks upon as “very clever,” “very elegant,” “most excellent,” “delightful,” “sensible,” “serious,” “very polite,” “pathetic and moving,” “metaphysical,” or “well delivered.” He has much to say of parish affairs, — Mr. Banister's ejectment suit against the church (Dec. 31, 1764; Jan. 2, Feb. 18, March 19, 1765), being appointed (Jan. 6, 1765) on the church committee in relation to it; the cracking of the church's bell (March 6, 1774), which was given a few months later (October 2) to a sister church in Norwich, Conn.; the collections for the poor at Christmas (£400 8s., old tenor, Dec. 25, 1773); the raising of the minister's salary (April 5, 1765); the new organ in 1770 (October 5 and December 9); the proposed alteration of the church (July 26, 1772), as to which he regrets to see the gentlemen so indifferent; the convention of the Episcopal clergy (June 17, 1767); the death of Rev. William Hooper, who expired instantaneously in his garden, April 14, 1767, “to the great grief and sorrow of his people and the loss of his family,” whom Rowe calls his own “most valuable and worthy and never to be forgotten friend”; and the contribution of £253 for “good Mrs. Hooper,” May 13, 1770. Rowe writes, on the day of the funeral, April 17:

¹ The manuscript records of Trinity Church have assisted in filling out the Diary as to Rowe's connection with it.

"After church returned to the house of mourning, and I endeavored to give comfort to the bereaved family: I intend to be their friend." The only mention of the great Boston artist comes a few days later, in the entry of April 23: "Mrs. Hooper went to Coply's to have her picture drawn, as did Capt. Dalton [of Newberry] and wife."

Rowe was the intimate friend of the successive ministers, Hooper, Walter, Parker, and of their families as well. Their evenings, particularly Sunday evenings, were often passed at his house. He "smoked a pipe," June 11, 1765, with Mr. Hooper. Mr. Parker, in recognition of his uniform kindness, named a son for him; and Rowe, in recognition of the friendship, bequeathed a legacy to the father and an estate on Pond Lane to the son, his namesake. He was a peacemaker, composing differences between ministers, as when Mr. Walter on one occasion took umbrage at some behavior of Mr. Hooper (July 13, 16, 1765). The clergy would have a sunnier life if all parishioners were as friendly critics of their sermons as was he, — when, for instance, he wrote, Aug. 15, 1773, "Mr. Walter shines more and more in his preaching," and, a week later, "he is so good a man that my pen cannot describe his virtues."

Now and then a stranger clergyman appears. On June 9, 1765, "The Rev Mr. Cooper, President of the Colledge at New York, preached." The record for May 10, 1772, is, "Mr. Thompson of Scituate read prayers and preached [in the morning and the afternoon]. . . . Both these sermons were honestly designed but very lengthy."

Nearly a year after Mr. Hooper's death, April 4, 1768, Rev. William Walter was chosen unanimously his successor,¹ with a salary of 156 pounds sterling, and a gratuity of 50 pounds sterling for the year to Mrs. Hooper.

Rowe took especial interest in the calling of new ministers, and a good voice seems to have been an essential requisite in a candidate. Dec. 7, 1772, "a young gentleman from Andover," who had been recommended for assistant, "read prayers in the church this morning to several of us that we might judge of his voice, and I think he has a pleasant and agreeable voice." Oct. 5, 1773, Rev. Samuel Parker of Portsmouth read several chapters privately in the church to "the gentlemen of the

¹ The "Memorial History of Boston," iii. 128, implies an immediate succession. A. H. Chester's "Trinity Church," published in 1888, contains a similar error.

vestry" to show what his voice was. He was found to have "a good voice," and to read "with propriety"; "was much liked," and the wardens and vestry "were all of them for him" as assistant (October 7, 10). He sailed for England, Nov. 6, 1773, for ordination, and arrived home May 16, 1774. Rowe's record for May 22 is that he then "preached for the first time from 123^d Psalm and the 1st verse a sensible, good discourse, and very well delivered for his first time of preaching."

The parting of the ways was at hand. Mr. Parker informed the wardens and vestry, July 18, 1776, that he could not with safety perform the entire service as before, that he was interrupted the previous Lord's Day when reading the prayers for the King, and that he had received threats of interruption and insult in case of a repetition, and was fearful of damage to the church; and he desired counsel and advice. The wardens and vestry decided (the proprietors concurring), as the only alternative for shutting up the church, in view of the temper and spirit of the people, to request the minister to omit the part of the liturgy which related to the King; and Mr. Parker acted accordingly.

Mr. Walter left for England in 1776. The proprietors, April 10, 1776, invested Mr. Parker, the assistant minister, for one year with all the powers of incumbent minister. Three years afterwards they voted, June 13, 1779, after correspondence with Mr. Parker, that "the church has not an incumbent minister, 12 yeas, 4 nays." Two of the proprietors, Colonel Hatch and Mr. Bethune, withdrew before the vote. A week later Mr. Parker was chosen incumbent minister at a salary of three pounds sterling a week; and after some reflection on the propriety of taking the place in view of his friendly relations with Mr. Walter, he accepted, July 25.¹ Some idea of the condition of the church shortly after the siege had ended may be had from Rowe's entry May 26, 1776: "Mr. Parker preached a well adapted and good discourse. I staid at the sacrament this day, about fifty communicants." The proprietors of King's Chapel proposed, April 4, 1776, in view of the financial difficulty in keeping both churches open, a united service at the Chapel for both churches, with Mr. Parker as the

¹ The "Memorial History of Boston," iii. 129, says that "Mr. Parker became rector soon after the war," which is not strictly correct. A. H. Chester's "Trinity Church," p. 11, has the same error.

minister; but Trinity Church (Rowe being chairman of the committee) declined to suspend their own services.

Rowe, while a loyal Episcopalian, was observant of what was going on in other denominations, sometimes attending their special services, as the installation of Rev. Samuel Blair, in Dr. Sewall's Meeting House, Nov. 19, 1766, where Mr. Pemberton prayed and Mr. Blair preached; the ordination of Rev. Simeon Howard at the West Church, May 6, 1767, where Dr. Chauncy preached, and "before and after the ceremony there was an anthem sung"; the preaching of an Indian minister, Mr. Occum (Aug. 22, 1773), at Mr. Moorhead's, the Presbyterian church in Long Lane, afterwards Federal Street; the election sermon of Rev. Mr. Shute of Hingham (May 25, 1768),—"a very long sermon, being an hour and forty minutes." The entry July 9, 1766, is: "This morning about five of clock the Rev^d Dr. Mayhew died much lamented by great numbers of people." These seem to have been the best days of the Quakers in Boston, who had had a place of worship in the town for more than a hundred years. Rowe notes, July 21, 1769: "This afternoon Mrs. Rachel Willson, the famous Quaker preacher, preached in Faneuil Hall to at least twelve hundred people; she seems to be a woman of good understanding."

A very interesting religious event of this period in Massachusetts was the visit of the most renowned evangelist of modern times, George Whitefield. These were his last days; he was to sleep in the land he loved so well; and his sepulchre is where his voice was last heard calling sinners to repentance. He came to us in the midst of great excitement on public affairs; and it is pleasant to think of him that our fathers had his sympathies, and that in the last letter he is known to have written, just a week before his death, he said feelingly: "Poor New England is much to be pitied, Boston most of all. How falsely misrepresented!" Whitefield came from Wrentham to Boston Aug. 14, 1770. He preached at the old North Church the 15th, at Dr. Sewall's the 16th, at Dr. Eliot's the 17th, at Mr. Pemberton's the 18th, at the New North (Dr. Eliot's) the 20th, at Dr. Sewall's the 21st and 22d, at the New North the 23d, at Dr. Sewall's the 24th, at Cambridge the 27th, at Charlestown the 28th,¹ at the Old South the 29th, at the New

¹ Tyerman's "Life of Whitefield," ii. 592, reverses the dates at Cambridge and Charlestown.

North the 30th, at Jamaica Plain the 31st, at Milton September 1st, at Roxbury the 2d, at the Old South the 3d; and on the 4th he set out for Portsmouth. The Diary does not give a record of services on August 19th, 25th, and 26th.¹ Rowe heard him twice, on August 16th and 24th, and notes the text on both occasions, saying of the first sermon (text Zechariah ix. 12, 1st clause), "I liked his discourse," and of the second (text St. Matthew xxii. 11-13), "This was in my opinion a clever discourse." His entry Sunday, September 30, is, "The Rev^d Mr. Whitfield died suddenly this morning at Newberry, much lamented." His death was at 6 A. M., probably of *angina pectoris*; and a special messenger must have been despatched to carry the intelligence to Boston.²

Among the pageants of the town, funeral ceremonies were the foremost. Those of eminent clergymen and lawyers and of civil or military officers drew a multitude of spectators. Rev. Dr. Mayhew was buried July 11, 1766, — a day when the thermometer stood at 90°. Besides a long procession of men and women on foot, preceding and following the remains, were fifty-seven carriages, of which sixteen were coaches and chariots, — Dr. Chauncy making the prayer and many clergymen attending. Similar rites accompanied, April 17, 1767, "the mournful funeral of Rowe's worthy and much lamented friend," Rev. Mr. Hooper, with "a great concourse and multitude of people attending the solemnity hardly to be conceived, . . . so great at the [Trinity] church that a great many gentlemen and ladies could not get in. . . . Rev^d Mr. Walter preached a very pathetick and moving discourse." "A great concourse of people attended the funeral" of the Rev. Mr. Moorhead, Dec. 6, 1773. The funerals of Captain Hay of the warship "Tamar," March 23, 1773, and particularly of Lieutenant-Governor Andrew Oliver, March 8, 1774, combined civic and military pomp, — coaches, chariots, solemn music, Hancock and his Cadets, the

¹ His biographer, Tyerman (ii. 592), says that he preached at Malden the 19th and at Medford on the 26th. Neither he nor the Boston newspapers take note specially of his preaching on the 25th.

² Some of the clergymen were not well affected towards Whitefield's theology and methods. This was the case with Rev. Nathaniel Robbins of Milton, who refused to admit Whitefield to his church; and the latter preached in the open air on Milton Hill, in front of the house which was the former home of William Foye, provincial treasurer, under an elm which stood till the storm of 1851. Teele's "History of Milton," pp. 116, 117.

firing of minute-guns, and the presence of officials of high rank. Henry Vassall's funeral at Cambridge, March 22, 1769, is described as "a very handsome funeral and a great number of people and carriages." But the most august rites in honor of the dead accompanied, Sept. 12, 1767, the burial of Jeremiah Gridley, the great lawyer of the Province, father of the bar of Boston, master and guide of John Adams in legal studies, Grand Master of the Masons (Rowe being then Deputy Grand Master). Preceding the remains were the officers of his regiment and one hundred and sixty-one Masons in full regalia and bearing the symbols of the order; and following them were the Lieutenant-Governor, the judges and James Otis as bearers, then relatives, lawyers in their robes, gentlemen of the town, a great many coaches, chariots, and chaises, with "such a multitude of spectators as Rowe had never before seen since he had been in New England." After the interment the procession returned in the same order to the Town House, whence the body had been taken at the beginning. Rowe remarks of the display: "I do not much approve of such parade and show; but as it was his and his relations' desire, I could not well avoid giving my consent."

Notwithstanding the Act of 1750 prohibiting "stage plays and other theatrical entertainments," our fathers found ways of amusing themselves with public exhibitions which sometimes came almost if not quite within the statute. There was, Oct. 26, 1764, an afternoon "show at the White Horse which was a very faint representation of the city of Jerusalem; in short tis a great imposition on the publick." March 13, 1765, Rowe "went in the evening over to Gardner's to see the Orphan acted, which was miserably performed, about 210 persons there." Sept. 15, 1767, he "spent the evening at Blodget's in seeing Hinds, the ballance master, perform; he is but a clumsy hand." March 23, 1770, he "went in the evening to the Concert Hall to hear Mr. Joan read the Beggars Opera and sing the songs; he read but indifferently, but sung in taste; there were upwards one hundred people there." The legal restrictions imposed by a Puritan State were suspended during the British occupation. These are some of Rowe's notes: Dec. 29, 1775, "The Busy Body acted tonight"; Jan. 22, 1776, "This evening the tragedy of Tamerlane,

to which was added the Blockade of Boston,¹ was performed at Faneuil Hall"; Feb. 24, 1776, "Last evening the Wonder of Wonders was acted and generally approved off."

The town was not without musical entertainments. Jan. 5, 1768, at Joseph Harrison's in the evening, "Mr. Mills of New Haven entertained us most agreeably on his violin; I think he plays the best of any performer I ever heard." March 16, 1769, "Spent the evening at the Fife Major's concert at Concert Hall; there was a large and genteel company and the best musick I have heard performed there." Jan. 3, 1771, "Spent the evening at Concert Hall, where there was a concert performed by Hartly Morgan and others; after the concert a dance. The Commodore and all the captains of the navy here was there, and Colo. Dalrymple, and fifty or sixty gentlemen and the same number of ladies present." Feb. 8, 1771, "Mr Morgan, the fidler, had a benefit concert tonight." Oct. 15, 1771, "I spent the former part of the evening at the Concert Hall, it being Mr. Propert's concert; a good company, upwards of 200." The same person, who was the organist at Trinity Church, gave three concerts at the Coffee House, March 3, 17, 31, 1773, with "good music" before "a very genteel company." March 15, 1771, Mr. Propert at Rowe's House "diverted us all the evening by playing on Sucky's [Inman's] spinnet and joynd by Mr. J. Lane in singing; Propert is a fine hand." Two other diversions may be noted here. At a tavern, Jan. 22, 1767, "a stranger diverted us much in playing the slight of hand." At Rowe's house, Jan. 29, 1770, "Mr. J. Lane read us the diverting farce, the Mayor of Garratt." It was before the days of Gall and Spurzheim; but, July 31, 1769, "In the evening I went to hear Mr. Douglass lecture on heads; he performed well."

There were feats of horsemanship, precursors of the modern circus. Nov. 1, 1771, "After dinner we went over to Bracket's and see a Yorkshire man stand upon a horse's back and gallop him full speed, afterwards upon two horses, and after that on three; he endeavored to make all them gallop as fast as he could; then he mounted a single horse and run him full speed, and while running he jumped off and on three several times." Sept. 8, Oct. 5, 12, 1773, there were other like performances by Mr.

¹ Washington was travestied in this performance.

Bates, "a smart active and strong man, and doing everything to general acceptance."

Rowe was a leader in all social affairs. Every colonial mansion was open to him. As merchant, Mason, member of clubs, an officer of Trinity Church, a citizen active in public concerns, a leader in public and private festivities, he knew every one in the town who was not altogether obscure. In his *Diary* all the principal personages pass again and again before us, whether official persons or conspicuous citizens, — Bernard, Hutchinson, Otis, Hancock, Bowdoin, Cushing, the Quineys, Adamses, Olivers, Gridleys, Boylstones, Auchmutys, Grays, Vassalls, Pitts, Inches, Phillips, Brimmer, Apthorp, Boutineau, Goldthwait, Swift, Hallowell, Timmins, Amory, all the leading clergymen and physicians, and a hundred more bearing familiar names. When the British evacuated Boston at the end of the siege, many of his best friends and some of his kinsfolk left also; and their names appear in Sabine's "*Loyalists*," and in Hutchinson's and Curwen's journals, and in the records of confiscated estates which we could wish our fathers had not left us as subjects of explanation and apology.

The amount of gayety and feasting in Boston in the period preceding the Revolution appears prominently in Rowe's *Diary*. It is safe to say that nothing like it exists to-day in any American town of less than twenty thousand inhabitants. The hour of dining was in the early afternoon, and that of the supper in the evening. Rowe records a great number of private meals, with names of guests, — friends, relatives, officers of the army and navy, or visitors from other Colonies or from Europe. We get only glimpses of the menu. French novelties had not yet come into vogue; and the dishes were substantial, mostly English. We hear nothing of soups; but turtle (how served it is not stated), venison, and salmon seem to have been the choicest dishes which could be set before guests. Rowe had at home, Oct. 10, 1769, "the finest haunch of venison" he had ever seen, and, March 20, 1765, "a fine lamb for dinner; the whole weighed 28 lbs.; this is the first lamb I have tasted this season." He dined, Dec. 12, 1772, at Hancock's, on "the fattest venison" he had ever seen. Other dishes named are a "pigg which proved tuff" (Sept. 18, 1764; Aug. 4, 1769); "a fine hard quarter of veal" (Feb. 8, 1776); "bufalow stakes which were very tender" (April 9, 1770); par-

tridges, the first of the season (Aug. 30, 1766); fresh cod (March 5, 1765), "turtogue" (Sept. 4, 1767), and fresh-water fish, — trout, pike, and perch, often very large, and caught by Rowe himself. The only vegetable named is green peas, picked from his own garden (June 16, 1767). Of the fruits which now complete a dinner or give relish to a breakfast or tea, nothing is said except that at Inman's one afternoon (July 6, 1768) there was at tea "a fine desert of cherrys and strawberries," the last doubtless growing wild. "A good large plumb cake" accompanied, June 5, 1769, "a fine ball and excellent music in Faneuil Hall."

The Diary suggests the beverages of the time. Then, as in more modern periods, Boston people delighted in Old Madeira. Hutchinson, in his almanac for 1770, notes: "July 19, paid John Rowe for a qr. cask of Port, £8." At a dinner at Rowe's, July 5, 1765, "Christo. Minot was very wroth with Mr. Inman for introducing some sterlg. Madeira on his new coat from one of the Leghorn glasses not well managed." May 1, 1766, "After dinner came Capt. Solo. Davis and Mr. H. Bethune to drink Welch ale." At the dinner on the Queen's birthday at Concert Hall (Jan. 18, 1771) there was "very good dancing and good musick, but very bad wine and punch." At Mrs. Cordis's tavern (March 25, 1767) her patrons "regulated the price of wine and punch with her, twenty shillings a double bowl punch, thirty shillings a bottle Madeira." March 7, 1767, "we went to Capt. Bennets and drank a bottle of Madeira with Lewis Gray and Capt. Doble."

The private dinners at which Rowe was host or guest bring before us the principal citizens of Boston at that time. One misses altogether, in the repeated lists of names, Paul Revere, not then ranking with people of social consideration, and finds only in a very few instances Samuel Adams sharing in the conviviality. The last-named, with Hancock and Cushing, dines with Rowe May 5, 1767, and again Feb. 15, 1774, in company with Colonel James Warren of Plymouth, and other guests, not of Boston, bearing military titles. Rowe meets Adams at a dinner at Henderson Inches's, Jan. 7, 1775, in company with the clergymen Hunt and Bacon, Ezekiel Goldthwait, Cushing, and Arnold Wells. Otherwise Samuel Adams is not traced at dinners and clubs, except at the Fire Club.

Rowe's relations as friend and client with John Adams seem

to have been very cordial, and the latter was as often in Boston life as his residence at Quincy much of the time permitted. Rowe meets "Mr. Adams of Braintree, lawyer," at Bracket's, the tavern, Jan. 28, 1765, in company with gentlemen nearly all bearing military titles. At a missing point in Rowe's Diary, John Adams enters in his, Dec. 20, 1765:¹ "Went to Boston; dined with Mr. Rowe in company with Messrs. Gridley, Otis, Kent, and Dudley." Rowe has at dinner, Sept. 4, 1766, "Mr. Addams of Braintree, lawyer," in company with "Mr. Payne of Taunton," and also has Adams to dine Feb. 24, 1767. He notes, March 6, 1769, a dinner at Major Cunningham's with him, "his two sons, all his officers of his company, the Rev. Dr. Elliot, Mr. Henderson Inches, Mr. John Adams, lawyer," and others. June 16, 1769, Rowe's guests were James Otis, Mrs. Otis, Mr. Walton and Mr. Dennison of New York, Brigadier-General Brattle, John Adams, Mr. Dana the lawyer, Mr. Benjamin Kent the lawyer, Mr. John Timmins, Captain Solomon Davis, Thomas and William Apthorp. Adams records in his own Diary, Feb. 26, 1770, calling at Rowe's house to warm himself, and their going out together to attend a funeral. Adams, as appears by Rowe's Diary Aug. 19, 1766, June 17, Nov. 2, 3, 1772, had law business in Taunton and Ipswich in which Rowe was concerned as client or witness.

Rowe had pleasant relations with James Otis, and they met from time to time in a social and friendly way (July 6, 1768; June 16, 1769). Rowe dined, April 1, 1767, at Otis's, where were Mrs. Otis, Jeremiah Gridley, Mr. Grant of Halifax, Mr. Hughes, Andrew Belcher, Mr. Amiel, and John Dennie. He was also in friendly intercourse with John Hancock.

Some entertainments given by Rowe may be noted: Jan. 9, 1770, "Dined at home with his Honor, the Lieut.-Governr, his brother Foster Hutchinson, Esq., Colo. Dalrymple, Capt. Caldwell, Mr. Nicholas Boylston, Mr. Inman, Mr. John Lane, Mrs. Rowe." Aug. 6, 1770, "I dined at home with Colin Campbell, Esq., and his lady, Colo. Dalrymple and Capt. Mason of the 14th regiment, Capt. Robertson and his son, Capt. Rob^t Linzee,² Capt. Bellew, Capt. Porter, Mr. Inman, Mrs. Rowe, and Sucky." Feb. 23, 1774, the party consisted

¹ Works, ii. 158.

² Afterwards Rear Admiral, brother of Captain John Linzee.

of John Hancock, Joseph Hawley, Robert Treat Paine, John Pickering, Jedediah Preble of Falmouth (Portland), Isaac Lathrop of Plymouth, William Sever of Kingston, Gorham of Charlestown, and the Inmans. Frequently before the war Rowe gave dinners to the British officers, military and naval (Oct. 19, 1770; Feb. 25, Nov. 15, 1774; Feb. 15 and April 13, 1775), and, after the British evacuated, to American officers (Sept. 4, 1776). "A genteel dance" was given for "Sucky" Inman, Feb. 21, 1770, at which military officers were most prominent,—among them Captain Preston, who was shortly to become an historical character.

There were dinners which Rowe attended,—at Governor Bernard's, Nov. 23, 1764, where were Boutineau, Pitts, Erving, Hancock, Samuel Wentworth, and Dr. Chauncy; at the Surveyor-General's (John Temple) Feb. 2, 1767, where were the Secretary (Andrew Oliver), Mrs. Robert Temple, Colonel Gorham, Dr. Bulfinch, Rev. Mr. Walter, Rev. Mr. Troutbeck, and "Miss Alice Whipple, the fair Quaker"; at Governor Hutchinson's, Dec. 30, 1772, where were the families of himself and Lieutenant-Governor Oliver, Dr. Gardner, the clergymen Caner, Byles, Walter, and Troutbeck; at Nicholas Boylston's, whose sumptuous furniture impressed John Adams¹ (Jan. 2, 1768; Jan. 4, Oct. 31, 1769; May 16, 1770), and at whose entertainments the distinguished people of the town were to be found; at Hancock's, Aug. 8, 1766, where were James Pitts, Treasurer Gray, James Otis, Thomas Cushing, and Benjamin Gerrish, and Dec. 12, 1772, where were "Madam Hancock, Solo. Davis, Judge Read, Thos. Brown, Thos. Brattle, Timo. Fitch, Tuthill Hubbard and James Perkins"; and "the fattest venison" which Rowe had ever seen was served.

Rowe recounts the guests at numerous dinners he attended,—as at Ezekiel Goldthwait's in Roxbury, Aug. 23, 1766; Thomas Flucker's, April 16, 1773; Ralph Inman's in Boston, July 13, 1776; Tuthill Hubbard's, Aug. 7, 1776; and Mrs. Coffin's, Nov. 19, 1778.

Rowe kept open house for friends from the country, and he notes their dining with him,—Tristram Dalton of Newberry (July 16, 1765; May 16, 18, 1766; Aug. 19, 1772; March 30, 1774; Oct. 27, Nov. 3, 1776; Feb. 14, 19, 1779); Epps Sergeant of Gloucester (Aug. 17, 1768; March 22, June 17, 1772); Cap-

¹ Works, ii. 179.

tain Thomas Gerry of Marblehead (Sept. 13, 1769), and his son Elbridge, then rising to distinction (May 26, 1767; June 29, 1770); Robert Treat Paine of Taunton (Feb. 8, March 1, 1767); Colonel John Chandler of Worcester and Colonel John Murray of Rutland (March 1, June 8, 10, 1767; Dec. 3, 5, 1769); and General Timothy Ruggles of Hardwick (March 1, 1767). He had (Sunday, Jan. 10, 1768) General Winslow of Marshfield to dine with him; and after church he spent an hour at Mrs. Bracket's, the tavern, with General Winslow, General Ruggles, Colonel Bradford, Mr. Sever of Kingston, and Major Alden.

Occasionally there were guests from other Colonies, — an Izzard, Burrows, and Powell from South Carolina, or a Livingston, King, and Mercer from New York (July 15, Aug. 21, 1767; Aug. 6, 7, 8, Sept. 6, 7, Oct. 15, 19, 21, 23, 1776); visitors or traders from the West Indies (Aug. 27, 1772; Sept. 6, 1776); Mr. Conner of Madeira and Mr. Conner of Teneriffe (Nov. 16, 1772); occasionally Frenchmen and Spaniards (July 16, 1772); and Englishmen who came for trade or curiosity (Oct. 12, Nov. 23, 1772), now and then bearing titles, as for instance Lord and Lady William Campbell (Oct. 25, 30, 1771; July 4, 1772). The English officers, civil and military, were much in social request; and some of them had to seek Rowe's good offices to relieve them from arrest for debt or other difficulties, as in the cases of Sir Thomas Rich of the "Senegal" (Nov. 7, 1771), and Captain John Linzee (Aug. 26, 27, 28, 31, 1772). Rowe often notes the sailing or arrival of passengers, both English and American, to or from England; and there seems to have been more communication between the town and the mother country than between the town and the Colonies lying southward. It is thus easy to understand how Boston at an early day acquired a distinctively English stamp.

A romantic character appears transiently in Rowe's pages, — Lady Frankland (Agnes Surriage), born in 1726, a Marblehead girl, celebrated in Holmes's ballad, who attracted the eye of Sir Charles Henry Frankland, great-grandson of Frances Cromwell, the daughter of the Protector.¹ He had come to Boston

¹ Sir Charles Henry Frankland, by Elias Nason; Foote's Annals of King's Chapel, i. 515-518. Frankland did not come to his title till the death of his uncle in 1747. His memorandum book or journal is preserved in the cabinet of this Society.

as royal collector in 1741. Though closely identified with King's Chapel as vestryman in the years 1743-44 and 1746-54, he was a benefactor of Trinity Church, giving, as appears by its records, a subscription for its first organ which was exceeded only by the amounts contributed by Peter Faneuil and Henry Vassall. Besides his city house next to Hutchinson's,¹ he bought, as is well known, an estate in Hopkinton, now Ashland, where he placed his mistress, whom several years afterwards he married at Lisbon, in gratitude for her having rescued him at the time of the earthquake in 1755. Sir Henry and Lady Frankland were again in Boston in 1756, and they entertained the Rowes and Inmans Jan. 26, 1757. They left the country Feb. 23, 1758.

Once or twice more Frankland came to Boston, and returning to England died near Bath, Jan. 11, 1768. He was accompanied by Henry Cromwell, said to be his natural son, born in February, 1741, before his acquaintance with the Marblehead girl whom he took with him to Boston and Hopkinton. A few months after her husband's death Lady Frankland and Henry Cromwell sailed for Boston. Rowe's entries concerning them are: June 8, 1768. "Capt. Freeman arrived from Bristol, in whom came passengers Lady Frankland and Henry Cromwell." June 9. "Dined at home with Mr. Henry Cromwell, Lady Frankland, Mr. Inman, Capt. Solo. Davis, Mrs. Rowe, and Sucky. After dinner Mr. Harrison and Mrs. Harrison paid us a visit, spent the evening at home with the same company." July 6. "After dinner Mr. James Otis and myself went to Mr. Inman's, where we found Colo. Phipps and wife, Mr. John Apthorp and wife, Capt. Solo. Davis and wife, Mr. Cromwell and Lady Frankland," and others. July 7. "Dined at Colo. David Phipps at Cambridge, with him and wife, Mr. John Apthorp and wife, Mr. William Davis and wife, Mr. Henry Cromwell, Mr. Inman, Lady Frankland," and others. July 9. "Dined at Ten Hills with Mr. Robt. Temple and wife, Mr. Cromwell, Lady Frankland, Mr. Stewart, Mr. Fenton, Mrs. Fenton, Mr. Inman, Mrs. Inman, Mrs. Rowe, Miss Bessy Temple and Mr. Temple's 4 daughters; in the afternoon we were joyned by Mr. John Temple, the surveyor and lady." July

¹ Memorial History of Boston, ii. 525-527, where a picture of the house is given.

26. "Spent the afternoon with Lady Frankland, Mrs. McNeal, Mrs. W^m Gould, Mrs. Rowe, and Sucky." July 28. "Dined at home with Capt. Joseph Williams, Mr. Henry Cromwell, Mr. Tristram Dalton, Mr. Inman, Mrs. Rowe, Sucky, and George Inman." August 24. "Spent the evening at Lady Frankland's with her and her sister, Mr. Cromwell, Madam Apthorp, Dr. Bulfinch, Mrs. Bulfinch, Mr. Inman, Mrs. Rowe, and Sucky." August 30. "Dined at Mr. Lavicount's at Cambridge with him and Mrs. Lavicount, Mr. Cromwell and Lady Frankland," the rest being Sheaffes, Phippses, Apthorps, Greenleafs, Davises, and Inmans. Rowe meets Cromwell September 16 and November 1 in large companies. November 9. "Spent the remainder [of the evening] at home with Mr. Inman, Mr. Cromwell, Lady Frankland, her sister, Mrs. Rowe, and Sucky." December 1. "Spent the evening at Capt. Solomon Davis, with him, Mrs. Davis, . . . Lady Frankland, Mr. Cromwell," and others. March 22, 1769. "Dined at Mr. Inman's at Cambridge with him, Mr. Cromwell, Lady Frankland," and others. Lady Frankland and Cromwell were of a party at Menotomy Pond Aug. 28, 1773; and they disappear at this date from Rowe's Diary. Lady Frankland probably left shortly after for her estate in Hopkinton. She and Cromwell remained there till 1775, when after some obstruction they were allowed by the Provincial Congress to go to Boston, and not long after sailed for England, never to return.¹ The curious history of Agnes Surriage is only pursued thus far in order to illustrate Rowe's Diary. It may be added that she married in 1782 John Drew, a banker of Chichester, and died, April 23, 1783, at the age of fifty-seven. The only glimpses of her sojourn in Boston after her return as a widow are now for the first time obtained from Rowe's Diary.

Henry Cromwell's origin is involved in obscurity. Sir Charles Henry Frankland is usually named as his putative father, but the history which comes nearest the time makes him the natural son of Sir Thomas Frankland, Sir Charles's uncle and immediate predecessor in the title.² No writer makes any suggestion as to his maternity. He entered the English navy, rose to be a captain, and was with Admiral Kempenfelt in an action off the

¹ Memorial History of Boston, iii. 77.

² Noble's Memoirs of the House of Cromwell, ii. 423, 424. Noble makes two mistakes, — giving Agnes's name as "Brown," and giving "Colchester" instead of Chichester as the place where she passed the latter part of her life.

French coast Nov. 14, 1781. He is said to have been living and to have had a family in Chichester in 1796. Nason makes a statement which is not trustworthy, — that, “being unwilling to fight against his native country, he retired from the service previous to the close of the Revolution.” There is no evidence of his American birth, and the dates indicate an English birth. It appears by Steel’s “List of the Royal Navy,” page 20, that his first commission was in 1781, and that, instead of leaving the navy, he was still in it in 1797, with the rank of captain.

Weddings were the occasion of good cheer and gayety. Rowe mentions, Nov. 8, 1764, “Mr. Thos. Amory married Miss Betty Coffin this evening; there was a great company at old Mr. Coffin’s on the occasion, and a great dance.”¹ He records, Jan. 13, 1767, “a wedding frolic” at John Erving, Jr.’s, where he “had the pleasure to dance with the bride.” Feb. 2, 1768. “This morning Miss Polly Hooper was married in Trinity Church to Mr. John Russell Spence by the Rev^d Mr. Walter; a great concourse of people attended on the occasion. Dined at Mrs. Hooper’s with her, the new bridegroom and bride.” A large number of guests were present, — Hallowells, Apthorps, Murrays, Greenleafs, and others, — remaining to tea and joining in the evening in a dance. “We were merry, and spent the whole day very clever and agreeable.”

There were once in two weeks in the winter and spring, beginning with the first of January, dancing-assemblies at Concert Hall. The Governor and military and naval officers quite often attended them, and Rowe describes them many times as “very brilliant.” The number of gentlemen and ladies in attendance was usually rather more than a hundred, and sometimes it rose to two hundred. Feb. 10, 1768. “Spent the evening at the assembly, which was a very brilliant one, the Governour and Lady, all the commissioners, Mr. Harrison, and too many to enumerate.” March 15, 1769. “Spent the evening at the assembly with the Governour, Commodore, General, Colo. Kerr, Colo. Lesly, Major Furlong, Major Fleming, Major Fordyce, a great number of officers of the navy and army and gentlemen and ladies of the town, that is, was a brilliant assembly and very good dancing.” Other assembly

¹ The bride’s portrait belongs to the family of the late William Amory of Boston.

evenings are noted March 1, 29, April 12, 1769; Jan. 4, 18, Feb. 1, March 14, May 3, June 4, 1771; Jan. 2, 30, 1772; Jan. 18, 1773.

There were several political clubs in Boston in Rowe's time, but he belonged to none of them. He was however an habitual visitor at clubs social or commercial, going almost every evening to one or another. More often than any other he sought the "Possee"; but what was its bond of fellowship is not known. It had a limited number of members, as follows: John Avery, John Box, William Coffin, Senior, Samuel Deming, Deacon Thomas Foster, Benjamin Greene, Rufus Greene, William Henshaw, Francis Johnnot, James Richardson, and John Rowe. Samuel Swift, the lawyer, usually met with them, though perhaps rather as a guest than as a member. Occasionally a member introduced a guest who lived in the country.

The Fire Club, meeting at Mrs. Cordis's or at Ingersoll's, was made up of George Bethune, Melatiah Bourne, James Boutineau, Nicholas and Thomas Boylston, John Brown, John Dennie, Solomon Davis, Benjamin Faneuil, Samuel Fitch, Thomas Flucker, Harrison Gray, Capt. Jerry Green, Joseph Green, Dr. William Lloyd, Master John Lovell, William Molineux, and William Sheaffe. Rowe's first meeting with them was Sept. 5, 1768. On the same page where he states this fact he writes, "The word, Ask more," which may have been the password. Joseph Green, who was present Sept. 4, 1769, is mentioned as "the poet."

Rowe attended, Nov. 7, 14, 1764, the Wednesday Night Club, probably having no connection with the Wednesday Evening Club of a later date. He also mentions, July 4, 1767, meeting the "No. 5 Club," made up of prominent citizens whom he names.

The chief rendezvous of the leading citizens was, however, at Mrs. Cordis's,— "the British Coffee House in the front room towards the Long wharf where the Merchants Club has met this twenty years."¹ Lawyers as well as merchants came hither, probably every evening. In 1767 the meetings were at Mrs. Cordis's; but about 1772 they were held at Colonel Joseph Ingersoll's Bunch of Grapes in King Street, and when he left Boston, at Captain Marston's, either in King Street or

¹ John Adams's Diary, Works, ii. 290.

Merchants' Row. The names of persons whom Rowe met at these resorts — some on one evening and some on another, and all of them recurring again and again in his pages — are John Amiel, George Apthorp, Nat. and George Bethune, Joshua Blanchard, Melatiah and William Bourne, James Boutineau, John and Nicholas Boylston, Thomas Brattle, Edward, Solomon, and William Davis, John Dennie, Joseph Dowse, John Erving, Samuel Fitch, Thomas Flucker, Ezekiel Goldthwait, Thomas Gray, Treasurer Harrison Gray, John Hancock, Samuel Hughes, Nat. Hide, Henderson Inches, Joseph Jackson, William Molineux, James Otis, Edward Payne, James Perkins, Dr. William Lee Perkins, Samuel Quincy, Joseph Scott, John Timmins, James Warden, Edward Wendell, and Joshua Winslow, and the lawyers Gridley, Sewall, and Swift.

The habit of frequenting insurance offices for reading newspapers and hearing gossip belongs to a later date; but Rowe records, Aug. 22, 1768: "Spent the evening at the North Insurance office with James Otis, Solo. Davis, John Erving, Thos. Brattle, Capt. Vernon, Nat. Barber, Andrew Clark, and John White."

Club life as well as public festivities were mostly suspended after the battle of Lexington, except on special occasions like the visit of the French fleet.

The usual drives in the country were round Jamaica Pond or in Roxbury and Dorchester, sometimes "over the Neck round the little Square" (July 29, Aug. 10, 1774), and sometimes as far as Milton (April 6, 1769). Rowe often drove to Roxbury to see his old friend and relative Robert Gould, an invalid, till the latter's death early in 1772 (May 5, June 22, 1765). In the summer of 1771 he used to drive to Savin Hill, "a very agreeable rural spot," to a place which his friend Thomas Brattle had hired, where an agreeable company sometimes gathered for afternoon tea (May 16, June 3). The drive we may presume was often in a chaise; but sometimes Mrs. Rowe "took an airing in the chariot" (Sept. 2, 1766). The drives were to the south, as communication with the north was so circuitous. For instance, a party set out, Nov. 10, 1772, in Paddock's coach for Salem (Rowe's chaise accompanying it). "We went all round through Cambridge and dined at Martin's; we got to Salem about four of clock."

The suburbs of Boston were attractive in those as in later days. At Milton lived Thomas Hutchinson, in a house standing till 1872, which looked out on river and ocean in front and the Blue Hills in the rear, — a house then filled with sons and daughters. He loved that home on Unquity Hill, parted from it with deep regret, and sighed in exile to return to it. Rowe drove to Hutchinson's mansion to make calls, and sometimes on official business (June 16, Sept. 11, 1766; July 13, 1773). He had friendly relations with Daniel Vose, the merchant of the place, at whose house "at the Milton Bridge," still standing near the railway station, the Suffolk Resolves were passed; and dined there, May 6, 1769, in company with Dr. Catherwood, Joshua Winslow, Jr., and others. But the house in Milton which he sought the most was that of James Smith on Brush Hill, still standing, and for a long period the home of the late James M. Robbins. Smith, who died in 1769 at the age of eighty, was a wealthy sugar-refiner, and owned an estate of one hundred and seventy-one acres running to the Neponset River.¹ He had also a farm at Watertown, where he gave a distinguished dinner-party July 15, 1767. His second wife, Mrs. Elizabeth Campbell, born Murray, was of a Scotch family; and her maiden name is found in the middle names of her descendants, the late Mr. Robbins, and others who are still living in Milton. She became by a third marriage Rowe's kinswoman.² He records in a quaint way the courtship of herself and his brother-in-law Inman: July 22, 1771. "After dinner [at Rowe's] Mr. Inman introduced his design to Mrs. Smith." August 16. "Afternoon Mr. Inman and Mrs. Rowe paid a visit to Mrs. Smith over to Goldthwait's. Mr. Inman came home well pleased and agreed on his plan of matrimony." Rowe notes the publication of banns at King's Chapel, September 1, and the marriage "at the seat of Mr. Ezekiel Goldthwait," September 26, followed by a dinner at Inman's, where Rowe passed the evening and the night. Rowe was often at this Brush Hill house, once at least taking a sleigh-ride there (Jan. 30, 1765); and once Mrs. Rowe was badly bruised (Aug. 18, 1767) by her carriage being upset as she was driving there. It was Rowe's stopping-

¹ Pictures of the Hutchinson, Vose, and Smith houses are in Teele's "History of Milton."

² She and her second husband, James Smith, are buried at King's Chapel.

place as he was returning from fishing or business excursions (July 20, 1765; July 22, 1766). Under this roof often gathered gay dinner-companies, where were James Murray and wife; his daughters Anna, Betsey, and Dorothy¹ (the last afterwards the wife of Rev. John Forbes); old Madam Belcher, the Governor's widow, and Mrs. Belcher, widow of Andrew Belcher, who was both Madam's daughter and daughter-in-law; the Hoopers, Inmans, Vassalls, Amiels, Auchmutys, Goulds, Temples, Hallowells, Goldthwaits, Miss Blowers, Rev. Edward Winslow; and Milton neighbors, the Pratts and Clarks (March 28, July 19, 20, 1765; July 24, Oct. 23, 1766; Aug. 18, 1767; Feb. 7, 25, 1769). Rowe writes of the dinner, March 16, 1773, "We were very merry." These happy days at Brush Hill were then coming to a close, the greater number of the festive company sharing the fate of Loyalists and exiles. The Murray ladies succeeded in saving the estate itself from confiscation by remaining upon it and keeping very quiet during the war.²

There were then attractive houses at Cambridge. Rowe records festivities at several of them,—at Colonel Thomas Oliver's (Dec. 9, 1766; Feb. 22, 1768; Aug. 17, 1769), where were the Brattles, Temples, Vassalls, Byards, Phippses, Van Hornes, Edward Winslow, and Richard Lechmere; and at John and Henry Vassall's, where were similar companies (Feb. 16, 1765; Dec. 12, 1766; Feb. 17, 1768). His record for Feb. 20, 1768, was of a dinner at Ten Hills (Mr. Robert Temple's), where were "Mrs. Temple, Mrs. Elizth Hubbard, Miss Henrietta Temple and 4 daughters of Mr. Temple's, also Colo. James Otis, his son James Otis, Mr. W^m Bayard, Major Robt. Byard, Mr. Lavicount, Mr. Dewar, Capt. Sheaffe of Charlestown, Colo. Saltonstall of Haverhill." A dinner at Colonel David Phipps's (July 7, 1768) has been noted elsewhere.

In no house in or about Boston were there more lavish entertainments than at Ralph Inman's in Cambridge, a house the site of which is just behind the present City Hall. No buildings then intervening to obstruct the view, it looked out on the Charles River and Boston beyond. Noble trees stood in

¹ She is buried at King's Chapel. Her portrait is in the possession of her grandson, John M. Forbes, of Milton.

² Teele's "History of Milton," pp. 173, 174, 421, 422.

the spacious grounds about it.¹ Rowe as a kinsman was often here for family and friendly gatherings, some of which have been elsewhere noted (Oct. 18, 1764; June 21, Aug. 2, Oct. 23, 1771; Aug. 25, 1773).

The entertainments at Inman's and at College rooms on Commencement Day surpass anything since known in that renowned home of culture and hospitality, except perhaps "the class spreads" given in recent years at the Hemenway Gymnasium and Beck Hall. Rowe makes these records: July 17, 1765. "Commencement Day. Went to Cambridge, Mrs. Rowe, Polly Hooper, and Sucky; dined at Edward Winslow's room, a very large company; went to Mr. Hooper's room, also to Col. Taylor's." Young Winslow was to die an exile in New Brunswick. The next day there was a dinner at Mr. Hooper's (probably Robert Hooper of the Class of 1765), "with a very large company"; and in the evening a dance at the Town House given by young Nathaniel Sparhawk, another of the Class of 1765, at whose request Rowe "officiated as master of the ceremony." Sparhawk and probably Hooper became Loyalists. A similar festivity is recorded July 16, 1766. Again, July 20, 1768: "I went to Cambridge, stopped at Mr. Inman's, dined with a very large company at Jos. Henshaw's, paid a visit to Tutor Hancock's, met the Rev^d Mr. Barnard of Marblehead, afterwards paid a visit to Mrs. Green's, where were a very large company, too many to enumerate." July 21. "A very hot day. I came to town this morning and returned to Cambridge; dined with Mr. David Greene, with a very large company, spent the evening there. We had a dance. I was master of the ceremonies; slept at Mr. Inman's." Greene of the Class of 1768 became a Loyalist. July 17, 1771: "I went to Cambridge and dined with Mr. Inman, Polly Jones, and Sally Inman; after dinner I went to Colo. Murray's room in the New Colledge,² where there was a large company, the Governour, Councill and too many to enumerate. I staid till six." Colonel John Murray and his son Daniel of the graduating class, also his son Samuel of the class of the following year, became Loyalists.

The fullest record of festivities at Cambridge is in July,

¹ Drake's "Historic Fields and Mansions of Middlesex," p. 187, gives a description and picture of the house.

² Hollis Hall.

1772. On the 15th Rowe dined at Samuel Murray's room, where were Colonel Murray the father, Colonel Saltonstall, Judge Sewall, Colonel Oliver, Samuel Quincy, Major Vassall, and many other guests whose names are given. Rowe adds: "After dinner we were visited by the Governour and Council, Admirall Montague and many other gentlemen too many to enumerate. I paid a visit to Mr. Jonathan Williams' son and also Dr. Whitworth's son, both which took their degree." The record of the next day is as follows: "I went early to Mr. Inman's, who made the genteelest entertainment I ever saw on account of his son George taking his degree yesterday. He had three hundred forty-seven gentlemen and ladies dined, two hundred and ten at one table, amongst the company the Governour and family, the Lieut.-Governour and family, the Admirall and family, and all the remainder gentlemen and ladies of character and reputation; the whole was conducted with much ease and pleasure, and all joyned in making each other happy; such an entertainment has not been made in New England before on any occasion." A ball at the Town House in Cambridge followed, where "all were very happy and cheerful," and Rowe slept at Inman's. George Inman, whose college life closed so merrily, left his home three years later to join the British army, and died at Grenada in the West Indies in 1789.

These annual festivities were approaching a suspension; and Rowe records, July 20, 1774, that "the distressed situation of the town and Province prevents Commencement Day being kept publick as usual." Inman's house became General Putnam's headquarters during the siege of Boston,—an event which is commemorated by an inscription on a stone slab placed on its site by the city of Cambridge. The building itself, removed twenty and more years ago, is now a double tenement house, recently bereft of its piazza, numbered 64 and 66 on Brookline Street in that city, and making the southeast corner of Brookline and Auburn streets.

Ralph Inman's estate escaped confiscation, and he returned to live and die upon it, and to bequeath it by a will proved in July, 1788. He has posterity other than the Linzees living in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, descending from the daughters of his son George, who came with their mother from Grenada to Massachusetts soon after their father's death, and

who were liberally provided for in the wills of their grandfather and of Hannah Rowe.

One record of a visit to the College may be given here, June 7, 1769: "I rose very early and went to Cambridge with Colo. Robertson, Dr. Catherwood, Major Goldthwait, Lord George Gordon, Mrs. Rowe and Sucky, and breakfasted at Mr. Inman's. Afterwards I went with the same company to the Colledge with Mr. Winthrop [probably Professor John Winthrop], who was very obliging and shew us the apparatus which is very elegant, also the library; from thence I went and dined at Commodore Loring's with him" and other guests.

Another well-known suburban house was that of Isaac Royall at "Mystick," or Medford. There, May 3, 1766, besides Rowe, were "Miss Polly and Miss Betsy Royal, General Brattle, Treasurer Gray, James Otis, Esq., Thos. Cushion [Cushing], Esq., and Mr. Nathl. Sparhawk." There also, July 22, 1768, were "the Governour and Council, Danforth, Gray, Flucker, Bowdoin, Isaac Royal, Mr. Pepperell." This company was to be scattered a few years later, the host and the larger number of guests becoming Loyalists. Royall is gratefully remembered by jurists for the professorship founded by him at Cambridge.

Rowe attended, Aug. 23, 1773, a large dinner-party at "Mallden" given by Captain Haskins, where were several whose names have already appeared in other connections in these pages.

All the notable houses in the Province were open to Rowe, — those of the Speakmans, his relatives in Marlborough; Colonel John Murray at Rutland (May 21, 23, 1766); General Timothy Ruggles at Hardwick (May 21, 22, 1766); Colonel John Chandler at Worcester (May 12, 1767); Robert Treat Paine and Captain Cobb at Taunton (May 8, July 3, 1766; July 30, 1767); Edward Winslow at Plymouth (May 2, 1765; April 28, 1768; April 27, 1769; April 30, May 21, 1770; April 24, 25, 1771); Nathaniel Ray Thomas (May 1, 1765; April 28, 1769) and General Winslow (April 29, 30, 1767; April 25, 26, 1769; May 1, 2, 1770; April 23, 1771), both at Marshfield; Major Goldthwait's country home at "Westown" (May 13, 1767); those of several friends in Salem, among them Colonel Pickman and Joseph Dowse (Oct. 1, 1767); Captain Thomas Gerry at Marblehead (July 31, 1765; July 28, 1776), where were

his sons Thomas, John, and Elbridge; and of Tristram Dalton at "Newberry Old Town," where Rowe dined, July 26, 1776, when returning from Portsmouth. Of Dalton's place he writes: "This seat of Mr. Dalton's is most delightfully situated, and has the most extensive prospect I ever saw, particularly of the River Merrimack and the sea beyond, Newberry Port and Hampton Beach."

One gets the impression from this Diary that in the days before the Revolution there was a country life in New England in large houses remote from Boston (not summer cottages only) more interesting and having greater social vitality than anything like it in those or similar localities in our time.

The public feasting in Boston at this time was beyond anything now seen in places of the same population. There were merchants' dinners, St. Patrick dinners, charitable society dinners, Masonic dinners, artillery election dinners, dinners on board vessels of war and commerce,¹ dinners at Faneuil Hall to celebrate the close of the school year, with clergymen and official or eminent persons as guests, dinners of the Proprietors of Long Wharf, dinners on Spectacle, Rainsford, and Noddle's islands, and at the Light House. There were dinners, often with dancing, to celebrate the King's accession to the throne, and the King's and Queen's birthdays, and to express the public joy at the repeal of the Stamp Act. Rowe was present at all these, often serving as chairman or toastmaster; and he describes with much zest the entertainments as "genteel." He seemed to enjoy more than any the Masonic dinners which came twice a year, in June and December; and he always gives the names of the brethren present. Dec. 27, 1764, he wrote: "I don't remember St. John, as long as I have belonged to the fraternity, has been celebrated with more decorum and more pleasure." The merchants' dinner at the Coffee House, Dec. 2, 1766, Rowe presiding, to Capt. John Gideon, commander of the warship "Jamaica," just before sailing, was a notable festivity. Here were all the principal merchants and citizens, including Hancock, Otis, Edmund Quincy, Cushing, the Boylstons, Amorys, and Hallowells. Rowe says: "And a very genteel entertainment it was." A committee, of which Rowe was a member, had been appointed the day before by the

¹ April 21, 1774, on board Rowe's own ship, the "Montagu."

town to express its thanks to Captain Gideon for his conduct while stationed at Boston.

Sometimes our ancestors feasted on a roasted ox, or "bar-bikue,"—"the ox being carried through the streets in triumph" the day before,—at the Turk's Head, on the Common, at Faneuil Hall, and Dennis Island (Sept. 28, 1764; Aug. 13, 1765; Aug. 1, 1766; Aug. 16, 1768; May 29, 30, 1770). These were not occasions for the masses only; but the leading people, ladies as well as gentlemen,—Hutchinsons, Olivers, Grays, Belchers, Sheaffes, Auchmutys, Swifts, and Goldthwaits,—took part.

The places for feasting when the company was very large were Faneuil Hall and Concert Hall,—the latter resort situated on the south corner of Court and Hanover streets, and standing till a modern period,¹—but considerable parties were entertained at Mrs. Cordis's Coffee House; Colonel Joseph Ingersoll's Bunch of Grapes in King Street (Captain Marston was his successor there, 1775–1779); Bracket's, Gardner's, and King's Arms on the Neck; the Peacock, Greateon's (the Greyhound), Richards's, and Blany's in Roxbury; Kent's and John Champney's (the Turk's Head) in Dorchester; Coolidge's "at Watertown Bridge"; Weatherby's at Menotomy Pond, and places of refreshment at Fresh Pond and Spot Pond. These festivities included a pleasant suburban drive of ladies and gentlemen round Jamaica Pond (in winter in sleighs), a dinner and tea and a dance in the evening, joined in not by the young only, but also by middle-aged people of foremost rank in the town. Sometimes each paid his own score, but at other times one of the party was host and the rest guests. The French consul was the host at Marston's Feb. 27, 1779; and Colonel Dalrymple, Francis Waldo, and John Lane on other occasions at the Peacock (July 10, Aug. 20, Oct. 30, 1771).

Eighty gentlemen, "a high campaign," went, Aug. 11, 1767, to witness a launch at Weymouth. An excursion to a remoter point may be chronicled in this connection, Aug. 6, 1772: "This morning Mr. Hancock, Dr. Cooper, Mr. Brattle, Mr. Tuthill Hubbard, Mr. Saml. Calef, Mr. Winthrop of Cambridge, Mr. Nicho. Bowes and Capt. Hood went from Boston in the Providence packet to visit the eastern parts of this province and also on a party of pleasure. My servant Henry Smith and

¹ It was finally demolished in 1869.

Davis the barber's man went with them as attendants." The party returned August 22.

There were a succession of enjoyable inns on the highways leading from Boston southward to Plymouth and Taunton, and also to the east and west. Most sought by Rowe was Doty's,¹ in Stoughton, now Canton, just beyond the Blue Hills, standing till it was burned in December, 1888, its site now a race-course. Here met in 1774 the "County Congress," with Warren at the head of the Boston delegation, by which at an adjourned meeting held at the house of Daniel Vose in Milton were passed the famous Suffolk Resolves. Here during the siege lived Ezekiel Price, who drove often to Milton to learn the news and observe from the hill the movements of the British ships in the harbor. Rowe had occasion on fishing-excursions or journeys to Dighton on business (the affairs of Ebenezer Stetson, an insolvent debtor), to stop often at this tavern, and he managed whenever he could to pass the night there. Once when returning from Dighton, May 9, 1766, he wrote: "We supped and slept there, and I set it down as an extraordinary house of entertainment, and very good beds." Other country taverns which he frequented were Brackett's in Braintree, Deacon Cushing's in Hingham, Elisha Ford's in Marshfield, Spears's and Hall's in Pembroke, Howland's in Plymouth, Newcomb's in Sandwich, Stone's in Stoughton, Widow Noyes's in Sharon (then Stoughtonham, where one of the Edmund Quineys seemed to be an *habitué*), Howard's and Kingman's in Easton, McWhorter's in Taunton, Tapley's, Johnson's, and Norwood's in Lynn, Goodhue's in Salem, "a good tavern and good lodging" (Oct. 1, 1767), Treadwell's in Ipswich, Widow Ames's and Woodward's (both being the same)² and Gay's in Dedham, Mackintosh's in Needham, Pratt's at Needham Bridge, and Fisher's on Charles River in the upper part of that town, Bullard's in Natick (where Rowe dined July 3, 1765, "on fish which Mrs. Bullard dressed very well"), Mann's in Wrentham, and Bryant's in Sudbury. These

¹ An account of this tavern, with a picture, is given in Huntoon's "History of Canton," pp. 335-341.

² These taverns were in Dedham village. Mrs. Ames was the mother of Fisher Ames, and married Woodward for her second husband. At Woodward's, the "County Congress," which afterwards passed the Suffolk Resolves at Milton, met.

wayside inns, sometimes the resort of parties of gentlemen and ladies driving from Boston, appear attractive in Rowe's pages; but John Adams does not give so favorable an account of them.¹

Fresh-water fishing was a great sport in those days, and Rowe was one of the jolliest and most expert fishermen. We read in John Adams's Diary (II. 238) a note, June 2, 1770, from Goldthwait to Adams, who was to start the next day for Portsmouth on a professional errand: "Do you call tomorrow and dine with us at Flax Pond near Salem. Rowe, Davis, Brattle, and half a dozen as clever fellows as ever were born, are to dine there under the shady trees by the pond upon fish and bacon and pease, &c.; and as to Madeira, nothing can come up to it. Do you call. We'll give you a genteel dinner and fix you off on your journey." Rowe took care to provide himself with all a fisherman's needs, as imported rods (June 11, 1765); sometimes "lost several fine hooks and snoods" (Sept. 10, 1768), once lost "the top of his rod line and hooks by a very large pickerell" (Sept. 17, 1764), and once left behind his "fishing rod and leather dram bottle" (Oct. 2, 1767). His companions on these excursions were often Samuel Calef or Henry Ayres, and sometimes his clerical friends. In the early part of the Diary he was fishing mostly in Flax Pond in Lynn, and in the latter part mostly in Charles River at Dedham and Needham, keeping a boat at Dedham, which he sent up the river, June 12, 1776, and stopping sometimes at Kendrick's or other taverns in the town or vicinity, but oftener at Richards's (probably Timothy Richards), who, though not a tavern-keeper, received him in a friendly way. Other fishing-resorts frequented by him were Menotomy Pond, with Wyndship's tavern near by; Fresh Pond; Spot Pond; Jamaica Pond; Ponkapoag Pond (Doty's tavern near by), and perhaps Houghton's in the vicinity (Aug. 2, 1766); Mossepong (or Massapoag) Pond (July 30, 1767) in Sharon; ponds or streams in Natick and Wrentham; "the Great Worster Pond"² in Shrewsbury, where he was entertained at "Mr Furnaces" and fished at "Worster Bridge" (May 12, 13, July 6, 1767); and a pond "at the upper end of Mallden" (July 2, 1767). To the south were sheets of water inviting

¹ Works, ii. 123, and elsewhere.

² Long Pond, or Lake Quinsigamond.

the fisherman,—in Hingham, Taunton, Duxbury, Pembroke, and Plymouth; and with all these Rowe was familiar.

Sometimes the luck was poor, but generally it was very good. Four or five dozen was an ordinary catch; but often the fishing-party brought back ten or even twenty dozen,—sometimes pickerel two feet long and weighing nearly four pounds (one caught June 29, 1770, weighing four and a quarter pounds); perch fifteen, sixteen, and eighteen inches long, and weighing three and a half pounds; and trout eighteen inches long. Sept. 22, 1764. "Went to Flax Pond, fished with Mr. Saml. Calef, had great sport; caught two pickerell, one was two foot long and weighed three pounds and three quarters, and about four dozen of large pond perch, one measured fourteen inches." At the same pond, July 29, 1766, twelve dozen perch were caught in two hours; and, June 19, 1772, very near one hundred weight were caught. July 13, 1765. "Early this morning went to Monotomy Pond with the Rev^d Mr. Auchmooty and Mr. Saml. Calef, had great sport; we caught above sixteen dozen of pond and sea perch, made a rough day of it, and came home in the evening." June 21, 1766, seven dozen perch were caught in the same pond. June 2, 1767. After a night at Mackintosh's tavern in Needham with Amiel, Calef, Jacobson, and Apthorp, Rowe makes the entry: "I rose very early this morning, routed up my companions, and set out for Bullard's Pond at Natick, where went a fishing; had extraordinary sport. We did not weigh the fish; I guess we caught about eighty weight. I caught about 25 $\frac{3}{4}$ lbs. weighed at Kendrick's. We came back and dined at Kendrick's, with old Madam Apthorp, Major Byard and lady, Mr. Amiel and wife, Mr. Inman and Mrs. Rowe, Mr. Spence and Miss Sally Sheaff, Capt. Jacobson, Mr. Saml. Calef, Mr. Thos. Apthorp, Mr. Robt. Apthorp, George Inman, and Jack Wheelwright. We were very merry." Returning from Taunton, where they had fished in Winnecunnet Pond, John Boylston and Rowe passed the night of July 31, 1767, at the Widow Noyes's in Sharon, after fishing in "Mossepong Pond." The entry of the next day is: "We went to Punkapong Pond and fished there; we caught 26 dozen of pond perch before ten of clock, which I told. We dined there; after dinner set out for Boston, and got in before dark." August 2. "John Boylston is a good companion,

but very fretfull and uneasy in his make. I should be very glad to accompany him at any time on a party of fishing, especially when the fish bites fast." After a night at Doty's, Rowe, Jacobson, and Calef fished, Aug. 18, 1768, in the same pond; and the entry is: "Had great sport, caught upwards of twenty-seven dozen, and some large fish; dined at Doty's; after dinner set out for home, was caught in the rain, stopped at Mr. Clark's at Milton, drank tea there." Rowe and Admiral Montagu went a-fishing, June 9, 1773, in Wrentham Pond. Rowe "was a little unwell, and did not tarry; the admirall caught 173 perch." Rowe fished occasionally at "the Dedham causeway, beyond Dedham Island" (Sept. 30, 1766; June 13, 20, 1767; May 14, 1768). He records, June 7, 1766: "There's a trout brook empties itself into Charles River about a mile and half beyond Dedham Island causeway; dined under a large apple tree, and fished again."

Ladies were sometimes of the party, and passed the night at the tavern near by; but they do not appear to have joined in the sport. At Kendrick's on Charles River, July 27, 1765, Pitts, Bowdoin, Boutineau, Bourne, and Flucker were accompanied by their wives for the day, and Nicholas Boylston was of the party. At Doty's tavern in Stoughton the fishing-party was joined, Aug. 21, 1776, by "the two Mrs. Belchers, Miss Clark, Miss Dolly Murray, Mrs. Jones, Miss Blowers, Miss Amiel, Mr. Hutchinson, and Mr. Waller." At Flax Pond, June 29, 1770, the ladies of the Wendell, Goldthwait, Wells, Gerry, and Winslow families joined the party. June 8, 1773. Admiral Montagu's wife and other ladies were at Mann's tavern in Wrentham for the night, when Rowe and the Admiral were fishing there. Aug. 28, 1773. At Menotomy Pond were Montagu and his wife and daughter, Lady Frankland and Henry Cromwell, the ladies Lechmere, Simpson, Inman, Flucker, several military and naval officers, Commissioner Hulton, and Collector Harrison. "We were very jolly. The Admirall, Capt. Williams, and I had very poor luck, the fish very small."

Rowe, when visiting Plymouth for business or pleasure, did not fail to take advantage of ponds and brooks in that town and vicinity,—at Duxbury Mills, April 28, 1767, where five dozen trout were caught; at Pembroke, May 20, 1769, April 30, 1770, and May 5, 1773, each time catching fifty, fifty-eight,

and sixty trout; at South Pond, Plymouth, Aug. 12, 1766, where he "caught a very large perch, measured 18 inches and weighed three pounds and half"; and May 31, 1771, when he had very good sport, afterwards dining at Mr. Richman's. "We were very merry; some young ladies came there a fishing and to pay a visit, particularly Miss Polly Brimhall of Plymouth and two daughters of Mr. Richman."

Fishing in this neighborhood gave Rowe a glimpse of Indian life, May 23, 1770: "We rose early [in Sandwich] and set out for Mashby, an Indian town. We took a guide, one Mr. Fowler. We reached Jos. Asher's, a native; we fished there, found it a wild place; we had good sport; from thence we went to Mr. Crocker's, the tavern; we dined there, and we were joynd by Capt. Solo. Davis, Mr. Calef, Mr. Brattle, and the Rev^d Mr. Hawly, the Indian minister, who I take to be a clever man; there were two young ladies, daughters of Mr. Crocker, Miss Bettsy and Miss Sally, very clever and genteel: from this we returned to Sandwich; we spent the evening and supped at Mr. Fessenden's, and were joynd by Melatiah Bourn and Doctor Smith of this place. We slept at Mr. Newcomb's; very good beds. We passed by the most beautiful pond, named Wakely. May 24. We rose early and set out for Plymouth; we slept at Ellis, and from thence got to the Monument, where we slept at Isaac Jeffery's, an Indian and a preacher to the Indians; his squaw had a neat wigwam. I slept an hour there. We dined there and were joynd by Silv^r Barthlet. After dinner I went down to the river and caught ten trout, the largest I ever saw, severall of them eighteen inches in length; from thence we returned to Plymouth and spent the evening at Edw. Winslow's and all his family. I went to bed early and slept there." Another visit was made, May 6, 1772, to "the Indian wigwam of old Isaac at the Monument ponds," with a dozen very large trout as the result.

The hooking of turtles is sometimes recorded, — one at Fresh Pond, June 25, 1765, weighing thirty pounds. Except "trying for some smelts" once or twice (Oct. 5, 18, 1764), Rowe says nothing of salt-water fishing, although the harbor of Boston within the memory of living people has been good fishing-ground. He records, June 19, 1765, a strange apparition in our waters: "This morning our fishermen caught a large fish in the shape of a shark twenty foot long; his teeth were different from

a shark's teeth." The next day's record is: "They cut up the fish, and filled two large hogsheads with his liver."

We have sports which were unknown to our fathers; but they had fine fishing-resorts within one or two hours' drive from Boston which we can only have by long journeys to the Rangeley Lakes and the Adirondacks.

In the period immediately preceding the Revolution, the port of Boston was a lively scene. War-vessels were leaving for or coming in from Halifax or the South or England, or going out on short cruises. The sailing and arrival of merchant vessels, several in a day, were town topics of keen interest. April 19, 1765. "Above thirty sail of vessells arrived from the Vineyard this afternoon." Rowe mentions the clearing of ships for Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, the West Indies, Lisbon, Oporto, Cadiz, Gibraltar, Alicante, Madeira, Surinam, Glasgow, Newcastle, Bristol, Plymouth, Whitby, London, or their arrival from those ports. Liverpool is mentioned once only in such a connection (May 24, 1768), that port not having then attained the prominence it has since held. Passages between English ports and Boston ranged from five to eight weeks; but Captain Bruce made the run from London (arriving Oct. 20, 1764) to Boston in twenty-six days, which Rowe mentions as "the shortest passage ever known."¹ Later he records a still shorter passage, April 20, 1769: "This afternoon Capt. Post arrived from Glasgow in a short passage of twenty-two days." Another short passage is noted May 8, 1767: "This day arrived Capt. Delano from London in 27 days passage."

Rowe notes the arrival, May 11, 1774, of a vessel from Scotland, with upwards of a hundred passengers, — the only instance of a body of immigrants mentioned in the Diary.

The town was not without commercial panics; and a serious one occurred in January, 1765. On the 16th Nathaniel Wheelwright "stopt payment and kept in his room. A great number of people will suffer by him. . . . The trade has been much alarmed." That evening at Mrs. Cordis's the conversation was on his affairs; and Mr. Inman went to the Assembly,

¹ There were shorter passages going eastward: Richard Clarke made one in twenty-one days (S. Curwen's *Journal and Letters*, p. 43); General Burgoyne made one "in less than twenty-four days" (Hutchinson's *Diary and Letters*, i. 587).

probably to start legislative action. On the 19th Rowe writes: "Very bad accounts. Mr. John Scollay shut up; Mr. John Dennie shut up, and Peter Bourne at the North End; am like to be a large sufferer by Scollay." January 20. "Was much out of order today, occasioned by the distress the town is in, occasioned principally by the failure of Mr. Wheelwright; was sent for this forenoon on my friend Jos. Scot's affairs, he seems greatly distressed. . . . Was sent for by Sheriff Greenleaf on John Scollay's affairs. Did not go to church, my mind too much disturbed." January 21. "Mr. Cudworth the sheriff came here on business, and Mr. Cary on affairs of Wm. Hoskings & Co., who shut up this morning, as did my friend Joseph Scot. A general consternation in town occasioned by these repeated bankruptcies. That the General Court which are now sitting determine to make an act for the relief of insolvent debtors, — which will be very seasonable." The General Court, in consequence of the application, passed the Act of March 9, 1765, which was approved by the Privy Council, though such an act had been disallowed eight years before. Scollay's and Wheelwright's estates were distributed under the new Act.¹

Arbitration was usually resorted to by merchants for adjusting disputes which arose in the way of trade. Rowe and merchants of his standing often sat on such boards, which met usually at the Coffee House or Colonel Ingersoll's tavern. His records of such sessions are so frequent that it is not worth while to give the dates.

A minute of one lawsuit, March 19, 1765, may be given here: "Went to the Superiour Court in the forenoon and heard the learned debate before the judges in the case of John Banister and others. . . . Went in the evening and heard more argument in the case of John Banister and others; both Mr. Auchmooty and Mr. Otis behaved very well, and I was pleased with Mr. Dana in this argument."

Rowe's Diary discloses a great number of fires in Boston at this period. They started in many instances from foul chimneys and bakehouses. "'T was a terrible foul chimney," is a record he sometimes makes (Feb. 2, 1765). The citizens, it must be said to their credit, worked with energy and organization, and generally got the better of the fire before it spread

¹ Province Acts and Resolves, iv. 777-781, 793-795.

beyond the building where it started (Oct. 12, 1767). There were as early as 1768 as many as six fire-engines, and John Hancock gave another in 1772.¹ Rowe commends "the dexterity and clever behaviour of the South End Engine men" (Jan. 24, 1765). On April 2, 1768, when there were several alarms, "one poor man lost his life by falling off a ladder." The fire-wards were substantial citizens like Samuel Adams, Hancock, Captain Adino Paddock, Captain Thomas Dawes, John Scollay, and Rowe, who got excused from further service March 9, 1772. There was a Fire Club, already mentioned, which was composed of the most substantial citizens. Rowe went to the fires and fought them vigorously, coming home afterwards "much wet and tired," and going to bed (Jan. 18, 1765; June 15, 1766). His leathern bucket, marked, in large letters, "John Rowe, 1760," is still in the possession of his grand-niece, Mrs. Payson. On June 15, 1766, "after six a fire broke out at the North End, and consumed Dr. Clark's barn, and severall other houses took fire, but by the dexterity of the people we soon extinguished it." The jail was set on fire by two prisoners Jan. 29, 1767, but little damage was then done. Two years later it was burned down, putting the neighborhood in danger. Rowe wrote, Jan. 31, 1769: "The officers and army behaved extremely clever on this occasion, and ought to have the publick thanks of this town. I can truly say they were the means of saving it. I waited on Brigadier Pomroy and Colo. Kerr and thanked them for their behaviour." A fire (July 10, 1772) on the turf of the Common behind the powder-house alarmed the inhabitants. In the evening of May 17, 1775, "about eight of clock a terrible fire broke out in the barracks on Treat's Wharf occupied by the 65th regiment; it was occasioned by accident or rather from great carelessness; it destroyed 33 stores on Dock Square, mine was in great danger. I thought it so, and therefore removed great part of my effects from them; it continued till half past one with progress; the officers behaved very well; the cloathing of 4 companies belonging to the 47th regiment was burnt and some fire arms lost."

The most disastrous fire of the period was on Feb. 4, 1767, breaking out in "a baker's warehouse and spreading round

¹ Memorial History of Boston, iii. 151.

about the neighborhood, that it consumed more than twenty houses, among which were Mr. Jonathan Williams's dwelling-house, several houses of Mr. John Hancock, several belonging to Capt. Ball; it began at ten of clock and continued until three in the morning." Public and private charity was invoked in behalf of the sufferers, forty of whom were reduced to extreme poverty. The selectmen promptly sent a petition to the General Court asking for a grant of relief for the sufferers, and that body voted £400 to be paid to the selectmen for the purpose. The selectmen (Rowe being one) received a statement of losses, and distributed the fund March 6, 10, 12, 27. They addressed a letter to the churches, asking for contributions April 5. In Trinity Church, May 17, there was a collection for the sufferers by the late fire. "Mr. Walter behaved extremely clever on this occasion, and urged his congregation to their usual benevolence." The selectmen also distributed the fund which came from the churches (June 5, 12). A collection was taken, Aug. 7, 1768, in Trinity Church for sufferers by fire at Montreal. It is pleasant to note how the well-to-do people of Boston at that day were sympathetic, as they have been ever since, with others, near or remote, who were afflicted with misfortune.

Curiously enough, Rowe, who was keen in noting fires, makes no reference to that in Fish Street, Aug. 10, 1774, attended with loss of life, which is mentioned in Thomas Newell's Diary; but he notes, October 6 of the same year: "A large fire happened at Salem last night; Dr. Witaker's meeting house and eighteen houses were destroyed."

The lighting of the streets of London, the significance of which inspired a well-known passage of the third chapter of Macaulay's History, took place in the last year of Charles the Second's reign. Somewhat less than a century later this reform was introduced into Boston; and Rowe was one of its leaders, quite likely its originator. Thomas Newell's Diary mentions only the first lighting, and also his beginning (Jan. 8, 1774) to make the tops of the glass lamps; but Rowe gives in detail the progress of the enterprise, which occupied his attention for a year.¹ His first entry concerning it was, March 1,

¹ Rowe does not mention the loss of the first lamps sent from England by the wreck of a tea-ship off Cape Cod in December, 1773, — a fact stated in John Andrews's letters.

1773: "Afternoon I spent at Faneuil Hall with the committee about lighting the lamps; present myself, Henderson Inches, Wm. Phillips, Benj. Austin, and Mr. Appleton." Another meeting, May 18: "Attended the committee about fixing the lamps. We finished the north part of the town, No. 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 divisions; present myself, Deacon Phillips, Deacon Storer, Thomas Gray, Mr. Appleton, Major Daws, to which were the gentlemen of the severall wards, Mr. Jonathan Brown, Mr. John Leach, Mr. Paul Revere, Mr. Edward Procter, Mr. Thos. Hitchman." May 24. "This day I went with the committee about the lamps to view the wards No. 6, 7, and 8, which we finished." The same names of persons present recur, with the addition of John and Thomas Amory, Deacon Church and Major Paddock, and others. Records of various meetings are given, namely: May 4, 10, 13, Sept. 7, 24, 27, 1773, and Jan. 8, Feb. 1, 3, March 21, 22, 24, 1774. Rowe "attended [Jan. 19, 1774] the carpenter and blacksmith in marking out the places the lamps are to be fixt." The next day, he and others — the selectmen and the committee — "consulted on the method of lighting them, and had a long conference with Mr. Smith for that purpose." The end was reached March 2; and Rowe's entry the next day is, "Last evening the lamps were lighted for the first time; they burnt tolerably well." The final report of the committee was accepted in town-meeting March 30.

Pope's Day, November 5, with its rival North End and South End processions, and their contest or "battle," sometimes at Mill Bridge on Hanover Street, is described by Rowe. In 1764 the sheriff, justices, and militia undertook to destroy the figures, but the populace was too much for them. Several thousand people were in attendance, and there was a fatal injury. This "foolish custom," as Rowe calls it, became in later years, as in 1769, 1773, and 1774, less of an affair, and then died out altogether.

The lottery still existed in this Puritan community, legalized for public objects. Rowe bought, March 19, 1767, seven tickets of John Ruddock, and sold one, kept two for himself, and gave the rest to Mrs. Rowe and the Inmans.

The fashion of duelling still lingered, Feb. 23, 1765: "Colo. Bourn of M'head and Jerahmiel Bowers challenged each other with sword and pistoll yesterday about the excise." Oct. 10,

1773. "There was a duel fought between Capt. Maltby of the Glasgow man of war and Lieut. Finney of the Marines on Noddle's Island yesterday. Lieut. Finney was wounded in the breast, and its thought mortally."

Rowe gives incidents of crimes and punishments, Sept. 11, 1764: "The regiment appeared in the Common this afternoon. One of the soldiers behaved saucily to his captain, upon which they called a court martial and ordered him to ride the wooden horse; but the mob got foul of the wooden horse and broke it, so that the fellow escaped." Oct. 4, 1764. "Went after dinner upon Boston Neck and saw John and Ann Richardson set on the gallows for cruelty and wilfully endeavoring to starve their child [or children]; the man behaved in the most audacious manner, so that the mob pelted him, which was what he deserved." March 21, 1765. "This day a woman was tryed for murther of her bastard child, and it appearing to the court she was married, she was acquitted." Jan. 11, 1770. "This day a villain was pilloried for forcing a girl of ten years age. The populace pelted him severely, but not so much as his crime deserved." March 28, 1771. "This day the French boy and a charcoal fellow stood in the pillory. The French boy was to have been whipt, but the populace hindred the sheriff doing his duty." Oct. 21, 1773. "Levi Ames was hanged this afternoon, many thousand spectators attended the execution."¹ Ames's offence was burglary; and other burglaries where Rowe himself was the victim are noted in the Diary (July 3, 1767; April 5, 1773; March 7, 1779).

Boston does not seem to have been the orderly and well-governed town which our fathers sometimes proclaimed it to be. There was no constabulary force which amounted to anything when such a force was required. The mobs of Pope's Day, as already seen, had their own way, defying even the militia. The populace arrested at pleasure the infliction of public punishments judicially ordered, and sometimes superadded discretionary pelting of their own (Sept. 11, Oct. 4, 1764; Jan. 11, 1770; March 28, 1771). When the political troubles came, they sacked and destroyed the houses of unpopular citizens and magistrates. They stripped the offender naked, covered him with tar, decked him with feathers, and transported him in this plight, without hindrance, through the main thoroughfares

¹ Memorial History of Boston, ii. 486.

as a spectacle for a jeering multitude (Oct. 28, 1769; May 18, 1770; March 9, 1775). One cannot help asking where at such times were the selectmen, the twelve constables, the militia, Hancock and his Cadets, and the principal citizens who were so effective when fires were to be extinguished or patriotic enterprises to be executed. On the whole, Boston is now a safer place to live in for one who asserts the right to differ with his neighbors than it was in those good old days.

There were at this time in Boston nearly one thousand negro slaves,¹ of whom Rowe owned two or three. He mentions, Nov. 22, 1766: "Last night I sent my negro Cato to Bridewell for a very bad fault," which is not described; and Jan. 20, 1768, he disposes of Cato by sending him to Jamaica. Another or the same Cato appears on the scene Jan. 4, 1769: "When I came home I found Cato has got a soldier's sword which belonged to Capt. Fordyce's company of the 14th Grenadiers, his name James Fairchild." Nov. 25, 1769. "I sent Cato on board the *Rose* man of war this morning." Sept. 23, 25, 1772. "My negro Marcellus was brought home last evening much hurt." "I got all the fellows taken up that abused Marcellus and tried them before Justice Quincy; the Justice ordered them to goal." Boston people, as appears by an entry Feb. 28, 1765, had interests in West India plantations: "This afternoon Mr. Henry Vassall and wife executed the deeds for the farm of negroes at Antigua."

The mere mention of some casualties or personal incidents may be of interest. March 24, 1765, there was the highest tide Rowe "had known since he had been in New England, accompanied with the greatest storm, and almost incredible damage," driving vessels from their anchors and dismasting and sinking them, with great injury to wharves, — to Rowe's in particular of two thousand pounds; but he adds, with resignation, "As it's the Providence of God, I am content about it." High tides, with more or less injury, occurred Dec. 26, 1764, and Oct. 20, 1770. Rowe records a providential escape Sept. 24, 1767: "The sun past the equinox about 12 of clock last night. We had a very severe storm; it blew as hard as I ever heard it, accompanied with thunder, lightning, and very heavy rain.

¹ Memorial History of Boston, ii. 439, 485.

Mr. Walter and wife had liked to have been drowned at Peck's wharf." The next Sunday Mr. Walter preached "a very pathetick and good discourse, and very applicable to his late misfortune, in which we all rejoyce for God's remarkable deliverance of him and wife."

On May 16, 1776, "a poor woman was found drowned at the foot of the Common, a melancholy spectacle, a daughter of Mr. Grant's."

The Diary records, July 21, 1767, after a drought: "A most delightful rainy morning. God is very gracious to his people in this dry time, and all the people ought to praise his holy name."

The Neck was sometimes blocked with snow so that the town was isolated (Dec. 20, 1766), men and beasts were frozen to death there (Dec. 29, 1778), and the harbor was often frozen as far as the Castle (Jan. 1, 1765; Dec 21, 1767; Feb. 9, 1769; Jan. 23, 1774). The bad travelling suspended communication with New York (Feb. 9, 1765). Rowe sometimes rode upon the "new colt" or the "old mare," but generally went by chaise, with now and then an upset on the way (June 13, 1767), which drew from him the grateful expression, "Thank God I got no harm, only broke my fishing cane." But Mrs. Rowe, once driving in a carriage with horses, did not get off so easily (July 15, 1774).

One Sunday "twas so very cold that Mr. Walter did not preach in the forenoon" (Jan. 27, 1765). Houses and counting-rooms were not kept as comfortable as now, and Rowe at times observes that the ink is freezing while he writes (Dec. 31, 1766; Jan. 10, 23, 1774).

It may be well merely to note some miscellaneous matters referred to in the Diary, namely: invasions of the small-pox, accompanied with a general inoculation (July 6, 1769; May 7, 1771; April 15, 1774; Jan. 26, 1775; July 13, 22, 1776); the black caterpillar's ravages, moving from northeast to southwest, and devouring everything in its way (July 9, 1770); a wonderful cure for a rattlesnake's bite, discovered by Abel Puffer (May 10, 1766: see Huntoon's History of Canton, 255); an eclipse of the sun (Aug. 5, 1766); the appearance of a comet from 12 to 3 A. M., with a very long tail, for five nights (Sept. 5, 1769); the arrest, trial, and acquittal of a suspected pirate (Nov. 17,

21, 22, 28; Dec. 16, 1772; July 29, Aug. 6, 1773); the letting of Deer Island and Boston Neck by the town (April 15, 1766); the proposed sale of the town house (Feb. 6, 9, 1767); forty-eight applications for license to sell liquors (Aug. 6, 1766), and Rowe's sale of his still-house (May 8, 1769); women of a nameless class routed by a mob at Oliver's dock (July 24, 1771); a new pier head for Long Wharf (April 7, 1768); the paving of the road by the fortifications (May 25, 26, 1767); the laying out of a new street in Paddy's Alley (April 8, 13, 16, 1767); Thomas Hancock's gift for a lunatic asylum, and the assignment of a site for it on the Common (Sept. 19, 1764; March 23, 25, 1765); Dr. Cooper's election as President of Harvard College (Feb. 7, 1774), and his refusal three days later to accept the choice, "to the great joy and satisfaction of his parishioners"; a visit of the selectmen (March 10, 1768) to "Mary Phillips, who was born deaf and dumb and has remained so ever since, and is now upwards of eighty years of age"; the Superior Court "making a splendid appearance" in the new Court House (March 14, 1769); the payment of fees to lawyers, a guinea each to John Adams at Taunton (Aug. 19, 1766) and to James Otis in Boston (Nov. 20, 1766).

Extracts from John Rowe's Diary,

1764-1779.

1764. *Sept.* 29. — The Black Act takes place this day. Mr. Cockle [James Cockle, the Collector] suspended from his office yesterday at Salem, which the people at that place rejoiced at by firing guns, making bonfires, entertainments, &c.; and the Surveyor-General much applauded by the merchants in the town of Boston for his good and spirited behaviour.

October 2. — Went to the Collector's and Surveyor-Generall's about the Molasses Act, who agreed the Advocate-General should determine the method of gauging molasses, whether should be Winchester measure or wine measure.

Dec. 3. — Spent the evening with the committee of merchants and others about the loaf sugar; present Jos. Winslow, Esq., Mr. Thos. Gray, Mr. Edw^d Paine, Mr. Richard Clark, Ezekiel Goldthwait, Mr. James Warden, Mr. Thos. Ivers, Capt. Solomon Davis, Mr. John Den-
nie, Mr. Melatiah Bourne; voted that Mr. Ivers bring an action at this Court against Mr. Collector for taking the duty of five shilling ster^s per hundred on loaf sugar cleared out at his office.

1765. *Jan. 11.* — Went after dinner to the Court and heard the tryal between Mr. Ivers and Mr. Hale [Roger Hale, the Collector] relative to the duties on loaf sugar; very warm debates on both sides, but the jury found for the plaintiff Mr. Ivers, which was generally thought a good verdict.

Feb. 12. — [Meeting of merchants with a committee of the General Court (names being given) on the Excise Act, with choice of Samuel Wells, Robert Hooper, and Justice Story as managers.]

Feb. 13. — [Petitioners on account of the Excise heard on the floor of the House.]

May 30. — Went in the evening at Blodget's with a number of the General Court, where they were shoeing colts, — that is, the new members that are chosen treat the Council and House of Representatives.

July 24. — Mr. Gerry came to town and brought an account of the Niger man of war taking three schooners out of the harbor of St. Johns, one belonging to his father and two to Epps Sergeant.

Aug. 11. — Capt. Harlow arrived from Bristol and brought the good news that Mr. Pitt was again in the ministry. [Pitt, though consulted, did not then enter the ministry.]

Aug. 14. — A great number of people assembled at Deacon Elliot's Corner to see the Stamp officer hung in effigy, with a libel on his breast, on Deacon Elliot's tree, and along side him a boot stuffed with representation which represented the Devill coming out of Bute; this stamp officer hung up all day; at night they cut him down, layd him out and carried in triumph amidst the acclamations of many thousands who were gathered together on that occasion. They proceeded from the So. End down the main street through the Town House and round by Oliver's dock, they pull'd down a new building which some people thought was building for a Stamp Office and did some mischief to Mr. Andrew Oliver's house (which I think they were much to blame).

Aug. 16. — Heard that Mr. Andrew Oliver had resigned his commission in form, on which there was great rejoicing the last evening in Boston.

[Vol. II. of the Diary, pp. 185–322, from Aug. 17, 1765, to April 10, 1766, is missing.]

1766. *April 13.* — Sunday. When I came home [from church] I heard of an Express being brought to town giving an account of the repeal of the Stamp Act, which I examined into and found the greatest probability of its being true, and pass'd by the House of Commons on Feby the 8th last by a great majority, which appeared by a letter of that date from Messrs. Day and Son to Mr. Maxwell, their correspondent in Petaxion [Patapsco or Patuxent] River, Maryland.

April 14. — The Selectmen met this forenoon to consider and fix on a day for rejoicing.

April 15. — Capt. Calef arrived from London this afternoon ; he left the Downs the 20th Feby. He brought good news about our American affairs, but no certainty of the repeal of the Stamp Act.

April 18. — Capt. McClean arrived from Ireland, and confirms the account of the Stamp Act being repealed.

April 21. — A town meeting this forenoon to agree on a method of rejoicing and illuminations.

May 16. — Capt. Shuball Coffin arrived from London about 11 of clock and brought the glorious news of the total repeal of the Stamp Act, which was signed by his Majesty King George the 3^d of ever glorious memory, which God long preserve and his illustrious house.

May 19. — This day is the joyfull day indeed for all America, and all the people are to rejoyce this day for the joyfull news brought by these vessells from London, that the Stamp Act is repealed. Dined at Colo. Ingersoll's with twenty-eight gentlemen [names given]. We drank fifteen toasts ; and very loyal they were, and suited to the occasion. In the evening there was very grand illuminations all over the town ; in the Common there was an obelisk very beautifully decorated, and very grand fireworks were displayed. Mr. Hancock behaved very well on this occasion, and treated every person with cheerfulness. I contributed as much to the general joy as any person ; the whole was much admired, and the day crowned with glory and honour.

May 23. — [At Colonel Murray's in Rutland.] In the evening they had great rejoycings at Rutland ; they behaved very well, had a large bonfire and many sky rocketts which I put them in a way to fire ; there was a genteel entertainment at the tavern ; afterwards we returned to Colo. Murray's, where there was a grand supper and entertainment prepared and many loyal healths drank.

May 28. — Election day. Mr. Otis was chosen Speaker of the House, but negatived by the Governour. Mr. Saml. Adams, who has a great zeal for liberty, was chosen Clark of the House by one vote.

May 29. — Mr. Thomas Cushing was chosen Speaker in the room of Mr. Otis, who the Governour approved off. This day the Governour negatived six counsellors, viz. : Colo. Otis, Colo. Sparhawk, Colo. Gerish of Newberry, Colo. Bowers of Swanzey, Mr. Dexter of Dedham, and Mr. Saunders of Gloster : this occasions great murmurings in some and rejoycings in others. Spent part of the afternoon with the House of Representatives, in shoeing colts.

June 2. — Artillery election. . . . Dined by invitation with the Gov^r and Council at Faneuil Hall ; spent part of the afternoon at Mr. John Hancock's.

June 4. — The King's birthday and a great holliday.

June 10. — General Ruggles and Mr. Otis had some disputes and hard language this day on the floor of the Town House.

Sept. 24. — The Custom House attempted to seize some wine out of Malcom's cellar, but were hindered from it by about two hundred people making their appearance in the street. The Governour and Council met on this affair of the seizure, but they could make nothing of it.

Sept. 25. — The Governour and Council met again on this affair, and examined many evidences, but could make nothing of it.¹

Nov. 25. — Spent the afternoon with the committee of the General Court, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Otis, Mr. Stephen Hall, Mr. Adams, Mr. Hancock, Mr. Dexter. A number of merchants were there; am in hopes we shall get redress in our trade.

Dec. 2. — [An account of a dinner given at the Coffee House by the merchants to Captain Gideon of the man of war the "Jamaica," at which Rowe presided. All the leading merchants were there, with Hancock, Cushing, and Otis, and twenty loyal toasts drunk, including those to the King and Queen and royal family, and the friends of America, — Chatham, Conway, Barré, and others.]

1767. *March 13.* — The General Court chose commissioners to treat with the Government of New York about the line between them and us, the Lieut.-Governour, Colonel Brattle, and Mr. Sheaff of Charlestown.

March 18. — Wednesday. This is anniversary day when the Parliament of Great Britain repealed the Stamp Act [celebrated by "a very genteel dinner" at Colonel Ingersoll's tavern, attended by the principal citizens, who are named, with Rowe as toastmaster]. At four of clock in the afternoon I was obliged to attend at Faneuil Hall, where there met a great concourse of people to drink the King's health, &c., and vote of the town and the same toasts were drank as above. The hall was illuminated, also Liberty Tree, and sundry other gentlemen's houses. I never saw more joy than on this occasion.

May 28. — The Governour negatived five counsellors this morning, the Honble. James Otis, Joseph Gerrish, Esq., Thos. Saunders, Esq., Jerahmiel Bowers, Esq., and Saml. Dexter, Esq.

Aug. 14. — This day the colours were displayed on the Tree of Liberty, and about sixty people, Sons of Liberty, met at one of clock and drank the King's health.

Aug. 22. — Mr. Hancock's Union flagg was hoisted for the first time.

Nov. 20. — Attended the trial of thieves, and the town meeting which was conducted with great propriety and moderation. Capt. Blake arrived this afternoon, which saved the freighters above three hundred pounds lawful money, this being the time fixed to pay the duties on glass, painters' colours, &c., an imposition on America in my opinion as dangerous as the Stamp Act.

¹ Rowe was placed by the town, Oct. 8, 1766, on a committee with Otis, Hancock, Adams, and others to obtain copies of these depositions, which it had been proposed to have transmitted to the home government.

Dec. 4. — Spent the afternoon with the committee for giving instructions to the representatives, Rich^d Dana, Esq., Mr. Edw^d Payne, Dr. Church, Mr. Henderson Inches and Ezek^l Price.

1768. *Feb. 11.* — Spent the evening at the Coffee House, and a disagreeable evening it was. The topick of the discourse was about the seizure made by Capt. Folger, and the reseizure of it afterwards by Capt. Hallowell. Mr. Mollineaux, in his representation and talk, used the Surveyor-General, Mr. Temple, most cruelly and barbarously; he abused the character of said gentleman most shamefully, and said that if Mr. Folger made any seizures or held this, that it would not be of any benefit to him, upon which one of the company asked Mr. Mollineaux who then would receive the benefit of Mr. Folger's part as informer, &c., and he reply'd "why are you at a loss, why Mr. Temple the Surveyor-General," and further said that there was an agreement between the Surveyor-General and Mr. Folger, intimating that the Surveyor-General gave Folger his place with a view to get money by it, and swore he believed it, — he Mr. Mollineaux was asked by Mr. John Erving "surely you can't believe the Surveyor-General guilty of so base a design, and you have behaved very ill in making the company think so," his reply was severall times "I do believe it," upon which Mr. Erving and Mollineaux had some smart speeches with each other; some of the company were very uneasy at these doings, and mentioned the commission that Folger had received from the Surveyor-General to be doubtfull and not authentick enough to make seizures. Upon which Mr. Otis said the commission he thought was very good, but that there was one expression in it that some people hesitated about, and repeated the sentence in the commission, which runs thus, "and in my behalf to seize for his Majesty's use," — upon repeating of this sentence Mr. Mollineaux [said] "now gentlemen, you see that I am right in what I have said," and seemed to lay great stress upon these words ("and in my behalf"), signifying that whatever seizures were made by Folger, he the said Folger was not to have the profit arising from such seizures but the Surveyor-General, and that the Surveyor-General gave him his commission on these terms. I mentioned in the course of this talk that I had many times been in Mr. Mollineaux's company, but never heard him guilty of so great an indiscretion before. Present Solo. Davis, John Erving, George Bethune, James Otis, Wm. Mollineaux, Thos. Gray, James Warden, myself.

12 *Febr'y.* — Fryday. Dined at home with the Rev^d Mr. Walter, Mr. Tristram Dalton of Newberry, Mr. Rich^d Letchmere, Mrs. Rowe, and Sucky and Sally Inman present. Spent the evening at Mrs. Cordis with Treas^r Gray, Thos. Gray, Ezek^l Goldthwait, Melatiah Bourn, Solomon Davis, Mr. Tristram Dalton, John Erving, Edward Payne, James Otis, and James Perkins. Mr. Mollineaux was there and renewed his discourse as on the last evening, but soon went away.

March 1. — Spent the evening at the Merchants' Meeting. Wm. Phillips, Esq., was chose moderator; there were 98 merchants present. They voted that it is the opinion of this company that every legal measure for freeing the country from the present embarrassments should be adopted, and among [them] the stopping the importation of goods from Great Britain under certain limitations, then chose a committee of nine to fix on and report to this company on adjournment the best measures for carrying into execution the foregoing vote. The following gentlemen were chosen: Myself, Wm. Phillips, Esq., John Hancock, Esq., Arnold Wells, Esq., Mr. Edward Payne, Mr. Thomas Boylston, John Erving, Jun., Esq., Melatiah Bourne, Esq., Mr. Henderson Inches; it was also voted that John Hancock, Esq., be desired to procure a copy of the commissions of the Commissioners of the Customs and produce the same at the next meeting; then the meeting was adjourned untill Fryday evening.

March 3. — Spent the forenoon with the committee of merchants. Spent the afternoon and part of the evening with the committee of merchants, and part of the evening with the Charitable Society at Colo. Ingersoll's.

Mar. 4. — This day the Gov^r prorogued the Assembly to the 13 April. Spent the day with the same committee of merchants, and in the evening we reported to them as follows:

The committee of merchants appointed at their [meeting] March 1st, 1768, having duly considered what they had in charge, do report the following resolutions, viz.:

In consideration of the great scarcity of money which has for several years been so sensibly felt among us, and now must be rendered much greater not only by the immense sums absorbed in the collection of the dutys lately imposed, but by the great checks given thereby to branches of trades which yielded us the most of our money and means of remittance, —

In consideration also of the great debt now standing against us which, if we go on increasing by the excessive imports we have been accustomed to while our sources of remittance are daily drying up, must terminate not only in our own and our country's ruin, but that of many of our creditors on the other side of the water, —

In consideration further of the danger from some late measures of our losing many inestimable blessings and advantages of the British Constitution, which Constitution we have ever rever'd as the basis and security of all we enjoy in this life, therefore

Voted

1st That we will not for one year send for any European commodittys excepting salt, coals, fishing lines, fish hooks, hemp, duck, bar lead, shot, wool cards, and card wire, and that the trading towns in the

province and other provinces in New England together with those in New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania be invited to accede hereto.

2nd That we will encourage the produce and manufactures of these colonies by the use of them in preference to all other manufactures.

3rd That in the purchase of such articles as we shall stand in need of, we will give a constant preference to such persons as shall subscribe to these resolutions.

4th That we will in our separate capacities inform our several correspondents of the reasons and point out to them the necessity of withholding our usual orders for their manufactures [in order that] the said impediment may be removed and trade and commerce may again flourish.

5th That these votes or resolutions be obligatory or binding on us from and after the time that these, or others singular or tending to the same salutary purpose, be adopted by most of the trading towns in this and the neighbouring colonies.

6th That a committee be appointed to correspond with merchants in the before mentioned towns and provinces and forward to them the foregoing votes, and that s'd committee be empowered to call a meeting of the merchants when they think necessary.

March 9 & 11. — [Meetings of the merchants' committee, the one on the 11th lasting the whole day.]

March 18. — [Anniversary of repeal of the Stamp Act celebrated with dinner and toasts at Colonel Ingersoll's.] After these the company were very cheerfull and gay, and broke up about eight of clock. A considerable mob of young fellows and negroes got together this evening and made great noise and hallooing; about eight hundred appeared in King Street and at Liberty Tree, and went to the North to John Williams, the Inspector-General, but did him no damage, which the greatest part of the gentlemen in town were very glad off. There were two effigies on Liberty Tree this morning marked C. P. and J. W., but were taken down again by Wm. Speakman, Thos. Crafts, and John Avery, Junior.

March 21. — I spent the forenoon at the Court House to hear the tryal between Capt. Folger and Capt. Hallowell about the seizure of tea, and after the whole morning debates it was adjourned untill next Saturday morning. Spent part of the afternoon with the town's committee to draw a letter of thanks to the Farmer [John Dickinson] for his ingenious letters; present Dr. Church, Dr. Warren, Mr. Saml. Adams, and myself.

March 22. — Attended the town meeting all the day, in which many debates about Mr. Adams, whose friends were so warm in his favor that the gentlemen could not get a reconsideration of the vote passed on Monday last [which related to Adams's accounts as collector of taxes].

May 2. — Met the merchants at the Town House in the Representatives' room; agreed to the resolutions of the City of New York not to write for any goods after the first of June, nor import any after the first day of October until the Act imposing dutys on glass, paper, &c., be repealed.

May 18. — The Romney man of war, Capt. Cornell [Corner] arrived yesterday in Nantasket, and this day in Kingroad.

June 10. — Yesterday the Selectmen viewed the ground for a gun house and the north battery. A considerable mob tonight occasioned by a seizure belonging to Mr. John Hancock; some damage to Mr. Harrison the Collector, and his boat burnt.

June 13. — The Selectmen waited on the Gov^r and Council about Capt. Corner's pressing a man out of a coaster, and the affairs of the town.

June 14. — The people assembled under Liberty Tree, from thence removed to Faneuil Hall; then it was proposed to have a regular town meeting called, which was accordingly done. Afternoon the town met at Faneuil Hall; the people were so many that Mr. Otis the moderator proposed adjourning to Dr. Sewall's meeting, which was accordingly voted, and they met there. A committee of twenty-one gentlemen were chose to wait upon Gov^r Bernard with a humble petition, which petition to him is on file, and I think a very smart petition. The whole twenty-one met at Mr. John Hancock's, and proceeded in form to Roxbury to wait on Gov^r Bernard. Mr. Otis, being chairman, introduced the petition with a genteel speech. The Gov^r received us very cordially, spoke very sensibly to some parts of the speech and petition, and promised an answer in the morning. The committee returned to Mr. Hancock's in order as follows:—

Mr. Otis,	Mr. Hancock first,
Mr. Royal Tyler,	Mr. Thos. Cushing,
Myself,	Mr. Samuel Adams,
Mr. Joshua Henshaw,	Col. Joseph Jackson,
John Ruddock, Esq.,	
Mr. Henderson Inches,	Mr. Saml. Pemberton,
Mr. Edward Payne,	Mr. Melatiah Bourn,
Mr. Richard Dana,	Mr. Benj ⁿ Kent,
Mr. Samuel Quincy,	Mr. Josiah Quincy, Jun ^r .,
Dr. Church,	Dr. Warren,
Dr. Young and Capt Daniel Malcom,	all in carriages.

June 15. — The man of war the Romney unmoored. The town met again at Dr. Sewall's meeting.

June 16. — Spent the afternoon with the town's committee to draw instructions to the representatives on the present difficultys that attend

the trade of this town, myself, Dr. Warren, Dr. Church, Mr. John Adams, Mr. Dana, and Mr. Henderson Inches. The Selectmen were ordered to attend the Gov^r and Council to hear the report of their committee and their consultations with Capt. Corner of his Majesty's ship the Romney.

June 17. — Spent the forenoon with the same committee as yesterday. Town meeting in the afternoon.

June 18 and July 3. — [Arrival of his Majesty's sloop, the Beaver.]

June 30. — This day the General Court behaved very steadily and according to the approbation of most good people who have any regard for their country and posterity, [voting] that they would not rescind their former resolutions which the Earl of Hillsborough took offence at, vide newspapers. Number of votes in the House, 109: 17 yeas, 92 nays. For my own satisfaction I record the seventeen yeas that were so mean spirited to vote away their blessings as Englishmen, namely, their rights, liberty and property.

July 8. — The Senegall man of war, Capt. Cookson, arrived here this day.

July 16. — Rose early [at Flax Pond, Lynn] and went fishing; dined at Mrs. Graves'; came home, and Mrs. R. told me of the Sons of Liberty visiting Mr. Williams the evening before, and that he engaged to meet them on the Change this day, which he did, and great numbers, she says, were present; he asked them what questions they had to ask him that he might answer them, but no person made him any reply. [This relates to John Williams, Inspector-General of the Customs.]

July 18. — Spent the afternoon with the committee of merchants at the Coffee House. Present myself, John Hancock, Edward Payne, Henderson Inches, Melatiah Bourn, and Thomas Boylston.

July 29. — This forenoon the Governour and Council met on affairs of consequence, its supposed relative to the introduction of troops, which has greatly alarmed the inhabitants.

Aug. 1. — Spent the afternoon at the general merchants' meeting at Faneuil Hall, at which place there were present sixty-two, sixty of which signed an agreement I have on file not to import any goods. Spent the evening at Mr. Barber's insurance office; and the silver bowl was this evening for the first time introduced, No. 45 weighs 45 ounces, holds 45 gills. [Present Hancock, Otis, Adams, and others.]

Aug. 2. — The committee of merchants met and got further subscriptions. [The Diary records many of these meetings.]

Aug. 8. — The merchants met at Faneuil Hall, present about 100.

Aug. 15. — Dined at Greaton's with a number of gentlemen [Hancock, Otis, Samuel Adams, Warren, Church, Josiah Quincy, Paul Revere, Scolay, Brimmer, and others], about one hundred, who were very jovial and pleasant, and in the forenoon a great number of people were at Liberty

Hall, where there was a variety of good musick exhibited, and great joy appeared in every countenance, being the anniversary day of the Sons of Liberty.

Sept. 9. — The Governour told me in conversation yesterday morning that he had staved off the introducing troops as long as he could, but could do it no longer.

Sept. 20. — Afternoon I attended the Selectmen and waited on the Council to consult about barracks for the troops that are expected.

Sept. 23. — King's coronation day. The convention met at Faneuil Hall this day.

Sept. 28. — This forenoon came to anchor in Nantasket Road six sail of men of war, supposed to have the 14th Regmt. and 29th Regiments on board.

Sept. 29. — Arrived three more of his Majesty's ships of war from Halifax, so that are now in our harbour [names of eleven vessels and their commanders given].

Oct. 1. — This day the troops came ashore, the 14th and 29th Regiments and two companies of the 59th, with a company of artillery; they marched into the Common. Colo. Dalrymple summoned the Selectmen; they all met and did not think themselves obliged to take cognizance for their being quartered in town, so that the 29th pitched their tents in the Common, the 14th got into Faneuil Hall, and part of the 59th at Rob^t Gordon's stores.

Oct. 2. — Sunday. I went to the Coffee House to pay a visit to Mr. Edington, and was most smartly accosted by Capt. Dundass [commander of one of the fleet just arrived] in the following words: "Hah, John, are you there? Dammy, I expected to have heard of your being hanged before now, for damn you, you deserve it" — upon which I made reply, "Surely, Capt. Dundass, you're joking." Upon which he answered, "No, damn him if he was, for you are a damn incendiary, and I shall see you hanged in your shoes," and repeated the same; upon which I says to him, "Then you are in earnest, are you. I was in hopes you were joking." "No," he repeated, "damn you, I am in earnest. I tell you, you are an incendiary, and I hope to see you hanged yet in your shoes." I took notice who were present, as it was spoke about twelve of clock at noon. Mr. Forrest, Mr. Philip Dumaresqu, Mr. George Brinly, and several officers of the army who I did not know in the Coffee Room and entry way. I thought it prudent not to take any notice of it just then, but came home to dinner.

Oct. 10. — Last night some villains cut the frame of the Guard House so as to render it useless. Some people make light of this affair, but I think the scoundrels who did it ought to be severely punished, and I wish they may be found out.

Oct. 15. — Generall Gage arrived from New York at Major Byard's

at Roxbury. The regiments were under arms and made a good appearance. The General with his attendants came into town about 4 P. M. The artillery saluted with 17 guns; they past and marched along the front of both regiments, and Capt. Willson's two companies who were formed in the center.

Oct. 16. — Sunday. This morning I waited on Colo. Robertson, who came with General Gage; he received me very politely. I had a full hour's discourse with him about the troops. I find him to be a gentleman of great abilities and very cool and dispassionate. I took a walk [after afternoon service] and met General Gage and Colo. Dalrymple. General Gage engaged me to wait on him to-morrow morning.

Oct. 17. — I paid Genl. Gage a visit on business, who received me very kindly.

Oct. 22. — Waited on Colo. Maitland, Adjutant-General, to provide a division for the King's gunpowder in the magazine; also attended Genl. Gage and Colo. Robertson.

Oct. 23. — Sunday. The Honble. John Temple Esq.'s child was christened this forenoon at our church. The sponsors were Genl. Gage, Robert Temple, Esq. and his lady, by the name of Greenville.

Oct. 24. — Dined at home with General Gage, Colo. Robinson, Colo. Dalrymple, Capt. Smith of the Mermaid, Colo. Maitland, Colo. Kerr, Capt. Kimball, Major Gambell, Capt. Sheriff, Capt. Matrin, the Genl.'s Secretary, Mr. Inman, Mrs. Rowe, and Sucky.

Oct. 25. — The Romney sailed for Halifax. I waited on Colo. Robertson this morning. The regiments mustered this day in the Common and made a fine appearance. Colo. Dalrymple paid me a visit this evening. King's coronation day.

Oct. 27. — This afternoon the soldiers quitted Faneuil Hall.

Oct. 29. — This day the troops went from Faneuil Hall into the barracks.

Oct. 31. — This morning very early a soldier of Colo. Dalrymple's regiment was shot for desertion.

Nov. 3. — This morning Colo. Kerr's regiment was reviewed by the General.

Nov. 7. — [General Gage and other officers dine at Cambridge at Mr. Inman's.]

Nov. 8. — I paid Genl. Gage a visit this morning, who received me very politely and agreeably.

Nov. 9. — Tis reported that the Commissioners [of the Customs] came to town this day. I saw one of them, Mr. Robinson.

Nov. 10. — This morning Colo. Pomroy arrived with part of the Irish regiments No. 64 and 65.

Nov. 13. — Sunday. The Viper man of war arrived, Capt. Lyndsay,¹

¹ Robert or John Linzee.

from Halifax. The Commissioners and their officers all at church this day, and the first time they have appeared in publick. Dr. Catherwood arrived in the Romney man of war, Capt. Corner, from Halifax ; in her the Commodore and lady, also Lord Wm. Campbell, and Capt. Goold. The Doctor gives the Commodore Hood a great character.

Nov. 24. — General Gage and family went out of town this morning. I took my leave of the General, who behaves very politely, &c.

Dec. 1. — Thanksgiving day. I paid a visit to Lord Wm. Campbell at Mr. Boutineau's, who was going on board.

Dec. 5. — Be it remembered that Sir Thos. Rich of the Senegall pressed all Capt. Dashwood's hands.

Dec. 15. — Capt. McNeal arrived from Quebec, who brought me a bill on the Commissioners of the Customs. I attended with Capt. Watts from twelve till almost three on their high mightinesses ; this behavior is not only very insolent, but not to be born, and for which they may hear more about.

Jan. 10, 1769. — When I came home [in the evening] I found the Rev^d Mr. Walter, with whom I had two hours' conversation on the times.

Jan. 19. — Queen's Birth Day. Three regiments under arms in the Common, 14th, 29th, 64th ; they made a fine appearance. Spent the evening at the Assembly for the first time ; too much confusion.

March 13. — Town meeting. I desired my friends not to vote for me as Selectman, and in consequence was not chose, but Mr. Jonathan Mason was chose in my room. In the afternoon I went to town meeting. Mr. Saml. Adams affair came on, and the prayer of his petition granted, which appears to me to be a very wrong step in the town, and what they I am afraid will repent.

April 12. — Some letters of Gov^r Bernard to the Earl of Hillsborough are sent over by Mr. Bolla, which makes great noise and censure.

April 16. — I paid a visit to the Generall this forenoon.

April 19. — I paid a visit to Commodore Hood this morning.

April 24. — This afternoon Mr. Hooper of Marblehead came to town, and bring the melancholly account of Lieut. Panton being killed in endeavoring to press some hands of Mr. Hooper's brigg, Capt. Poor, from Cadiz.

May 23. — This day a special court of admiralty sat at the Court House on the tryall of a man that killed Lieut. Panton of the Rose. They consisted of the Governour, Commodore Hood, Lieut.-Governour, the Secretary, Judge Auchmooty, Robt. Trail, Esq., Collector of Portsmouth, and Mr. Nutting, Collector of Salem ; they adjourned to Thursday. The lawyers that pleaded for the Crown, the King's attorney, Mr. Fitch his assistant ; for the prisoner, James Otis, Esq., and John Adams, Esq.

June 14. — This day Power and others were on tryal for their con-

duct on board the *Rose* man of war ; their behaviour was very courageous, and I think very right.

July 8. — When I came home [in the afternoon] I found Capt. Robt. Lyndsay at our house, being arrived in the *Viper* sloop of war from So. Carolina, his brother Capt. John Lyndsay, and Mr. Harry Hood.

Aug. 1. — This forenoon Capt. Thompson in the *Rippon* man of war for England, and Gov. Bernard went home in him. The flagg hoisted on Liberty Tree ; the bells ringing great joy to the people, a great bonfire in King Street, and on Fort Hill.

Aug. 4. — We sunk the box at my wharf this noon, and were very lucky. I attended the merchants' meeting this afternoon, who gave me a pretty tight lecture about the importation of some porter on board *Jarvis*. I wish the porter had not been imported, as tis like to make an uneasiness.

Aug. 14. — The Sons of Liberty met at Liberty Tree, and dined at Robinson's at Dorchester ; they contained 139 carriages on their return. Mr. Hancock preceded the company, and Mr. Otis brought up the rear.

Sept. 5. — In the evening an affray happened at the Coffee House between Mr. Robinson the Commissioner and James Otis, Esq. ; its said Otis is much bruised. [Otis brought an action against Robinson. Rowe was present at the trial, July 25, 1771, and records, July 26, the result, a verdict of £2000 sterling damages in favor of the plaintiff.]

Sept. 6. — I find the inhabitants greatly alarmed at the usage Mr. Otis met with ; tis generally thought he was very rascally treated ; this afternoon the sheriff took Mr. Brown, Esq., formerly of Salem, for being accessory in beating Mr. Otis ; he was carried to Faneuil Hall, and examined before Justice Dana and Justice Pemberton, and followed by a great number of people, I believe about two thousand. Mr. Murray was there, and used roughly by the people.

Sept. 28. — Dined at his Honor the Lieut.-Governor's, with him, his two daughters, his two sons Thomas and Elisha, Mr. Harris, a gentleman from St. Christopher's, Mr. Birch and Mr. Paxton, two of the Commissioners, for the first time since their arrival I have been in their company, and which I did not know now.

Sept. 30. — This day the Custom House officers made a large seizure from Capt. John Homer, who I take to be a very honest, good man, and for which I am very sorry should happen at this time.

Oct. 3. — This morning the merchants met at Faneuil Hall to consider what measures should be taken about Capt. Bryant's cargo.

Oct. 4. — This day there was a town meeting, and the transactions are agreed to be printed to-morrow.

Oct. 28. — Mr. Mein's publication that appeared to-day has given great uneasiness, and this evening he was spoke to by Capt. Dashwood. Some people getting around, he got into Ezek^l Price's office, and from

there fired a pistoll and wounded a grenadier of the 29th regiment in the arm. Warrants were issued out to secure him, but he could not be found. In the evening a large mob assembled and got hold of one George Greyer, an informer, who they stript naked and pay'd [painted] him all over with tarr, and then covered him with feathers and put him in a cart and carried him through all the main streets of the town, huzzaing, &c., and at nine dismissed him; this matter occasioned much terror, &c., in some fearful people among the inhabitants. When this happened I was with the Possee.

1770. *Jan. 1.* — This afternoon the committee of merchants came to wait on me about Mr. Wm. Sheaffe's affair, Deacon Phillips, Wm. Dennie, Wm. Greenleaf, Mr. Mollineaux, and John Ruddock, Esq.

Jan. 9. — Dined at home with his Honor the Lieut.-Governour, his brother Foster Hutchinson, Esq., Col. Dalrymple, Capt. Caldwell, Mr. Nicholas Boylston, Mr. Inman, Mr. John Lane, and Mrs. Rowe.

Jan. 17. — Spent the afternoon at the merchants' meeting at Faneuil Hall, and part of the evening at the Coffee House. This day the Body of merchants visited Mr. Wm. Jackson.

Jan. 18. — The merchants met again this day, and the whole Body, as they are called, visited the sons of his Honor, Mr. Theophilus Lillie, Mr. John Taylor, Mr. William Jackson again, and Mr. Nat. Rogers. They adjourned untill to-morrow ten of clock.

Jan. 19. — The merchants met again to-day. Messrs. Hutchinson agreed to deliver up.

Jan. 23. — The Trade met again to-day at Faneuil Hall, which highly displeased the Lieut.-Governour, who sent the sheriff and ordered them to disperse, which they took no notice of. Colo. Dalrymple, I believe, ordered his regiment to keep under arms all night. The Body voted said Colo. Dalrymple should be cashiered.

Feb. 26. — This afternoon the boy that was killed by Richardson was buried, and I am very sure two thousand people attended his funerall.

March 3. — A quarrel between some of the 29th regiment and the ropemakers yesterday and to-day.

March 5. — Monday. This night the 29th regim^t on duty. A quarrel between the soldiers and inhabitants; the bells rung; a great number assembled in King Street. A party of the 29th under the command of Capt. Preston fired on the people; they killed five, wounded several others, particularly Mr. Edw^d Payne in his right arm. Capt. Preston bears a good character; he was taken in the night and committed, also seven more of the 29th. The inhabitants are greatly enraged, and not without reason.

March 6. — Most all the town in uproar and confusion. The Gov^r and Council met. The cryer went about to warn a town meeting at eleven of clock. The inhabitants met at Faneuil Hall; they chose a

respectable committee to wait on his Honor the Lieut.-Governour to desire the troops might be removed from the town. Upon which he consulted Colo. Dalrymple and Colo. Kerr. The Lieut.-Governour returned for answer that the 29th regiment should go to the Castle and the 14th regiment remain in town. Afternoon the inhabitants met at the Old South Meeting House; after some debate they unanimously voted not to accept the Lieut.-Governour's proposals, but chose another committee of seven to wait on him again and insist on all the troops being removed from the town, and without this is complied with, it would not be satisfactory to the inhabitants. The committee went and returned that his Honor would order both regiments to the Castle, and Colo. Dalrymple consented to it; this gave great joy to the inhabitants, and I believe a generall satisfaction, so that they went from the meeting very peaceably to their habitations.

March 7. — A military watch to-night.

March 8. — I attended the funeral of the four unhappy people that were killed on Monday last. Such a concourse of people I never saw before, — I believe ten or twelve thousand. One corps with their relations followed the other, and then the selectmen and inhabitants. A military watch again to-night.

March 9. — I went and paid a visit to Capt. Preston in goal, who I found in much better spirits than I expected. Military watch.

March 10. — Yesterday two companies of the 29th went to the Castle, and four companies more went this day; still a military watch.

March 12. — The remainder of the 29th went to the Castle this day; still a military watch.

March 15. — Spent the afternoon with the town committee, myself chairman, John Ruddock, Esq., Isaac Smith, Wm. Dennie and Mr. Timothy Fitch, at the Coffee House.

March 16. — Mr. Otis got into a mad freak to-night, and broke a great many windows in the Town House. All the 14th regiment are gone to the Castle, the last of them this day. Capt. Robson and Capt. Miller both sailed for London this forenoon, in Capt. Robson. Mr. Robinson, one of the Board of Commissioners, went passenger.

March 17. — This afternoon another of the unhappy sufferers was buried from Faneuil Hall. The General Court sitting at Cambridge, which will be the cause of a quarrell between the Lieut.-Governour and the House of Representatives.

March 18. — Colo. Dalrymple sent for me, and I paid him a visit. I was glad to find that Colo. Dalrymple was pleased with the answer to his letters by return of the express.

March 19. — Town meeting again to-day. The town voted a vessell to be hired to carry home dispatches, and Capt. Dashwood offered himself a candidate to carry them.

April 18. — Mr. Hancock was chosen Speaker of the House pro tempore, and negatived by the Lieut.-Governour. Colo. Warren was chose in his room and approved.

April 20. — I attended the meeting of the Trade, as it is called; they passed a vote I did not like. The infamous Richardson on tryall to-day.

April 21. — Richardson was found guilty by the jury. I attended the merchants' meeting this forenoon.

April 22. — This afternoon Mr. Otis behaved very madly, firing guns out of his window, that caused a large number of people to assemble about him.

April 24. — Capt. Scot brings an account of the repeal of the dutys on glass, oyl, paper, and painters' colours, but the duty on tea still remains. Tis said our Lieut.-Governour is made Governour; he negatived Cushing as Commissary Generall.

April 25. — Merchants' meeting. I attended. I was to my great mortification chose a committeeman.

April 26. — Attended merchants' meeting. I did not approve much of their proceedings; think them too severe.

May 16. — Yesterday Lord Drummond, Colo. Robinson, Colo. Dalrymple, and Jos. Goldthwait paid Mrs. Rowe and Sucky a visit.

May 17. — This morning the 29 regiment marched from the Castle to Providence.

May 18. — Just as I was going to bed there was a very great halloeing in the street, and a mob of upwards a thousand people; it seems they had got an informer, and put him in a cart covered with tarr and feathers, and so exhibited him thro' the streets.

June 4. — [Artillery election. Dinner at Faneuil Hall, where the Lieutenant-Governor, officers, and citizens were present.] Spent part of the evening with the House of Representatives at the Province House in drinking his Majesty's health. A great many gentlemen attended this publick mark of loyalty to his Majesty and family.

June 6. — Town meeting. Mr. John Adams was chose a member for the town.

June 14. — In the afternoon I paid the Lieut.-Governour a visit at his seat at Milton.

July 22. — Capt. Smith of the Nassau arrived from London, and gives an account of the prorogation of the Parliament, the 20th of May, without repealing the duty on tea. The people, I hope, will have virtue enough never to make use of it as long as the duty is demanded.

July 24. — This afternoon the Body, as they are called, met, and just before some of them proceeded through the streets with Dr. Young at their head, with three flags flying, drums beating, and a French horn. Thos. Baker carried one of them, for which he is much blamed by me.

The meeting to-day will, I believe, prove very prejudicial to the merchants and trade of the town of Boston.

July 26. — The Gov^r offered me the Colon's Commission.

July 28. — Sam. Adams, Wm. Mollineux, Dr. Warren, and Dr. Young paid me a visit this evening.

Aug. 14. — The Rev^d Mr. Whitfield came to town this day. A large party of the Sons of Liberty dined this day at the house of Thos. Carnes at Dorchester.

Sept. 10. — This day the Council set, and the Lieut.-Governour delivered up the Castle unto Colo. Dalrymple by express order from his Majesty in Council. I spent the evening at the Coffee House with the merchants; present 24.

Sept. 11-15. — [Rowe attends meetings of the merchants, or "Body," from 50 to 100 being present; and on the 15th "they came to a conclusion to forward a letter to the trade at Philadelphia."]

Oct. 9. — I went on board the Rose with Capt. Caldwell, from thence to the Castle, and from thence on board the Romney, and dined with Commodore Hood, his lady, his son, Major Butler of the 65th, Major Powell of the 38th, Dr. Petersby, Mr. Thomas, and Mr. West. I returned and spent the evening with the committee of merchants at the Coffee House, Henderson Inches, John Amory, Edward Payne, Isaac Smith, and myself. Capt. John Lynzee arrived in the Beaver from Halifax.

Oct. 16. — Spent the evening at home with Capt. John Lynzee, Mrs. Rowe, Sucky, and Sally Inman.

Oct. 19. — I dined at home with the following company: Capt. Barclay of the Salisbury, Capt. Hide Parker of the Boston, Capt. Benj. Caldwell of the Rose, Capt. Bond of the Gibraltar, Sir Thomas Rich of the Senegall, Capt. John Lynzee of the Beaver, Colo. Dalrymple and Capt. Mason of the 14th reg^t, Mr. Inman, Mrs. Rowe, and Sucky Inman.

Oct. 23. — The judges of the Superior Court met to-day, and ordered the triall of Capt. Preston to-morrow.

Oct. 24. — Capt. Preston's trial came on.

Oct. 25. — Capt. Preston still on tryall.

Oct. 26. — Capt. Preston still on tryall.

Oct. 27. — Capt. Preston still on tryall; adjourned untill Monday.

Oct. 29. — Capt. Preston still on tryall. The judges gave their opinion in his favor. The jury's verdict for Capt. Preston, not guilty.

Nov. 18. — Great talk of a Spanish war, and a report of the plague being broke out in the island of Hispaniola.

Nov. 20. — A ship and a schooner arrived from Hispaniola; were ordered to perform quarantine.

Dec. 5. — This day the tryall of the soldiers ended [the trial had been

going on since Nov. 28]; six of them were acquitted, and two were found guilty of manslaughter.

1771. *Jan. 3.* — [Concert and dance at Concert Hall. Colonel Dalrymple and officers of the navy present.]

Jan. 18. — ["The Queen's birthday, guns firing, jovial day"; dance at Concert Hall. Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and officers of the army and navy present, "commissioners, all the best people in town: a general coalition, so that harmony, peace, and friendship will once more be established in Boston."]]

Jan. 29. — Spent an hour with Mr. James Otis, who I found in a gloomy way.

March 14. — The Governour's [Hutchinson] commission read to-day, also the Lieut.-Governour [Andrew Oliver]; the company that waited on the Governour were gentlemen of reputation and the best fortunes. I dined at Mr. Geo. Erving's with him, Mrs. Waldo, Mr. John Erving, Mr. Inman, Mr. Porter, the Comptroller of the Board, Mr. Robt. Hallowell, Comptroller of the Customs, and Mr. John Lane, and spent the evening at the Assembly, which was very brilliant.

March 15. — Afternoon the merchants met at the British Coffee House to prepare an address to the Governour. Present Rich^d Clark, Jos. Green, myself, John Erving, George Erving, Thos. Gray, Henderson Inches, Edw^d Payne, Melatiah Bourne, Danl. Hubbard, Ezekiel Goldthwait, John Dennie, John Amory, and Solomon Davis, and spent the evening there with most of the same company.

March 18. — The merchants waited on his Excellency the Governour with their address; present 106.

April 3. — This day the General Court meets at Cambridge. The Governour was met by the gentlemen of Cambridge and escorted to the College, where there was an oration spoke in Latin by one of the students.

May 7. — I attended town meeting for the choice of representatives. Mr. Otis, Mr. Cushing, Mr. Saml. Adams, and Mr. Hancock were chose by a great majority.

June 16. — There were three seizures made, some tea at Plymouth, a schooner from St. Peters with brandy, wine, &c., another schooner that short entered her cargoe of molasses belonging to Mr. Forster of Cape Ann. These affairs give great uneasiness, and tis believed will raise the minds of the people.

June 17. — Another sloop was seized this day from St. Peters by Capt. Parker of the Boston man of war.

Aug. 17. — I am very busy in sending provisions off to the ships.

Sept. 4. — I dined on board the Beaver, Capt. John Linzee. The Beaver people made a seizure, for which I am sorry.

Nov. 16. — The printers of the Massachusetts Spy was sent for by

the Gov^r and Council; they ordered the King's attorney to prosecute them.

1772. *Feb. 5.* — Mr. Goldthwait told us of a conference between him and Mollineux, very extraordinary, wanting Mr. G. to destroy Josiah Quincy and Benjⁿ Kent.¹

March 5. — A town meeting this morning; they adjourned to Dr. Sewall's meeting house, where there was an oration spoke by Dr. Warren on the memory of this day, two year; tis said upwards of four thousand people were present. . . . There was an exhibition at Mrs. Clappam's in King Street this evening; a great many spectators.

April 19. — James Otis came to town this day.

June 4. — [King's birthday celebrated by parade of Colonel Erving's regiment, the Grenadiers, and Major Paddock's company; visit to the Governor at the Council Chamber; and a ball at Concert Hall, attended by the admiral and other officers of the navy.]

June 24. — Wednesday, St. John's Day. Dr. Warren and his lodge walked in procession to Dr. Byles' church, where a sermon was preached by Mr. Saml. Fairweather. I dined with the lodges under my care at Brother Brackett's [names of the brethren given].

July 7. — Colo. Hancock turned out this forenoon with the Cadet company; they made a good figure and behaved very well throughout the whole of the exercise. The whole regiment appeared in the Common this afternoon, also Major Paddock's company; the whole behaved much better than usual.

October 31. — After dinner I rode over to Bracket's, where I spent an hour with Treasurer Gray, John Cotton, and we were joyned by James Otis, who [had] been to wait on Gov^r Hutchinson as a committee man from the Town of Boston.

Nov. 2. — I attended Mr. John Adams this morning about Colo. Lee's affair.

Nov. 16. — The Admirall sent for me this morning and told me about the fresh beef contract extending to New England, and demanded a supply for the ships at Rhode Island.

1773. *Feb. 8.* — This morning my brigg sailed for So. Carolina, Capt. Skimmer. Young Josiah Quincy went passenger.

March 5. — Dr. Church performed an oration at Dr. Sewall's meeting, the judges say to great acceptance. This evening an exhibition in Mrs. Clapham's balcony. A great concourse of people in King Street of all sorts, and a large number to remember the 5th of March, 1770, assembled at Mrs. Clapham's.

May 22. — Our commissioners returned home last night from the

¹ This record without further information is not intelligible. The "Josiah Quincy" must have been the "Junior," as the father retired from business to his estate in Braintree in 1756.

Congress of New York about the line, which was held at Hartford; they have adjusted the affair to the satisfaction of the Government. Present Gov^r. Hutchinson, Genl. Brattle, Colo. Hancock and Major Hawley.

May 27. — Two of the Commissioners [of Customs] were very much abused yesterday when they came out from the publick dinner at Concert Hall, Mr. Hulton and Mr. Hallowell. W^m Molineux, W^m Dennie, Paul Revere and severall others were the principall actors.

June 4. — King's birthday, aged 35. Colo. Hancock and Company of Cadets, Major Paddock and artillery, Colo. Erving and the Regiment, Colo. Phipps and Company, all made their appearance in the Common; such a quantity or rather multitude of people as spectators I never saw before; they behaved very well.

July 25. — The Reverend Dr. Cooper's Meeting House, built new, was preached in for the first time this day.

Aug. 14. — This day the Sons of Liberty held their annual feast at Roxbury in the training field by John Williams'; there was upwards of four hundred that dined there.

Oct. 4. — I visited the Admirall this morning, and settled the accounts for July and August navy matters with Mr. Atkinson.

Oct. 25. — King's accession to the throne. The Cadets under arms. General muster at Cambridge.

Nov. 2. — This morning the Rev^d Mr. Walter and Mr. Parker paid me a visit on affairs of our church. When I got abroad I found an advertisement stuck up at almost every corner as follows: —

“To the Freemen of this and the Neighbouring Towns, — Gen^m, you are desired to meet at Liberty Tree this day at Twelve of Clock at noon, then and there to hear the Persons to whom the Tea shipped by the East India Company is consigned make a publick Resignation of their Office as Consignees upon Oath and also swear that they will re-ship any Tea that may be Consigned to them by said Company by the first Vessell sailing for London.”

Boston, Nov. 3d, 1773. O. C., Secretary.

Nov. 3. — This day the inhabitants of the town are alarmed, occasioned by the advertisement of yesterday. The gentlemen to whom the tea was supposed to be consigned did not obey the summons and make their appearance at Liberty Tree, upon which the Sons of Liberty appointed a committee to go and wait of them to know their determination, upon which the committee with a large concourse of people went from Liberty Tree to the store of Mr. Rich^d Clark and Sons at the bottom of King Street, where they found Mr. Rich^d Clark, Mr. Benj^m Faneuil, the Governour, two sons,¹ and Mr. Jos. Winslow of Marshfield,

¹ This probably means the Governor's two sons.

who are the gentlemen these teas are supposed to be consigned to. There was several of their friends there with them, Colo. Hatch of Dorchester, Judge Lee of Cambridge, Mr. Nat. Cary, Mr. Tho^s Laugh-ton, Mr. John Winslow, and many others. Mr. Mollineux, as chair-man of this committee, then read to them a paper, and produced another which they required them to sign, &c. Mr. Rich^d Clark and the other gentlemen gave them for answer, they would not comply with their request, or words to that purpose; this was an unexpected answer to them, and has given them much displeasure. The principal people that accompanied Mr. Mollineux were as follows: Mr. Sam^l Adams, Mr. W^m Dennie, Mr. John Pitts, Col. Heath of Roxbury, Dr. Church, Dr. Warren, Dr. Young, Capt. Jn^o Matchet, Capt. Hopkins, Nat Barber. Gabriel Johnnot, Ezek^l Chever, and about five hundred more as near as I could guess. I spent the evening at the Bunch of Grapes, Colo. Ingersoll, with Treas. Gray, Thos. Gray, James Warden, Nat Cary, Geo. Erving, Melatiah Bourn, Jos. Scot, Jos. Blanchard, Thos. Brattle, Tuthill Hubbard, Jos. Winslow, Jos. Goldthwait, John Cotton, Solo. Davis, Edw^d Davis, W^m Davis, and Sam^l Quincy. The same piece was posted up this day as yesterday with this addition: "Show me the man that dare take this down."

Nov. 4. — The town very quiet this day. I dined at Bracketts on Boston Neck on turtle. . . . Spent the evening at the Possee. . . . Thos. Palmer Esq. had his ball to-night at the Concert Hall.

Nov. 5. — This day there is to be a town meeting. Mr. Palmer's ball was very brilliant; there were upwards of two hundred gentlemen and ladies. Very quiet for a Pope Night.

Nov. 6. — Town meeting again this forenoon.

Nov. 11. — The geese flew to the s^oward yesterday.

Nov. 12. — The Gov^r sent Colo. Hancock an order for him to hold his company in readiness in case of any riot or tumult happening.

Nov. 17. — This morning Capt. Scot arrived from London; he brings advice that Hall, Loring, Coffin, and Bruce are to bring the tea from the East India Company. This a measure that is generally disap-proved, and will remain the great occasion of disagreement between England and America.

Nov. 18. — Last night a considerable body of people paraded thro' the streets and attacked the house of Mr. Rich^d Clark. One of his family fired a gun from the house, but luckily did no hurt. They broke all his windows and window frames, but very little other damage. This morning a town meeting was called on this and the tea affair. Another committee chose. The gentlemen to whom the tea is consigned are still resolved to pursue such orders as they may receive.

Nov. 19. — This day the gentlemen to whom the tea is consigned petitioned the Governor and Council relative their affairs.

Nov. 23. — The Governor and Council met this morning on the tea matters.

Nov. 28. — Sunday. This morning was bro^t me a threatening letter signed "Determined," which is on file. This agitated my mind, and I did not go to church. Capt. Hall arrived from London. Great noise about the tea on board of Capt. Hall.

Nov. 29. — This morning there were papers stuck up to the following purpose: "Friends, Brethren, Countrymen! That worst of Plagues, the Detestable Tea, ship'd for this Port by the East India Company, is now arrived in this harbour; the Hour of Destruction or manly Opposition to the Machinations of Tyranny stares you in the Face; every Friend to his Country, to himself and Posterity is now called upon to meet at Faneuil Hall at nine of clock, this Day (at which time the Bells will begin to Ring) to make a united and successful Resistance to this last worst and most Destructive Measure of Administration.

Boston, Nov. 29, 1773."

In consequence of the above notification about one thousand people met at Faneuil Hall, where they past a vote that they would at all events return this tea; from Faneuil Hall they adjourned to the Old South Meeting; afternoon they met again and adjourned untill the morning; there were in the meeting this afternoon ab^t twenty-five hundred people as near as I could guess.

Nov. 30. — The Body met again this morning. The Gov^t sent them a message advising them to depart at their peril. They took but little notice of the message; they met again this afternoon. I told him that I had purchased a cargo for Capt. Bruce' ship, that it was on the wharff, and that Capt. Bruce when he arrived would apply to the Body, and that I would endeavor to prevail on him to act with reason in this affair, and that I was very sorry he had any tea on board, — and which is very true, for it hath given me great uneasiness. I staid sometime at the meeting and was chose a committee man much against my will, but I dare not say a word. After dinner I was sent for by the Body by two messengers, John Ingersoll and Jos. Eyres. This was at the motion of Mr. Hancock. I wish he had omitted it.¹

Dec. 1. — Met the Committee; present Sam Adams, Jno. Hancock, Jonathan Williams, myself.

Dec. 2. — Capt. Bruce arriv'd this morning from London.

Dec. 3. — This morning Capt. Bruce and I was sent for by the committee relative the tea on board him; they ordered him to Griffins Wharff and gave him the same directions as to Capt. Hall.

Dec. 8. — Capt. Coffin arrived in Nantasket Road with the small-pox, and part of the tea.

¹ A note of Rowe to Thomas and Elisha Hutchinson, other consignees of the tea, offering to advance money to them to pay the duty, will be found in "Diary and Letters" of Governor Hutchinson, i. 97.

Dec. 11. — This forenoon a committee was sent to me ab^t Bruce's ship, Dr. Warren, W^m Mollineux, John Pitts, to know when she would be unloaded and many other questions.

Dec. 16. — I being a little unwell staid at home all day and all the evening. The Body meeting in the forenoon adjourn'd untill afternoon. Broke up at dark. Several things passed between Mr. Rotch¹ and them. A number of people appearing in Indian dresses went on board the three ships Hall, Bruce, and Coffin; they opened the hatches, hoisted out the tea, and flung it overboard; this might, I believe, have been prevented. I am sincerely sorry for the event. Tis said near two thousand people were present at this affair.

Dec. 18. — The affair of destroying the tea makes great noise in the town; tis a disastrous affair, and some people are much alarmed. I can truly say I know nothing of the matter, nor who were concerned in it. I would rather have lost five hundred guineas than Cap^t Bruce should have taken any of this tea on board his ship.

Dec. 31. — The people of Charlestown collected what tea they could find in the town and burnt it in the view of a thousand spectators. There was found in the house of one Withington of Dorchester about half a chest of tea; the people gathered together and took the tea, brought it into the Common of Boston, and burnt it this night about eleven of clock. This is supposed to be part of the tea that was taken out of the ships and floated over to Dorchester.

1774. *Jan. 7.* — I paid Admiral Montagu a visit this morning, and found him very angry, I think without reason; be that as it may, if he is angry he may be pleased again, &c. I wish the good wishes of all mankind, and should esteem his favors; but as for his business, that don't give me any concern: he has taken it away without just cause.

Jan. 25. — John Malcom having done some violence to a man with a sword enraged the multitude that they took him and put him into a cart, tarr'd and feathered him, carrying through the principal streets of this town, with a halter about him, from thence to the gallows, and returned through the main street, making great noise and huzzaing. I did not see the number attending, but tis supposed by the people that did there were upwards of twelve hundred people; tis said that Malcom behaved with great fortitude and resolution. This was looked upon by me and every sober man as an act of outrageous violence, and when several of the inhabitants applyed to a particular justice to exert his authority and suppress the people and they would support him in the execution of his duty, he refused.

Jan. 26. — A great concourse of people were in quest of the infamous Richardson this night. They could not find him; very lucky for him.

¹ Rowe notes Francis Rotch's sailing for London Jan. 9, 1774, and return May 16.

Jan. 27. — The Generall Court met yesterday. The Governour's speech much admired.

Feb. 8. — The Judges of the Superior Court returned their answers to the House this day. Judge Trowbridge, Judge Ropes, Judge Foster Hutchinson, and Judge Cushing are willing to receive their salaries as granted them by the General Court, and relinquish their grants from the Crown. The Chief Justice, Peter Oliver, Esq., has received part of his money as salary granted him by the Crown already, and will not relinquish that grant; therefore the House voted his answer not satisfactory.

Feb. 11. — The House of Assembly passed several resolves against the conduct of the Chief Justice, Peter Oliver, Esq., which may be fully seen in Fleet's and Edes's and Gill's papers, and tis my opinion they'l repent of their resolutions; they are in direct opposition to government at home.

Feb. 15. — The Superior Court met and adjourned untill this day week upon the account of the Chief Justice Peter Oliver. [Rowe gave a dinner to public characters, of whom Samuel Adams was one.]

Feb. 19. — Yesterday the whole House presented in a body a remonstrance to the Gov^r relative to the Chief Justice Mr. Oliver.

Feb. 22. — This day the Superior Court adjourned to June, which has given great uneasiness.

Feb. 23. — I dined at home with the Honble. John Hancock, Esq., Major Joseph Hawley of Northampton, Mr. Robt. T. Paine of Taunton, Mr. John Pickering of Salem, Jedediah Prebble of Falmouth, Casco Bay, Mr. Isaac Lathrop of Plymouth, the Honble. W^m Sever of Kingston, Mr. Gorham of Charlestown, Mr. Inman, Mrs. Inman, Mrs. Rowe, and Geo. Inman.

March 5. — Mr. Hancock delivered an oration this day at Dr. Sewall's meeting-house to the greatest number of people that ever met on the occasion. I tryd to get in, but could not. Some gentlemen speak of the oration with great applause.

March 8. — Last evening the tea brought by Capt. Gorham in the Brigg Fortune was destroyed. This afternoon his Honor the Lieut.-Governour Andrew Oliver, Esq., was buried as follows. . . . Through some misunderstanding or blunder the gentlemen of the Councill did not attend this funerall, and but very few of the House of Representatives. There was, after Colo. Hancock's company had fired and the funerall over, as the relatives were retiring, some rude behaviour.

March 12. — Capt. Solo. Davis and I had a few words about trifles; he was wrong. I took him up a little too quick. I am sorry, as I believe him honest but too volatile.

April 8. — I rose early and went down to my wharff, and there had a long conversation with Admiral Montagu.

April 17. — Mr. Henry Knox and Miss Lucy Flucker paid us a visit. [They were married June 16, 1774.]

April 18. — This day the Admirall made his son George Montagu Post, and gave him command of the Foye in the room of Capt. Jordan, who has liberty to go home; he also made old Mr. Thornborough master and commander. The court martial set this day to try Lieut. Rogers on board the Active [names of members of the court]. The result we shall soon know.

April 24. — The Post, Mr. Peter Mumpford, brings an account that the tea ship is arrived from Antigua to New York last Monday at Sandy Hook.

April 30. — This evening the York paper brings an account of the destruction of eighteen boxes of tea belonging to Capt. Chambers.

May 10. — The annual town meeting; the four old representatives were chosen, Saml. Adams, John Hancock, W^m Phillips, and Thos. Cushing; they were almost unanimously chosen. The Harmony, Capt. Shayler, arrived from London, and brings the severest Act ever was penned against the town of Boston.

May 13. — Town meeting this day, relating to the distressing situation of this town, occasioned by a late Act of Parliament [Boston Port Bill] for blocking up the harbour of Boston, which is and will [be] a great evil; at present there is no describing the circumstances. The Lively man of war, Capt. Bishop, is arrived this day and brought out Generall Gage, our new Governour. God grant his instructions be not severe, as I think him to be a very good man.

May 14. — Spent most part of the day with the town's committee at the Representatives' room. Present Saml. Addams, myself, John Addams, Thos. Cushing, W^m Phillips, Henderson Inches, William Mollineux, Dr. Warren.

May 16. — I spent both parts of the day with the town's committee at the Town House. Present Mr. Samuel Adams, John Adams, Esq., Josiah Quincy, jun^r., Esq., W^m Phillips, Esq., Mr. Henderson Inches, Mr. William Mollineux, Thos. Cushing, Esq., and myself. Capt. Hall arrived from London; in him came passengers, our assistant the Rev. Mr. Parker, Mr. Francis Rotch, and Mr. William Palfry.

May 17. — This morning Generall Gage, our new Governour, landed from the Castle after having breakfasted with Admirall Montagu on board the Captain man of war; he was saluted by the Castle and the Captain man of war, and received at the Long Wharff by Colo. Hancock's Company of Cadets. The Regiment was under arms in King Street. The Company of Grenadiers made a good appearance. Capt. Paddock's Company of artillery and Col. Phipps' Company of Guards were also under [arms] in King street; he came to the Town House, had his commission read by the Secretary, and took the usual

oaths; from thence he was escorted to Faneuil Hall, where a good dinner by his Majesty's Council. There were but very few gentlemen of the town asked to dine there.

May 18. — I waited on Generall Gage this morning, who received me very cordially. The town met by adjournment this day. I was so busy I could not attend.

May 24. — The merchants met at the Town House on business of importance.

May 29. — The Admirall has now stationed all his ships [stations given].

May 30. — I paid the Generall a visit this morning. Town meeting, nothing done but harangue.

May 31. — The Minerva, Capt. Calahan, is gone below to take in Gov^r Hutchinson, his son Elisha Hutchinson, and his daughter, Miss Peggy Hutchinson, who are going passengers, as is Miss Polly Murray.

June 1. — This is the last day any vessell can enter this harbour until this fatal Act of Parliament is repealed. Poor unhappy Boston. God knows only thy wretched fate. I see nothing but misery will attend thy inhabitants.

June 2. — I met the gentlemen merchants at the west side of the Court House in Boston. While we were in the meeting Capt. Williamson arrived at Marblehead from Bristoll and brought with him another Act of Parliament for the better regulating the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, which Act strikes the very Charter granted to this Province by King William and Queen Mary, and is, or will be, productive with many evils to the advancement of this his Majesty's Province, and sour the minds of most of the inhabitants thereof. I am afraid of the consequences that this Act will produce. I wish for harmony and peace between Great Britain, our mother country, and the Colonies; but the time is farr off. The people have done amiss, and no sober man can vindicate their conduct, but the revenge of the ministry is too severe.

June 3. — Spent the evening at Deacon Jones' with the following merchants: John Amory, Jonathan Amory, Saml. Barrat, Henderson Inches, John Timmins, Eben^r Storer, W^m Whitwell, Edw. Payne, Henry Bromfield, and myself. We adjourned untill Monday evening.

June 6. — Artillery election. Brigg^r Brattle did the honors of the day in the absence of his Excellency Governor Gage.

June 7. — There was a grand ball at Salem last evening as an entertainment to Generall Gage, his officers, the Commissioners of the Customs, and many others.

June 8. — The committee of merchants waited on Genl. Gage with their address, Treas. Gray, Thos. Gray, Jno. Erving, Geo. Erving,

Richd. Letchmere, John Timmins, Jos. Winslow, Frank Green, James Forrest, James Anderson.

June 10.—The transports with the 4th Regiment are arrived from Southampton this morning.

June 12, Sunday.—After church I walked round the wharffs; tis impossible to describe the distressed situation of this poor town, not one topsail merchantman to be seen.

June 14.—This is the last day any vessell can depart this harbour. Boston, thy fate is very distressing. The fourth Regiment landed this morning, and pitched their tents in the Common by the pound, a number of spectators to see them.

June 15.—The forty-third Regiment landed this morning, and pitched their tents in the Common near the workhouse on that plain. This evening the tradesmen of the town met to consult on the distress of this place. There were upwards of eight hundred at this meeting; they did nothing, being much divided in sentiment.

June 16.—I went this morning to see my kinsman Jacob Rowe, who I found very ill and very dangerous. After dinner I spent an hour with John Adams and Josiah Quincy, jun^r. [Jacob Rowe (not John's brother) died June 20, and was buried in John Rowe's tomb under Trinity Church the 22d.]

June 17.—A generall town meeting this forenoon; they chose me moderator. I was much engaged, and therefore did not accept. The people at present seem very averse to accommodate matters. I think they will repent of their behaviour sooner or later. The Governor dissolved the Assembly this day. The General Court chose a committee of five to go to the Generall Congress, James Bowdoin, John Adams, Sam. Adams, the Speaker, and Mr. Paine of Taunton.

June 27.—Town meeting; the hall so full they adjourned to the Old South Meeting House. The debates were for and against the Committee of Correspondence, very warm on both sides; it lasted all day, and adjourned until to-morrow 10 of clock. The speakers in behalf of the committee were Saml. Adams, Josiah Quincy, jun^r, Dr. Warren, Dr. Young, W^m Mollineux, Benj. Kent. The speakers against the behaviour of the committee were Treas^r Gray, Thos. Gray, Saml. Elliot, Saml. Barrat, John Amory, Edw. Paine, Francis Greene, Ezek. Goldthwait.

June 28.—The town met again at the Old South Meeting. The debates very warm on both sides. I think [the committee] are wrong in the matter. The merchants have taken up against them; they have in my opinion exceeded their power; and the motion was put that they should be dismissed. The gentlemen that made and supported this motion could not obtain their vote; the majority were four to one against them. This affair will cause much evill, one against the other. I wish for peace in this town. I fear the consequences.

July 1. — [The Preston man of war, transports and soldiers, with Admiral Graves and Lord Percy arrive.]

July 4. — The 38 Regiment landed this day, and pitched their tents in the Common. I paid Admirall Montagu a visit this morning.

July 5. — The 5th Regiment landed this day, and pitched their tents in the Common. Admirall Montagu's Lady, and Miss Sophie Montagu paid us a visit this morning, and took leave of us, being just on their departure for England.

July 7. — The Captain man of war, with the Admirall on board, saluted Admirall Graves; but the wind dyed away; they did not sail. The Generall visited the troops in the Common this forenoon.

July 8. — I heard of the bad behaviour of the people at Marlborough; its said the Speakmans were concerned; if it proves so, they have not only behaved ill, but contrary to my sentiments, and forfeited my regard in future for them.

July 12. — Capt. Dove arrived from So. Carolina at Salem, with rice as a present from sundry gentlemen there for this place.

July 14. — This day a fast is recommended by some of the ministers on account of the miserable situation of this town. I cannot reconcile this measure, and should much rather the people would do justice, and recommend the payment for the tea instead of losing a day by fasting.

July 18. — Heard of my old friend Capt. Thos. Gerry of Marblehead being dead.

July 20. — This day is the annuall Commencement Day, but the distressed situation of the Town and Province prevents it being kept publick as usuall. I paid a visit to Generall Gage this morning, who received [me] very friendly.

July 25. — After dinner my brother Jacob set out for Quebeck. [He had arrived in Boston March 31.]

July 27. — A quarrell happened last night between some of the town's people and some officers of the Army. Town meeting yesterday. I did not attend.

Aug. 7. — The Scarborough man of war arrived yesterday from England; she left Plymouth the last port. A letter from Sucky by Mr. Hutt, who is lieutenant of the Scarborough. . . . I wrote the Generall [Gen. Gage, then at Salem] a few lines by Mr. Humphreys.

Aug. 7, 9, 10, 17. — [Arrival of vessels with troops, and appointments to civil offices under the late Act of Parliament.]

Aug. 12. — I waited on Generall Gage, Lord Percy, and Genl. Piggot with Major Clark.

Aug. 21. — A vessell arrived from Falmouth at Marblehead brings advice of Gov^r Hutchinsons arrivall in England, having a short passage from hence in Capt. Callahan.

Aug. 22. — A report that Daniel Leonard, Esq., one of the Coun-

sellors at Taunton, was obliged to leave the town of Taunton. [Names of persons sworn in as members of the Council.]

Sept. 1. — This morning a letter was picked up wrote by Gen^l Brattle to Gen^l Gage, and the Genl. in consequence sent a party of two hundred men under the command of Colo. Mattison, and took the gun powder belonging to the Province from the arsenall on Quarry Hill, and brought it from thence in the transport boats to the Cassell. This letter has exasperated the country people against Brattle, so that he now takes refuge in Boston.

Sept. 2. — A great number of people from the country are collected at Waltham, Watertown, and Cambridge, occasioned as tis reported from the behaviour of Gen^l Brattle. The people seem to be frightened and afraid of its consequence. The Generall has reinforced the entrance at the Neck. Commissioner Hallowell has been insulted in his way through Cambridge; he fled for shelter to this town. This evening appeared a flimsy recantation from Gen^l Brattle.

Sept. 3. — The people of Cambridge mostly dispersed, and gone home. The Generall sent four field pieces to Boston Neck.

Sept. 4, Sunday. — Mr. Parker read prayers and preached. Severall gentlemen of distinction were at our church, Peter Oliver, Esq., Chief Justice, Judge Brown of Salem, Jona. Sewall, Esq., Attorney Generall, W^m Pepperell, Esq., and a great many others, too many to particularize.

Sept. 7. — The Generall has doubled the guards at the Neck, and I believe designs to fortify it.

Sept. 9. — This morning a soldier of the 65th regiment, which had three times deserted, was shot on the Common.

Sept. 10. — The 59th regiment came from Salem and encamped on the west side of Boston Neck.

Sept. 14, Wednesday. — Church convention. I went to Chapell. Dr. Caner read prayers, and Mr. Sergeant of Cambridge preached a sensible, short sermon on the occasion. The Generall and his aid de camps, the Admirall and lady, and the Capt. of the Preston, with the navy officer of the day, the Commissioners, many of the Councill, the High Sheriff, and many other gentlemen and ladies attended. This night some of the officers of the navy came and spiked up the guns of the North Battery, a ridiculous manœuvre.

Sept. 22. — This day is the anniversary of his Majesty's accession to the throne. I went to the Councill Chamber with the Governour, Admirall, and many other gentlemen to drink the King's health and many other loyal toasts.

Oct. 11. — A number of deputys met at Concord this day. Capt. Callahan arrived from London at Salem, severall passengers, among the rest Geo. Inman.

Oct. 13. — [Troops arrive.]

Oct. 18. — This day an audacious villain attacked Colo. Cleveland and Capt. Montresor, snapped pistols at both of them, and wounded Colo. Cleveland with his own hanger.

Oct. 19. — The fellow that attacked Colo. Cleveland and Capt. Montresor was brought from Cambridge and committed to our gaol. His name is Dyer.

Oct. 22. — Mr. Mollineux died suddenly this morning.

Oct. 23, Sunday. — There was a vestry after church about altering the time of morning service and admitting the 59 regiment to come to church, as also the 5th regiment. Present John Erving, Dan Hubbard, James Boutineau, W^m Coffin, Rufus Green, John Cutler, Henry Loughton, James Perkins, and myself. [The two regiments attended the church December 4.]

Oct. 24. — This afternoon Will^m Mollineux was buried; he has been famous among the Sons of Liberty; many things are attributed to him, and tis believed he was first leader of dirty matters. A great concourse of people attended his funerall; his bearers were old Mr. Erving, Mr. James Bowdoin, Mr. Pitts, Mr. Thos. Boylston, Capt. John Bradford, and Mr. W^m Dennie.

Nov. 9. — Our delegates returned to town from Philadelphia.

Nov. 13, Sunday. — Genl. Gage attended at our church this morning.

Dec. 5. — The committee attended me about Brown's cargo; after some conversation we settled the affair.

Dec. 17. — The Asia and Boyne men of wars came this morning up against the town, and anchored between Long Wharff and Hancock's. I attended the funerall of Mr. Maturin, the Generalls secretary.

1775. *Jan. 18.* — This being the Queens birthday, it was celebrated by drinking their majestys health at the Town House. The picquet guards from all the regiments fired three vollies. The Castle and Battery and all the fleet fired a royal salute.

Jan. 20. — I paid a visit to the Gen^l, who received me very kindly.

Jan. 21. — An affray happened between the officers and the Town House watch last evening, which makes great uneasiness in town.

Jan. 24. — A detachment from each regiment went on board Capt. Thos. Graves, and are bound to Marshfield under the command of Capt. Ballfour of the 4th Regiment, in order to keep the people there quiet and peaceable. This morning also was a Court of Inquiry about the matter of the affray between the officers and the watchmen. The Court adjourned untill to-morrow morning.

Jan. 31. — This day the King's speech is come to town from Marblehead, in a vessell of Mr. Ornes from Falmouth; he takes notice of the behaviour of the Colonies, and particularly this Province; his remarks are very just.

Feb. 27. — I paid Admirall Graves a visit this forenoon. Colo. Lessly has been to Salem on an expedition and returned again.

March 6. — This day D^r Warren delivered an oration in D^r Sewall's Meeting. I did not hear him.

March 9. — This morning a country fellow who had bought a gun from one of the soldiers was published by them in the modern taste of tarring and feathering, and carried in a cart through the main streets of the town.

March 15. — This day an oration was delivered by a dirty scoundrell from Mrs. Cordis' balcony, wherein many characters were unfairly represented and much abused, and mine among the rest.

March 16. — This day is kept by many people as a Publick Fast, which gives great umbrage to a great many people which do not pay any regard to it, and I think they are not right, because they say the order does not originate under the direction of good government; yet it can [do] no harm.

March 25. — Afternoon the Generall sent for me to see a letter I received from Thos. Griffith.

April 16, Sunday. — I dined at home with Mrs. Rowe, Geo. Inman, and Jack Rowe. After dinner I went down Clarks Wharff to meet Capt. Linzee and Sucky, who arrived from Spithead and Falmouth in the Falcon sloop. I brought them home and their little son Sam^l Hood Linzee.

April 17. — [The Inmans and Linzees guests at dinner.] Our house full of visitors all day. Gen. Robinson and Major Moncrieff came to town from New York.

April 18, Tuesday. — I dined at home with Capt. Linzee, Mrs. Linzee, Mrs. Rowe, and George Inman, and spent the evening at home with them and Jack Rowe. [Capt. Linzee and Mrs. Linzee are recorded as dining every day at Rowe's, from their arrival until they left Boston May 1, except that on April 19th only her name appears.]

April 19. — Last night the Grenadiers and Light Companies belonging to the several regiments in this town were ferry'd over Charles River, and landed on Phipps farm in Cambridge, from whence they proceeded on their way to Concord, where they arrived early this day. On their march they had a skirmish with some country people at Lexington.

The First Brigade, commanded by Lord Percy, with two pieces of artillery, set off from this town this morning about 10 of clock, as a reinforcement, which with the Grenadiers and Light Infantry made about eighteen hundred men. The people in the country had notice of this movement; early in the night alarm guns were fired thro' the country and expresses sent off to the different towns, so that very early this morning large numbers from all parts of the country were assembled.

A generall battle ensued, which from what I can learn was supported with great spirit on both sides, and continued untill the King's troops got back to Charlestown, which was near sunset. Numbers are killed and wounded on both sides. Capt. Linzee and Capt. Collins in two small armed vessells were ordered up Charles River to bring off the troops to Boston, but Lord Percy and Generall Smith thought proper to encamp on Bunker's Hill this night; this unhappy affair is a shocking introduction to all the miseries of a Civil War. I dined at home with the Rev^d Mr. Parker, Mrs. Linzee, Mrs. Rowe, and George Inman, and spent the evening at home with Mr. Inman, Mrs. Linzee, Mrs. Rowe, George Inman, and Jack.

April 20. — The Generall sent some more troops to Charlestown last night and this morning, so that Lord Percy and the troops under his command returned to town. This night some people, about two hundred, attacked Capt. Linzee in the armed schooner a little below Cambridge bridge, and he gave them a warm reception, so that [they] thought proper to retreat with the loss of some men. I dined at home with Capt. Collins of the Nautilus, Capt. Linzee, the Rev^d Mr. Parker, Mr. Inman, Mrs. Rowe, Geo. Inman, and spent the evening at home with Mr. Inman, Capt. Linzee, Mrs. Linzee, Rich^d Green, Mrs. Rowe, Geo. Inman, and Jack.

Tis said many thousands of country people are at Roxbury and in the neighbourhood. The people in town are alarmed, and the entrenchments on Boston Neck double-guarded. Mrs. Linzee dined at the Admirall's.

April 21. — The reinforcement that was sent to Charlestown by the Gen^l are returned too, and the 64th Regim^t that was at the Castle are now in Boston Town House. All business at an end, and the communication stop'd between the town and country. No fresh provision of any kind brought to this market, so that Boston is in a most distressed condition. I dined at home with Capt. Linzee, Mrs. Rowe, Mrs. Linzee, Mr. Inman, and Geo. Inman.

This afternoon severall gentlemen met with the Selectmen to consult on our situation, and chose a committee to draft a memoriall to Gen^l Gage, viz.: the Selectmen, James Bowdoin, Henderson Inches, Alex. Hill, Edward Payne, and Jos. Barrell; they adjourned until tomorrow ten of clock. I spent the evening at home with Mr. Inman, Mrs. Linzee, Mrs. Rowe, and Geo. Inman.

April 22. — The same company met and reported, upon which the inhabitants were called together; after much debate and some amendments they passed two votes, which were presented to the Generall by the same committee, and on delivery they asked the Generall to grant their prayer; he in some measure complied, but made some other proposalls.

I dined at home with Capt. Linzee, Mrs. Linzee, Mr. Inman, Geo. Inman, and Jack Rowe, also Mrs. Rowe, and spent the evening at home with the same company. Mr. Nicholls sent Jack home last night, and broke up his school.

April 23. — The inhabitants met again this morning, and after some debate they came into the Generall's measures, which was to deliver up their arms to be deposited in the hands of the Selectmen; and such of the inhabitants as had a mind to leave the town might go with their effects. This evening news was brought that Capt. Brown was stop'd at Charlestown in his way by the country people.

April 24. — I rose very early, and got away Mr. Nun, John Inman, Mr. Sparks, Thos. Knights, Jos. Taylor, and John Head on board Mr. Sheriff's sloop for Salem. Between one and two Capt. Brown got to town. I soon despatched him. This day the inhabitants carried in their arms; the number 2674.

April 26. — John Inman is come to town, and tells me that my brigg Sucky sailed from Marblehead yesterday towards night; in her went the following passengers [names given]. The Admirall's lady paid Mrs. Linzee a visit this morning. Mr. Sheriff sent upwards of 40 sheep into our pasture this day.

April 27. — The General has given leave for all people to leave the town that chooses with their effects.

April 28. — This day I apply'd to get a pass to go out with my effects, but could not prevail.

May 1. — Capt. Linzee and Sucky and little Sam Hood sailed this morning in the Falcon sloop.

May 2. — The post is in; bad news from New York. Dr. W^m Samuel Johnson and Col. Wallcot are come to town on special business with the Generall from the Colony of Connecticut.

May 3. — Mr. Inman went to the lines to see Mrs. Inman; he had some conversation with her.

May 5. — The inhabitants flocking out of town. Some transports arrived from Hallifax with four companies of the 65th Regiment.

May 10. — William Vassall and all his family, together with Tim^o Fitch and family, Thos. Brattle, and many others went off this morning.

May 13. — I paid a visit to Genl. Robertson, where I found Colo. Abercrombie, Major Goldthwait, and Doct^r Mallet.

May 17. — [Fire broke out in the barracks of the 65th regiment on Treat's wharf, destroying 33 stores on Dock Square.]

May 21. — A party was sent under the command of Mr. Innis of the 43^d to Grape Island to bring off some cattle and hay; the country people being very numerous kept a brisk fire on them, so that they were obliged to return without effecting their design. One marine

wounded. Two transports from Deptford, with recruits, and one with marines from Plymouth, arrived this day.

May 24. — [Arrival of troops.]

May 25. — The Cerberus man of warr, Capt. Chad, arrived from Spithead; in this ship the Generalls Burgoyne, How, and Clynton came passengers.

May 28. — A continual firing all night on Norten's [Noddle's] Island between the Provincials and marines and sailors. Several marines and sailors killed and wounded, and tis supposed the Provincials lost many.

May 29. — Twenty sheep and lambs have been killed this night in my pasture.

May 30. — Last night the country people burnt one house and several barns on Norten's [Noddle's] Island, and the dwelling house and store this forenoon. Our two girls Peggy and Becky went away this day.

[Vol. XII. of the Diary, pp. 2007–2077, is missing, and inside the cover of Vol. XIII. is written “from June to December is mislaid or taken away out of my store.”]

Dec. 25, Christmas Day. — Mr. Walter read prayers, and Mr. Parker preached a very good sermon from the 2^d chap. St. Luke's Gospell & 14th verse. The money gathered for the use of the poor of this church amounted to sixty dollars.

Dec. 27. — I dined at home with Capt. Linzee, Mrs. Linzee, little Saml. Hood Linzee, who is two years old this day.

Dec. 30. — [Arrival of ships with troops.] The Scarborough, Capt. Barclay, and several transports sailed to-day on a secret expedition.

Dec. 31. — Thus endeth the year 1775, a most fatal year for this part of America. The Niger man of war, Capt. Talbot, is arrived in Nantasket Road, and has brought the King's speech, dated the 26 October.

1776. *Jan. 7, Sunday.* — Capt. Linzee behaved very cruelly to me; I shall not forget it.¹ [Rowe and Linzee were, however, much together at Rowe's and Inman's till Capt. Linzee sailed.]

Jan. 12. — I paid Admiral Shouldham a visit this morning, who is a genteel man, and received me politely.

Jan. 14. — I staid at home and dined at home with Capt. Linzee, Mrs. Linzee, Mr. Inman, Mrs. Inman, Geo. Inman, Mrs. Rowe, and Jack Rowe.

Jan. 18. — Mrs. Linzee and George paid us a visit, and took their leave, perhaps forever. [War ship arrived.]

Jan. 20. — This day the Falcon, Capt. Linzee, sailed. He took with him Mrs. Linzee, little Sam, and Hannah. I sincerely wish their prosperity and happiness. With the Falcon sailed the Mercury; in her

¹ Pages of the Diary covering Jan. 8, 9, 15, and 16, torn out.

General Clynton is passenger, and Mr. Reeves, the General's Secretary. Several transports went with them, with the Light Infantry of the 4th and 44th Regiments; they are gone on some expedition to the southward.

Jan. 21.—Some good person put in Mr. Parker's hands a quantity of provisions, wood, and coals, to be distributed for the poor of Trinity Church.

Jan. 24.—It's generally believed that Genl. Carlton has given Montgomery and Arnold a very severe drubbing at Quebec.

Jan. 25.—Two vessels are said to be taken this day in our bay, and carried into Plymouth.

Feb. 1.—[Sir W^m Pepperell and family sailed.]

Feb. 2.—[Schooner privateer Capt. Manly fitted out at Plymouth destroyed.]

Feb. 4.—Capt. George Montagu, of the Tewey man of war sent in a sloop from Damariscotta laden with wood for Marblehead; very acceptable.

Feb. 5.—The troops at Charlestown got four cattell this morning, which were sent out as tis supposed for a decoy; they lost one man, and had another very much wounded. Sir Henry Callder commanded.

Feb. 8.—[Dined at Capt. Haskins's with other guests on "a fine hard Q^r of veal."]

Feb. 9.—Tis reported that Capt. Banks has hoisted his broad pendant on board the Renown man of war.

Feb. 11.—Some plan for an expedition was projected last night; tis supposed an alteration of the weather put a stop to it.

Feb. 14.—This morning a party of the King's troops burnt the houses on Dorchester Neck, and brought off seven prisoners.

Feb. 24.—Last evening the Wonder of Wonders was acted, and generally approved of. I waited on Gen. Howe this morning about Spooner and Church's affairs.

March 1.—Blows fresh. My brigg Sucky went down in order to proceed to Oporto.

March 3.—This night the people from the Battery at Phipps farm threw many shells into town, which put the inhabitants into great fear; and they have done damage to many houses, particularly Sherburn Fitch's, George Erving's, and Courtney's the tailor.

March 4, Monday.—I dined at home with Rev^d Mr. Walter and Mrs. Rowe. All the preceding night the town has been fired at by the people without from every quarter. I don't hear of much damage being done. The guns from Cobble Hill on Charlestown side have thrown these shot the farthest into town; one of them struck Wheatley's in King's Street. I spent the evening at home with Rich. Green and Mrs. Rowe and Jack Rowe.

March 5. — This morning we perceived a battery erected on the hill on Dorchester Neck. This has alarmed us very much. About 12 the Generall sent off six regiments; perhaps this day or tomorrow determines the fate of this truly distressed place. All night both sides kept a continuall fire. Six men of the 22nd are wounded in a house at the South End; one boy lost his leg. A very severe storm; it blew down my rail fences, both sides the front of the house.

Mar. 6. — This morning the country people have thrown a strong work on another place on the Neck at Dorchester Neck. Gen'l Howe has ordered the troops ashore again, and tis now out of doubt that Gen. Howe will leave this town with his troops, &c., which has put the inhabitants of this town into great disorder, confusion, and much distress. The firing has ceased this day.

Mar. 7. — The troops and inhabitants very busy in getting all the goods and effects on board the shipping in the harbour; tis impossible to describe the distresses of this unfortunate town. I dined and spent the evening at home with my dear Mrs. Rowe, Mr. Inman, and Jack Rowe. Gen'l Robinson paid me a visit.

Mar. 8. — My situation has almost distracted me. John Inman, Archy McNeil, and Duncan are determined to leave me. God send me comfort in my old age. I try to do what business I can, but am disappointed, and nothing but cruelty and ingratitude falls to my lot. I spent the day with my dear Mrs. Rowe, Richard Green, and John Haskins.

March 9. — I dined at home with the Rev^d Mr. Parker, Mrs. Rowe, and Jack, and spent the evening at the Possee. This day Gen'l Robinson pressed the ship *Minerva* into the service; nothing but hurry and confusion, every person striving to get out of this place. A great deal of firing on both sides this night.

March 10, Sunday. — Capt. Dawson is returned with two vessells; he has had a severe brush with four privateers. A proclamation came out from Gen'l How this day, a very severe one on some people. John Inman went on board this day with his wife; he has in his possession three watches of mine — sundry pieces of checks which was to be made into shirts. Jos. Goldthwait [and] Mrs. Winslow went on board this day; he has carried off Capt. Linzee's horse without paying for him.

March 11. — This morning I rose very early and very luckily went to my warehouse; when I came there I found Mr. Crean Brush with an order and party from the Gen'l, who were just going to break open the warehouse, which I prevented by sending for the keys, and opening the doors. They took from me to the value of twenty two hundred and sixty pounds sterling, according to the best calculation I could make, in linnens, checks, cloths, and woollens. This party behaved very inso-

lently and with great rapacity, and I am very well convinced exceeding their orders to a great degree. They stole many things and plundered my store. Words cannot describe it. This party consisted of Mr. Blasswitch, who was one of the Canceaux people, Mr. Brush, the provost, Mr. Cunningham, a refugee, Mr. Welch the provost deputy, a man named Hill, and about fifteen soldiers, with others. I remained all day in the store, but could not hinder their destruction of my goods. This day I got a piece of bread and one draft of flip. I spent the evening at home with Mr. Parker, Rich^d Green, Mr. Warner of Portsmouth, who assisted me very much, with Mrs. Rowe and Jack Rowe. They are making the utmost speed to get away, and carrying ammunition, cannon, and everything they can [carry] away, taking all things they meet with, never asking who is owner or whose property, making havoc in every house and destruction of all kinds of furniture. There never was such destruction and outrage committed any day before this. Many other people have suffered the same fate as me, particularly Mr. Sam^l Austin, Mr. John Scolly, Cap^t Partridge, Capt. Dashwood, Mr. Cyrus Baldwin, the Widow Newman.

Mar. 12. — A continual fire from both sides this night. They are hurrying off all their provisions and destroying and mangling all navigation; also large quantitys of salt and other things they heave into the sea and scuttle the stores. The inhabitants are greatly terrified and alarmed for fear of greater evils when the troops leave this distressed place. I got Crean Brush receipt for the goods taken from me, but don't expect much good from it, the severall gentlemen say they will be my friend in this affair.

March 13. — I have staid at home most part of this day. The confusion still continues, and plundering of houses, &c., increasing. Gen^l Robinson paid me a visit and eat a morsell of provisions, together with Rich^d Green, Mrs. Rowe, and Jack Rowe. The sailors from the ships have broke open my stores on my wharff and plundered them; this was done at noon this day. This morning a house was burnt at the North End, whether set on fire on purpose or from accident seems uncertain. A considerable number of cannon fired in the night from both sides. The country people throwing up more entrenchments, &c., on Dorchester Neck.

March 14. — This night much damage has been done to many houses and stores in this town, and many valuable articles stolen and destroyed. Stole out of W^m Perry's store a quantity of tea, rum, and sugar, to the value of £120 sterling. Mr. Sam. Quincy's house broke and great destruction, the Rev^d Mr. Walter's, also the Rev^d Dr. Caner's and many others.

Mar. 15. — This night my store on the Long Wharff broke open and almost a hhd. of sugar and a hogshhead of ware stole. Twas ex-

pected the troops would have embarked this night, but they still remain in town; I dined at home with Gen^l Robertson, Colo. Clark, Rich^d Green, an officer of the 5th reg^t, Mrs. Rowe, and Jack Rowe; after dinner, Cap^t Haskins gave me notice that several officers were in Mrs. Hooper's house, committing violence and breaking everything left; they broke a looking glass over the chimney which cost twenty guineas — such barbarous treatment is too much for the most patient man to bear. I spent the evening at home with Rich. Green, Mrs. Rowe, and Jack Rowe.

Mar. 16. — The troops are getting everything in order to depart. My store on Long Wharff broke open again this night; the behaviour of the soldiers is too bad, tis almost impossible to believe it. Two officers of the 5th came to me for wine; they wanted to be trusted; I refused them; since I have heard nothing, only they damned me and swore they would take it by force; one of them named Russell of the 5th Regiment, the other I don't know.

Mar. 17, Sunday. — St. Patrick's day. The Provincials are throwing up a battery on Nook Hill on Dorchester Neck, which has occasioned much firing this night. This morning the troops evacuated the town, and went on board the transports at and about Long Wharff; they sailed and got most part of them into King Road. About noon Gen^l Putnam and some troops came into town to the great joy of the inhabitants that remained behind. I dined at home with Mr. Inman, Mrs. Inman, Mr. Warner, Mrs. Rowe, and Jack Rowe.

March 18. — Major Chester and Capt. Huntington lodged at our house. The town very quiet this night. Severall of my friends came to see me from the country.

Mar. 19. — Numbers of people belonging to Boston are daily coming in. Gen^l Washington and his retinue were in town yesterday. I did not hear of it; otherways should have paid my respects and waited on him. This afternoon the King's troops burnt the Block house at the Cassell and the Continental troops are throwing up a battery on Fort Hill; most all the ships are gone from King Road into Nantasket Road.

Mar. 20. — They burnt the barracks and houses at the Cassell this afternoon and destroyed everything they could on the island and blew up the fortifications all around it.

Mar. 22. — I dined at home with Generall Putnam, Generall Greene, Mr. Inman, Mrs. Inman, Mrs. Forbes, Mrs. Rowe, and Jack. After dinner Colo. Gridly, Mr. Chase, both Mr. Webbs, and severall other officers came to the house.

March 23. — I dined at Mr. Inman's with him, Mrs. Inman, Gen^l. Green, Mrs. Green, Tuthill Hubbard, Mrs. Forbes, Mr. Lowell (?) Mrs. Rowe, and Capt. Gilbert Speakman. Some fire below Nantasket Road; I take it to be a transport set on fire to destroy her.

Mar. 24, Sunday afternoon. — I went to church. Mr. Parker read prayers and preached from the 22^d chap. by St. Matthew & 37 and 38 verses. This was a very good sermon, and considering the distressing time a good many people at church. A transport was burnt last night in the Lighthouse channel.

Mar. 25. — The fleet still in Nantasket Road. A great many of the ships in Nantasket sailed this afternoon.

Mar. 26. — I waited on Gen^l Greene this morning, with Mr. Baker, about some iron on my wharff. After dinner I went with Mr. Parker and paid my respects to Generall Washington, who received us very politely.

Mar. 27. — This afternoon all the fleet sailed from Nantasket Road but three which is supposed to be men of warr.

Mar. 28. — This day the General Court made a handsome entertainment at Capt. Marston's, that now lives in Colo. Ingersoll's house, for Gen^l Washington and the other generalls of the United Colonies, and the Rev^d Dr. Elliot preached at Dr. Chauncy's Meeting a sermon on the occasion, giving a history of what has hapned in town during the siege. I dined with twenty four gentlemen at Waterman's tavern in Roxbury, all Free Masons, by invitation.

March 29. — A town meeting this day at Dr. Chauncy's Meeting-house. The old officers of the town were chose. I dined at home with Rich. Green, Mrs. Rowe, and Jack, and spent the evening at home with Rich^d Green, Mr. Parker, Mr. Warner, Mrs. Rowe, and Jack Rowe.

March 30. — I lent Mr. Parker my mare to go to Cambridge this morning.

March 31, Sunday. — I gave Gen^l Washington an invitation to dine, who returned me a very polite answer. Mr. Parker preached at Trinity in the morning, at Chaple this afternoon. Several regiments under orders to march to the southward from Prospect and Winter Hills.

Apr. 4. — A town meeting this day at Dr. Chauncy's Meeting House, — Mr. Kent, moderator. Mr. Parker slept in his house this night. He gives me £26.13.4 per annum.

Apr. 5, Good Friday. — Gen^l Washington and Lady and family set out yesterday; also Gen^l Gates to the southward. News of Jolly Allen being ashore at Cape Cod, and twenty six other passengers.

Apr. 6. — Capt. Manly is come to town, and brings the account of his taking Crean Brush, Wm. Jackson, and seventy other passengers in a brigg bound with the fleet. This vessell, tis said, has twenty five thousand pound sterling on board in English goods and other merchandise; among the prisoners is a serjeant and 12 men of the King's troops.

Apr. 7, Sunday. — Mrs. Hooper came to town. She is in a most pitifull, distressed situation. The proprietors of Trinity Church met after church; present, twelve persons.

Apr. 8. — I attended the church meeting this morning, and was chose warden with Dan^l Hubbard. Afternoon I went by invitation of Brother Webb to attend the funerall of the remains of Dr. Warren, and went accordingly to the Councill Chamber with a design to attend and walk in procession with the lodges under my jurisdiction, with our proper jewells and cloathing, but to my great mortification was very much insulted by some furious, hot persons — without the least provocation; one of brethren thought it most prudent for me to retire. I accordingly did so; this has caused some uneasy reflections in my mind, as I am not conscious to myself of doing anything prejudicial to the cause of America either by will, word, or deed. The corps of Dr. Warren was carried into Chapell. Dr. Cooper prayed and Mr. Perez Morton delivered an oration on the occasion. Dr. Warren's bearers were Genl. Ward, Genl. Fry, Col. Gridly, Dr Morgan, Mr. Moses Gill, and Mr. John Scolly. There was a handsome procession of the craft, with two companys of soldiers. There is a confirmation of Crean Brush and Wm. Jackson being taken, and also my negro fellow Adam.

Apr. 10. — I attended the proprietors of Trinity Church this morning on Mr. Parker's affairs. I see Mr. Jos. Wentworth, and had some conversation with him about Capt. Manley's capture. My worthy friend Benj. Green was taken out of this troublesome world this afternoon.

April 11. — This day Crean Brush and W^m Jackson were sent to Watertown under guard.

Apr. 12. — This morning came an account of Brymers brigg being taken in the bay by some whale boats under the command of Capt. Thatcher and carried into Hingham. Tis said the vessell taken by Thatcher is very valuable, and belongs to Bristol. Crean Brush and Wm. Jackson are brought to Boston.

April 13. — Martin Brimmer and Mr. Dalton of Newberry Port paid us a visit.

April 14, Sunday. — I staid at home all day, our church shut up. Mr. Parker gone to Newberry Port, and Mr. Bass expected to town, who disappointed him. I dined at home with Mr. Tristram Dalton, Mr. Warner, Mrs. Rowe, and Jack Rowe, and spent the evening at home with Mr. Inman, Mrs. Inman, Mrs. Rowe, Rich^d Green, Capt. Haskins, Mr. Warner, and Jack Rowe.

April 17. — Severall people taken up this day, and carried to gaol. Dr. Whitworth, his son, W^m Perry, one Edwards, and others.

April 18. — This morning the persons that were taken up were carried over to Dorchester and there examined by a court appointed by

the Generall Court for that purpose; they examined W^m Perry and Edwards, and ordered them to gaol; the rest they kept all night there.

April 19. — Dr. Whitworth examined this day and admitted to bail.

May 1. — My dear little fellow and kinsman Jack Rowe taken very ill.

May 3. — Dr. Whitworth and son committed to close gaol.

May 4. — Jack very ill. Dr. Lloyd is afraid of him. The Justices adjourned until Wednesday week.

May 7. — Jack growing better, and I hope out of danger. Severall parties have been for severall days on Noddle's Island, throwing up breastworks, &c., for a fort.

May 8. — This morning Mr. Hammond's plough began to plough up the pasture. Two briggs, one from Cork, the other from the Western Islands, taken by Capt. Tucker in Manley's schooner, and carried into Lynn.

May 15. — [Justices met.]

May 17. — This is a Fast Day, appointed by the Continentall Congress throughout the Colonies. [Large British ship loaded with gunpowder and arms brought in, being taken by Capt. Mugford in a schooner from Beverly.]

May 21. — Bad news from Quebec. [Capt. Mugford attacked in Nantasket Road by boats from a man of warr, and killed.]

May 22. — The army from Quebec is retired from before it; the account imperfect.

May 23, 24, 27, 28. — [Town meetings, those on 23 and 24th to choose representatives.]

June 2 & 4. — [Dr. Church came to town and was confined.]

June 8, 9. — [Captures by privateers of provisions, and 95 soldiers, mostly Highlanders.]

June 11. — A flag of truce went from town on board the *Renown*, Mr. White of Marblehead and Mr. Martin Brimmer. Comm. Banks treated them very politely.

June 12. — A hand bill is sent about containing interesting [news] from the Continentall Army in Canada.

June 14. — An expedition went forward against the ships in Nantasket Road. Three separate bodies, one on Long Island, one on Pedricks [Petticks] Island, and another on Nantasket; they have driven the ships from Nantasket Road. Comm. Banks, its said, burnt the house on Georges Island and the house on the Light House Island.

June 15. — I have been very busy all this morning in finding out some persons that have wickedly and maliciously spread a false report about me, and have had them before Justice Hill, and have got the first of

them to acknowledge it to be a lye, and she hath signed a declaration which I hope will satisfy and clear my innocence.

June 17, 18. — [British ships with Highlanders taken by privateers.]

June 22. — The Continentall affairs appear in Canada very unfavourable.

June 23-27, 29. — [Fleets of British ships in the bay, about four leagues from the Light House.]

June 25. — The Highland officers and soldiers are sent out of town to Mendon, Reading, and Lunenburg.

July 7. — [Captures by privateers, one of a vessel laden with 419 hogshheads of rum.]

July 11. — Young Shaw brought ten Indians from the Mirimiche and St. John's tribe; they are come to negotiate some business with the General Court, and are the headmen of their tribes. A report in town that Lord Howe has been spoke with; tis said his designs are to settle the present unhappy disputes that subsist between G. Britain and the United Colonies.

July 13, Saturday. — I attended the gentlemen sufferers by Crean Brush. Capt. Benj. Phillips was taken up this day. Tis said by Mr. Mumpford, the post, that Independence was declared the 4th instant at Philadelphia. A generall inoculation in this town for the small pox.

July 17. — There is an account from New York of two men of war and some tender got up beyond the city, — the Phoenix, Capt. Parker, and the Rose, Capt. Wallace.

July 18, Thursday. — This day Independency was declared in Boston from the balcony of the Council Chamber; a great confusion in town.

July 20. — This morning advertisements were put up for the inhabitants to meet on Monday next at ten in the morning in the Common.

July 21, Sunday. — I went to church this morning. Mr. Parker omitted the petitions in the Liturgy for the King and royal family, thinking it prudent.

July 22-27. — [Visit, with Rev. Mr. Parker as companion, to Portsmouth, N. H., on business, — the division of some goods, perhaps brought in by a privateer, — dining with old Judge Parker and Mr. Jos. Wentworth in that town, and with Tristram Dalton at "Newberry Old Town." "We were smoaked at Charlestown, but passed at Newberry bridge."]

July 30. — [Capture of the ship Queen of England laden with provisions for General Howe's army, the ship belonging to Rowe's friend Jos. Squires of Plymouth.]

August 1. — This day is appointed by the Congress as a fast to be observed throughout the Colonies. I went to church this morning. Mr. Parker preached.

Aug. 3. — [A ship captured by privateers, laden with 400 hogsheads of sugar.]

Aug. 5. — Richard Green set out this morning for Brookfield for 4 months exile, James Perkins for 4 months to Medfield, Nat. Cary do. to Dedham, John Timmins and Thos. Amory two months to Waltham, William Perry 4 months to Medfield, and Nat. Brinly do. to Framingham.

Aug. 9. — [Captures by privateers.]

Aug. 11, Sunday. — After service Mr. Parker read the proclamation of Independence.

Aug. 14. — This day the Sons of Liberty kept the remembrance of it at John Marston's in King Street.

Aug. 15. — I dined at home with Genl. Lincoln, Elbridge Gerry, Esq., one of the delegates to the Congress, and Mrs. Rowe, and spent the evening at home with her.

Aug. 18, 19. — [Journey to Portsmouth for a law-suit, returning August 25. At Hampton "had the pleasure of the company of Mr. Ware, President of the Council, who is a man of understanding."]

Aug. 21. — This morning our tryall came on. After dinner I attended the court. Our attorney, Mr. Loel [John Lowell], deserves praise, and is a gentleman of merit, and so is Mr Pickering [John Pickering, of Portsmouth], who pleaded as advocate for the captors and against us. They had not time to finish, and adjourned untill the morning. I spent the evening at Tilton's with my friends the other claimants, Saml. Austin, Robt. Ruggles, Nat. Barrat, Mr. Fraser, Mr. Cyrus Baldwin, Colo. Leveret, his son, and a young gentleman sent by our council with the papers.

Aug. 22. — This morning our tryall came on again. The cause was given to the jury by Dr. Bracket, who is Judge of Admiralty. I dined at my worthy friend Mark Wentworth's, with him and his lady, my worthy friends Colo. Atkinson and Jonathan Warner, Esq., and Mr. King, a very sensible gentleman. This afternoon the jury brought in their verdict in our favour, viz., that the capture was not within the Act, and that the claimants ought to have their goods restored. This verdict is disliked by Capt. Manly, &c., and therefore he intends to move for an appeal. I spent the evening at Tilltons with Mr. Loell and our friends the claimants.

Aug. 23. — I with the rest of the claimants have tried to settle this affair with the agent and Capt. Manly, but to no purpose. I slept at old Colo. Warner's last night and this, and had a long conversation with him and his lady, who I found to be a very sensible old gentleman.

Aug. 26. — Yesterday was our wedding day. We have been married thirty three years.

Aug. 28. — Mr. Saml. Adams and Colo. Whipple of Portsmouth came to town from Philadelphia this morning. The claimants met this forenoon; they chose a committee to report their cause to Saml. Adams, Esq., — myself, Mr. Saml. Austin, Capt. Saml. Partridge.

Aug. 31. — The post says that Generall Howe has landed some of his troops on Long Island near Flat Bush, and that some skirmishes had taken place.

Sept. 5. — I attended the Court of Admiralty in Boston, Judge Pickering. The Rev^d Mr. Payson paid me a visit. Several skirmishes between the two armies at Long Island. Lord Sterling and Generall Sullivan are missing.

Sept. 7. — Tis said the Continentall troops have left Long Island.

Sept. 8, Sunday. — After church Colo. Langdon of Portsmouth paid me a visit. I spent the evening at home with Mr. Inman, Mrs. Inman, Mr. [Tristram] Dalton, and Mrs. Rowe. Several West India men carried into Providence by the Continental vessels.

Sept. 10. — I dined at Deacon Jones the Coffee House on turtle. Present Genl. Lincoln, Mr. Mercer [of New York], Mr. James Otis, Mr. Inman, myself, Dan^l Johnnot, Geo. Johnnot, Jona. Amory, Henry Bromfield, his son, Colo. Barber, his son, Thos. Russell, young Williams, Capt. Job Prince, his son, Colo. Moore, Mr. Loell [Lowell], Mr. Sam. Brick, Mr. Hammat, Mr. Ross of Jamaica, Mr. Grant of the Grenady (?), Mr. Grant of Antigua, Mr. Cambell, Capt. Barthlet, Colo. Jackson, Mr. Warner, Jos. Laughton, W^m Vans, John Cushing, Benj. Andrews, Henderson Inches, Herman Brimmer, Martin Brimmer, And. Brimmer, Capt. John Bradford, Mr. Hastings, Capt. Thompson, Capt. White of Marblehead, Dr. Joseph Gardner, Major Ward, Major Wadsworth, Wm. Davis, Edward Davis, Mr. Elnathan Jones, Mr. Plat, Mr. Eben^r Storer, Capt. Pascall Smith, Mr. Ezekiel Price, Mr. Jos. Barrell, Mr. Burges, Mr. Lindall Pitts, and Jos. Carnes. We were very joyfull.

Sept. 14. — Tis said by the post, Mr. Mumpford, that the Continentalls have appointed three gentlemen from their body to hold conferences with Lord Howe and his brother Generall Howe, viz.: Benj. Franklynn, Esq., Philadelphia, Mr. Rutledge of South Carolina, and Mr. John Adams of Massachusetts Bay in New England, Braintree.

Sept. 17. — Yesterday the Independent Company made their appearance in the Common under the command of Colo. Jackson, and were reviewed by some of the Councill and Generall Ward and a number of other gentlemen.

Sept. 20, Friday. — The Continentall troops evacuated New York on Sunday last.

Sept. 21. — The post confirms the account of the army's evacuating the city of New York.

Sept. 24. — Went to Watertown with Capt. Joseph Cunningham, Mr. Parker and Mr. Warner. I had some business with the Council. I dined at Mrs. Coolidge's with twelve gentlemen, Genl. Lincoln [and others]. Very bad news from Gen. Washington. The Connecticut militia behaved very badly and much to their discredit in an action that happened at Harlem on New York, the 16th instant.

Sept. 26. — Robt. Temple is come to town ; by him we hear from Geo. Inman and Capt. Linzee and Mrs. Linzee, the first at New York, the latter at Brunswick, Cape Fear River.

Sept. 29. — People from New York bring accounts of one third part of that city being destroyed by fire on Fryday night, the 20th September ; 'tis not yet ascertained how it happened.

Oct. 4, 7, 13, 16. — [Captured vessels brought into Salem and New York.]

Oct. 13. — I paid Genl. Ward a visit this morning, and had an hour's conversation with him.

Oct. 24. — 'Tis said the King's troops have landed at Frog's [Throg's] Point, near Westchester.

Nov. 4. — [A very valuable prize brought in.]

Nov. 7. — Mr. John Dean Whitworth came to town from the camp ; he was taken prisoner near White Plains under the command of Major Rogers.

Nov. 17. — Turner came from Portsmouth and brought three waggon load of goods with him.

[Vol. XIV. of the Diary, pp. 2258-2400, from Nov. 19, 1776, to Aug. 12, 1778, is missing.]

1778. *August 13.* — An English fleet appeared off Rhode Island. The French Admiral Count d'Estaing is gone in quest of them ; this happened on Tuesday.

August 14. — Mr. Payson [Rev. Phillips Payson of Chelsea] brought Jack home this morning. A sad accident happened unto him : some boys were out a shooting ; one of them named Barthlet's gun went off accidentally, and shot Jack through his coat and lodged at least thirty shot in his right arm ; 'tis a great mercy he escaped with life.

August 15. — Great damages in the country and town by the late storm, especially to the corn, fruit, and apples. Count d'Estaing's fleet not returned this morning.

Aug. 20. — This day Count d'Estaing's fleet returned to their station off Newport ; 'tis said they have taken a frigate and a bomb ketch.

Aug. 22. — A French man of war of 74 guns is got into Nantasket, having had a brush with an English 64 gun ship. The French captain is wounded.

Aug. 24. — An account of Count d'Estaing's fleet leaving Newport harbour bound to Boston on Saturday last.

Aug. 26. — Gen^l Hancock returned.

Aug. 28. — This morning the French fleet came to an anchor in Nantasket Road, some of them dismasted.

Aug. 29. — Some of d'Estaing's fleet came up into Boston harbour.

Aug. 30, Sunday. — The Count d'Estaing came with his retinue on shore yesterday, and dined with Gen^l. Hancock. Two frigates were seen in our bay this afternoon, supposed to be English.

Aug. 31. — An express from Plymouth this morning giving an account of a fleet of twenty sail in our bay this morning. [Arrival of prizes; Capt. Skimmer killed in an engagement with a letter of marque brig.]

Sept. 1. — The fleet appearing again in our bay has alarmed the people, that the whole of the militia are ordered under arms. Gen. Sullivan and his whole army have retired from Rhode Island, having had a smart engagement with the British troops there under the command of Gen^l Piggot.

Sept. 2. — Severall people taken up and put on board the prize ship, particularly Mr. Shirley and Capt. Callahan. The militia under arms again twice this day, and a constant guard kept up. I met the Proprietors of Point Shirley this day. The French Admirall wants to be accommodated with the houses for an hospital for his people, upwards of 700 being sick of the scurvy.

Sept. 5. — Colo. Crafts came to town with his regiment this morning. We met them on the road [to Dedham].

Sept. 7. — Jack Rowe went to Chelsea this morning. The English have sent a party to [New] Bedford, and burnt it on Saturday night, together with the shipping and stores in that harbor.

Sept. 10. — I dined at home with the Hon^{ble} Jery Powell, President of our Councill, and Mrs. Rowe.

Sept. 11. — High training this day. Gen. Hancock treated the Council and all his officers, many other gentlemen, at Capt. Marston's. The dinner was very clever. I dined there, and spent the evening at home with Capt. Haskins and Mrs. Rowe.

Sept. 13, Sunday. — The Rev. Dr. Elliot dyed this morning, much lamented.

Sept. 20, Sunday. — Mr. Parker preached a very serious and good sermon; he mentioned the character of that good and worthy man, the Rev. Dr. Elliot.

Sept. 22. — We have heard this day from George [Inman] and Sucky [Mrs. Linzee], who are well at New York.

Sept. 23. — Many prizes have arrived yesterday and this day in this harbour. The Count d'Estaing with his officers, &c., made a grand appearance yesterday; they paid a visit to the Generall Court, and were escorted by a committee of both Houses on their landing at the Long Wharff.

Sept. 25. — The Count d'Estaing dined with the Councill and House this day.

Sept. 26. — Count d'Estaing dined with Genl. Heath this day.

Oct. 6. — I dined at home with the Chevalier De Borda, Monsieur Gondelose (?) Admiral's Secretary, Mr. Holker, Colo. Badcock, and Mrs. Rowe. We have tryed our new horses ; they prove very well.

Oct. 20. — Colo. Revere brought me a letter from Saml. Gould, who is arrived in a cartell from New York. This morning my negro Marcellus made his appearance in our kitchen, and a very frightfull one it was. [The entry for Nov. 1, 1778, is, "My negro man Marcellus died this day."]

Oct. 22. — Mr. Sampson Salter Blowers sent to gaol this afternoon ; Mr. Francis Johnnot sent yesterday.

Oct. 24. — I dined at Mr. Holker's, with him, Capt. Landy of the Alliance, Capt. Ingersoll of the Dean, Colo. Adam Badcock, Mr. Thomas Cushing, Mr. Thomas Cushing, jun., General Warren, and Mr. Martin Brimmer. This afternoon Mr Inman, Mrs Inman, and Mr. Haskins set out for Providence.

Oct. 29. — Genl. Hancock invited all the gentlemen of the French fleet to a grand ball at Concert Hall ; many gentlemen and ladies of the town were there, and made a good appearance.

Oct. 30. — The Council with a number of other gentlemen dined on board the Languedock, Count d'Estaing.

Nov. 5. — The Count d'Estaing sailed yesterday from the port. This evening came news that the Somerset man of warr was cast away on the back of Cape Cod.

Nov. 6. — General Gates came to town this day from Hartford.

Nov. 8. — I went to pay my compliments to Genl. Gates this day.

Nov. 12. — A gentleman and an Indian came from Quebeck through the Eastern country by land, and brought me a letter from my brother Jacob.

Nov. 14. — A great number of the Somerset's men are come to town from Cape Cod.

Nov. 17. — Town meeting this day about Capt. Pepper and young Francis Johnnot.

Nov. 29. — A seaman by name Herring belonging to Chagford in England came to our house and told me many things about my relations and friends there, which pleased me.

Dec. 5. — Mr. Sandford from Bedford brings us the bad news of our brigg Peace and Harmony, Capt. Lawrence, being taken, and by chance is got into Bedford.

Dec. 9. — Our new brigg got ashore and overset coming round from Portsmouth on the Devil's Back.

Dec. 11. — I dined at home, with Jery Powell, President of the

Council, Henry Gardner, Esq., Treasurer, Thos. Cushing, Esq., Judge of Probate, the Reverend Mr. Parker, and Mrs. Rowe.

Dec. 19. — A notification appeared yesterday at the Town House threatening some people which bought flour at vendue.

Dec. 25, Christmas day. — The coldest morning as by the thermometer for forty years; a thin congregation.

Dec. 31. — The General Arnold privateer is lost in the late storm at Plymouth, and upwards of eighty of the crew perished; also the Gen. Stark's privateer at Nantucket, and upwards of twenty of their crew perished.

1779. *Jan. 10.* — A very melancholly affair happened last evening. Mr. Benj. Andrews, a worthy good man, shot himself by mere accident.¹

Jan. 13. — A town meeting this morning. The inhabitants of this town are in great distress for want of corn, flour, &c. — A committee of nine were chosen to consult the best methods to be taken for their immediate relief [names of committee given, including Rowe].

Jan. 16. — Town meeting again this morning. A committee of eighteen [Rowe and others] were chosen to provide corn, flour, &c., for the poor and distressed inhabitants of this town. We met this afternoon, and adjourned untill Monday 11 of clock.

Jan. 20. — I attended town meeting this morning. The calling in two emissions of money occasions much uneasiness.

Feb. 4. — Afternoon I paid a visit to Genl. Gates and his lady.

Feb. 19. — I dined at home with my worthy friend Tristram Dalton, Esq., of Newberry Port, Mrs. Rowe, and Jack Rowe. The committee for purchasing flour, &c., met this afternoon at Faneuil Hall.

Feb. 24. — The committee met this morning and applyd to Government about the distressed situation of this town respecting bread, flour, &c.

Feb. 27, March 1, 5, 6. — [Committee meetings.]

March 6. — A considerable skirmish in the Jerseys between a party sent out from New York and General Maxwell, the advantage in favour of Genl. Maxwell.

April 16. — [The Continental frigate Warren had taken several armed British vessels carrying troops and stores. "A bonfire and great rejoicing on this occasion."]

May 5. — This day town meeting. The following gentlemen were chosen representatives: John Hancock, Saml. Addams, Thomas Dawes, Thos. Walley, W^m Tudor, Caleb Davis, and Gustavus Fellows.

June 1. — [A party, after dining at Stephen Cleverly's, "all went with Mr. Parker a-haymaking."]

June 11. — Genl. Heath gone this day.

¹ He was shot accidentally by Benj. Hichborn. Samuel Breck's "Recollections," p. 22.

June 13, Sunday. — After church the proprietors met; they voted our church vacated by Mr. Walter. 12 yeas, 4 nays.

June 15. — I began to mow my pasture this morning. Merchants' meeting.

June 17. — Body meeting.

June 19. — Merchants' meeting dissolved. Every day this week my time has been taken up with the merchants; part of the hay got in.

June 20, Sunday. — Mr. Parker was chosen the incumbent minister of Trinity Church this afternoon; voters present, 23.

June 22. — I got all my hay in yesterday. Good news from the southward.

July 8. — Bad accounts from New Haven in Connecticut State.

July 9. — [Prizes brought in.]

July 11, Sunday. — Mr. Parker read the address of Congress.

July 12. — A furious press this morning to man the fleet. The delegates from the trading towns met this morning.

July 13. — Bad intelligence from Connecticut. I devoted my whole time this day with the delegates from the trading towns.

July 15. — A Body meeting this day. Dr. [Isaac] Rand before them and examined. The remainder of the fleet got into Nantasket Road, so that they [are] now ready for sea. Capt. Jenkins arrived from France this day.

July 18, Sunday. — [The last entry of the Diary.]

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN communicated copies of some original manuscripts in the Suffolk Court files, and said: —

These papers are found among the Suffolk Court files, which at a former meeting of this Society I mentioned as containing a large collection of miscellaneous manuscripts on a great variety of subjects. (See Proceedings, 2d series, IX. 97.) The numbers given within brackets at the end of each paper correspond with those used in the order of their arrangement in the files.

The first letter relates to Samuel Skelton, the earliest minister of Salem. He was chosen pastor of the First Church at the same time that Francis Higginson was elected teacher. On account of his greater age he was called to the higher office, but he lived only a few years after coming to New England. He was a friend of Governor Endicott, and a stout defender of the independence of Congregational churches. Edward Johnson, in his "Wonder-Working Providence of Sions Saviour in New-England," speaks of this Puritan minister as "a man of a

gratious Speech, full of Faith and furnished by the Lord with gifts from above" (p. 22). Mr. Skelton died at Salem, on August 2, 1634; and presumably the letter was written within a year or two after that date. I have been unable to identify Alice Daniell, the writer; but Mr. Savage, in his *Genealogical Dictionary*, says that she had a grant of land at Salem in 1637, giving the Rev. Joseph B. Felt as his authority.

Before he left England a contract was made between Mr. Skelton and the Company of Massachusetts Bay, by which he was to receive a certain sum of money for clothes and other articles, besides many little items mentioned in detail in the Account which is here appended to the first paper. Mr. Felt, in his "*Annals of Salem*" (I. 511-513), prints a partial list of these articles. See a letter to Governor Endicott in "*Suffolk Deeds*" (I. i-xii), which gives some interesting particulars in regard to the Massachusetts Company.

The second letter was written probably a few years after the date of the first, — but has no connection with it, — though I am unable to give any facts concerning the writer. Perhaps she was the same person who is mentioned in the printed "*Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay*" (I. 273), September 9, 1639, under the name of "Bloros," though it is given in the margin as "Blowe's."

Deare and worthy

S^r my humble and due seruise rem mb^r to y^rselfe and y^r Deare yoak-fellow together wth my constant requeste to the lord of wisdom and grace to pfect his worke in you and by you to the prayse of his owne grace :: I made bould som months since to p^rsent you^r wors^p wth a few lines touching the Cattell that m^r Skelton left wth mee: and since that time I haue Rec^d a letter from y^rselfe: and by direction [of] o^r beloued m^r Endicott from yr self [] haue taken a true copy of those writings w^{ch} m^r Endecott prsented to you soe neere as possible to bee desiring rather to charge my selfe than to doe the least wrong in any kind; w^{ch} Coppy I haue here sent: as allso m^r Skelton's will: desiring to lay all things naked before you as the lye: now I beseech you worthy S^r: though I haue the [Ca]ttell in a compleate number: yet the charge of the keeping hath beene much to mee: as allso diuerse debts of m^r skeltons wherof som are payd and some are not: now this I know that since m^r skelton's death I am out of purse of my owne money laiyd for the cattell and the keeping of the house (as som freinds are also to Relate) the some of 25^t and better [] east 26^t besides all

that I haue made of the milke w^{ch} I hope was [pu]t to the best advantage: and as I haue intima[te]d the losse of the cattell in the accompt soe allso ther[e] remayneth since m^r sketons death but onely o[n]e Bull calf: and for the Cows there are but two that haue taken the season of breed: and one of [th]em will not com till the latter end of the so^mer many cattell were brought into the towne this yeare and o^r bulls fayled much

And whereas you were pleased to expresse that you saw not yr selfe ingaged for [th]e keeping of the children: there is noe ingagments by mee yr selfe knoweth how the Couenant Runneth: if m^r Skeltons will bee disanull^d w^{ch} is the ground of my ingagement: I beseech you then consider vpon whom shall it ly: now since I haue seen the lords hand calling mee to this busines I haue had triall euery way both of vnderstanding and care how to order things for the best: thus knowing y^r care and indeauour to please the lord in all things: I Rest leauing these to y^r godly and wise consideration.

Yr^s vnfainedly to comãd in the lord

ALICE DANIELL:

[Addressed]

To The Right worsp^{ful}
and worthily respect^d
m^r Joⁿ Winthopp
senio^r these DD
Boston

[6. Paper No. 2.]

A Coppie of An Accompte of monies M^r Skelton is Creditor viz

An ^o 1629.	Inprimis P ^r so much w ^{ch} should haue beene paid him in England towards fitting him for y ^e voy ^{adg}	1 — s — d 20—00—0
	Item for Charges att Tilfbury, Cowes & Plimoth, being wind bound . . .	02—10—0
	Item p Twenty p Annum for 3 years is y ^e some of.	60—00—0
	Item for on bushell of wheat flower	1 — s — d 00—15— 0
	It. for one bushell of oatmeale	00—10— 0
	It. for one holland & 2 ordenary Cheess	00—10— 0
	It. for xx ^l of powder suger att	01—03— 9
	It. for one Loafe Cont. 7 ^l at 1 ^s 6 ^d	00—10— 6

It. for one sug[a]r			
Loaf Cont 5 ¹ a[t on]e ^s			
7 ^d p ^t	00—07—11		
It. 6 ¹ of pepper . . .	00—12—00		
It. Nutmeggs. 4 ozs .	00—01— 8		
It ^e one oz of Clovs, &			
one oz of mace . . .	00—02— 0		
Itē. iij ¹ of Starch . .	00—01— 3		
Itē. xij ¹ of Rice . . .	00—06— 0		
Itē. vi ¹ of vntryed suett	00—03— 0		
Itē. one gall of aqua			
vites	00—03— 8		
Itē. for on flitch of			
Bacon	00—14— 0		
Itē. Castle soape ix ¹			
att 8 ^d p ^t	00—06— 0		
Itē. frute viz Reasons			
Corrants & pruens	00—14— 0		
Itē. Safron ij oz . . .	00—05— 0		
Itē. five qu of Stronge			
water	00—08— 0		
Itē. Almonds ij ¹ att 1 ^s 2 ^d	00—02— 4		
Itē. xv ¹ of tryed suett			
at 8 ^d p ^t	00—10— 0		
Itē. one gall of Sallert			
oyle	00—06— 0		
Itē. vj ¹ of Candls . .	00—03— 0		
Itē. v geese & ix ducks	00—08— 0	St	09=03—1
An ^o 1630: Itē. xij ¹ of Butter att .	00—08— 0		
Itē. vj potte of Butter			
Cont vij ¹ p pott . . .	01—08— 0		
Itē. ij Cheeses about			
x ¹ a ps	00—11— 8		
Itē. half a firkin of but-			
ter of M ^r Gibbs . . .	00—17— 6		
Itē. one Third p ^t of a			
barrell of w ^t biskett	00—10— 0		
Itē. one pott of hony			
vij ¹ wa ^t att	00—07—10		
Itē. one pott of butte ^r			
att	00—03—00		
Itē. x ¹ of Corrants att .	00—05—00		
Itē. Bacon	00—10—00		
Itē. one dozen of Can-			
dls	00—08—00		

Itē. ij Cheeses att vj ^d p ħ	00—11— 3	
Itē. iij Cheeses att vij ^d		
p ħ	00—17— 9	
Itē. one porkett [a pig]	01—05— 0	
Itē. xij ^l of tryed suett	00—08— 0	
Itē. vj gees & xij ducks	00—14— 0	
Itē. vj po: of powder		
suger about 20 ^d . .	00—10— 0	
Itē. v po: of powder		
suger. 18 ^d	00—07— 6	
Itē. x ^l of Loaf suger .	01—00— 0	
Itē. Cloves & mace .	00—01— 0	
Itē. ij oz of Nutmeggs		
j ^s & sinamō 16 ^d . .	00—02— 4	St — 11—05—10
Itē. workmens wadges for Cutting		
& bringing home wood ageanst	ħ — 03—00—00	
winter about		
Suma to ^{lis}	ħ = 105=18=11	

Mr Skelton is Cr: viz.

Item p so much pd Mr Pearce for pro-			
visions of meale, pease, Canvas	ħ	s	d
Carsey & elce w th 3 ^l 5 ^s 9 ^d Aduetu ^r	12	15	1
after 25 ^l p Cent. & freight I say			
pd the some of			
Itē. for 3 quarts of aquavites . . .	00	03	9
Itē. for x ^l of Rice att 5 ^d	00	04	2
	ħ	s	d
Itē. 10 ^l of Butt[er] att. ħ	0	06	8
Itē. 4 Chees[es a]tt . ħ	1	03	4
Itē. 10 peecs of pork . ħ	0	11	8
Itē. more 20 ^l of Bu[t-			
te]r ħ	0	10	0
Itē. more 4 bushells Vir-	ħ	05	11— 8
ginia Corne	2	00	0
[Item] soape 7 ^s & Vin-			
eger 4 gall 8 ^s & 1g ^l 2 ^s	0	17	0
[Item] 2 pecks of w ^t			
salte att	0	03	0
Sum is	18	14	8
And on the other syde the totaħ			
some of	105	18	11
Suma to ^{lis}	— 124	13	7

Now de Increase.

The first yeare next after the receipte of the 2 heiffers, both the Calues miscaried, one about a quarter ould dyed, the other neare vpon a yeare ould Lost by the woolvs.

The second yeare there was a heiffer Calfe and a butt Calfe, w^{ch} heiffer is now in my hands And the Bull Calfe M^r Skelton sould att one ye^r and three quarters ould for eight pounds.

The Therd yeare was [two b]utt Calues which the begining of winter weare both eaten with the woolvs

Now since the Three foresaid years, the next yeare after was Twoe butt Calvs, and an heiffer Calfe, the springe before Mr Skeltons death.

And This yeare since was Three bull Calues Twoe wherof are dead, the one when it was about Twenty & twoe weeks ould, the other since winter did begin, Now for the keeping of the Catle w^{ch} should haue beene att the Companyes Chardge, hath wholly lyen vpon vs.

M^r Skeltons accompt M^r Skelton is Dō^r — viz
wth the Companie

14 yards of dutch serge	† — s — d
Rec ^d att	2 . 05 . 9
It. 17 yards of ffustian att . .	1—07— 0
It. 11 yards of w ^t English ieans	0 . 13 . 9
It. 12 yards of Red ppetuana	1—16 . 0
It. 12 yards of Greene say . .	1 . 13 . 0
It. 12 yards of y[e]llow say . .	1—13 . 0
It. 12 elns of b[eu] []men . .	0 . 14— 0
It. 14 elns Course []lland	1 . 17— 4
It. 2[0] elns o[f Lockc]rum . .	1—05—10
It. 2[] stript []s[]	
woolsey	1—09— 4
It. [] ya[] buck []n . .	0 . 05— 3

quere if not twice entred	It. one peece of Noridg serge []-15— 0	
	It. 20 elns of Lockcrum . . 1 . 05—10	
	It. 15 yards of wt flannett . 0—15—00	[i] — s — d
	It. 20 elns of Course Canvas . 1 . 04—[]	St 02=12= 7
	It. one pound of whalbone . 0 []	

Item p so much p^d p M^r Renett p^{rt} of M^r Pearce his } .08=00= 0
bitt, the some of }

i — s — d

Item p 9 ^t of iron att 3 ^d is	0—02—3	
It. p one syth	0—03 . 0	
It. p one fishing line . .	0—03—0	
It p 30 pound ocum . .	0 . 07 . 6	i — s — d
It p 2000 Nails 6 ^d p C .	0—10 . 0	02—01— 2
It p 660 Nails 10 ^d p C .	0—05 . 5	
It p 1 Reame of pap . .	0—10—0	

Item borrowed of Cp. Endicot of y^e Comps

7 yds of bays att 2^s 6^d p y^d is . . 00—17— 6

halfe a elne of ffustian att . . . 00—00—10

It. 2 yards & half of yellow Carsey

3^s 4^d 00—08— 4 St 03=07=10

Suma to^{lis} st — 031—19 . 5

Itē. 2 gall of Metheglen — 8^s 0[]-08— 0

rec of Mr Winthrop Govern ^r	Itē. { 3 yds of Cambricke	It. one lethe Jack [] 01—06	
	6 yrd & a ha of loome- work	It two Tubbs	
	2 drinking hornes.	It one wooden hand boule	
	8 pr of shoes for men	Itē. vineger	
	6 pr of gray Stokings for men	It 3 peuter botls quarts	00 03—06
	6 pr of Stockings for women	It one pinte peuter botle	00—00—00
	6 pr of Stockings for Children	Itē. one hatt	00—10— 0
	10 yds of Carsey		33—03—03
	Thred		
	2000 of pinnes		
	6 Alls		
	one webb of blew gartering		
	2 knots of Tape		

The following letter has no connection with the preceding papers : —

I make bould to put your wo^r in mynd accordinge as your self bid me, that thee promist as I conceive that was made by the mouth of one maiesstrat was agreed by all, that I should have a sufficient portion of money laid downe to bey me a howse and a lott soe that I would be willinge to come into the Bay to improve those giftes that God had lent mee, for which end he had lent me them, for the glorye of God and good of others, I redylie to answare soe reasonabell a request as I conceive it was, did forthwith leave howse and lott and my swine and goots which through Gods blessinge I might have had good proffitt of them by this time in one month after I was come into the Bay I lost 22 piggs and Shotts as I cane esely make yt appeer for want of lookinge vnto them, I doe here testifie my willingnes and redines here to staye and to improve those giftes God hath lent me to the good of others, our honore^d late Gou^r m^r winthrop can testifie my care I humbly desier that things may come to an Issue

yours in the Lord in what I maye

ALLES BLOWER

[Addressed]

To the honored Gou^r
m^r Dudley

[32.]

Rev. Morton Dexter, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member.

A new serial of the Proceedings, containing the record of the January meeting and a part of the February meeting, was ready for distribution.

ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL, 1895.

THE Annual Meeting was held on Thursday, the 11th instant, at twelve o'clock, M.; the First Vice-President, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, in the chair.

The record of the March meeting was read and approved; and the Librarian read the list of donors to the Library.

The Corresponding Secretary said that he had received a letter of acceptance from Rev. Morton Dexter, elected a Resident Member.

Mr. WILLIAM S. APPLETON said:—

The Society has lost one of its oldest foreign associates. W. Noël Sainsbury, who stood second on the roll of Corresponding Members, died in London, March 9. He richly deserved membership as Editor of the Colonial Series of Calendars of the State Papers of Great Britain. Probably many of us would acknowledge our obligation to him for this work, as for myself I most gladly do.

Mr. EDWARD L. PIERCE then read the following communication:—

The American Prisoners at Dartmoor.

I present an addendum to an account of my visit to Dartmoor Prison, England, which was communicated to the Society by Mr. Winsor, November 12, 1891, and is published in its Proceedings for November, 1891 (pp. 17, 18). This further statement may serve as a guide to other investigators.

On July 4th last I passed three hours in the Public Record Office, Fetter Lane, London, by permission of the Admiralty Office, granted on my written application. The custodian was civil and helpful. I had leave to examine the only existing records of American prisoners confined in that prison in the War of 1812 with England. They are five volumes, entitled "General Entry Book of American Prisoners of War at Dartmoor Prison." In all, there are 6,554 names. A few bear foreign names, quite a number are negroes; but the great mass

are American names of English origin, which have survived in the Atlantic States to this day. Their residence is given, sometimes the town, but often only the State. A few were from New York City, quite a number from the South, as Maryland and South Carolina; but much the larger number were from New England, and perhaps one third of the whole from Massachusetts. I noted such familiar names as these: "Jacob Field, Quincy," "Charles Bussey, Dorchester," "Samuel Pierce, Boston," "Samuel Shaw, Boston," "A. Putnam, Danvers." Many were from Salem, Marblehead, Beverly, Gloucester, Boston, and Portsmouth, N. H. The records are brief,—a single line for a name, stating ship captured, date of capture, age of prisoner, personal description, and date of discharge. My particular search was for a maternal uncle of mine, Samuel Shaw Lillie, son of Captain John Lillie, a portrait and sketch of whom may be found in Bugbee's "Memorials of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati," pp. 330-333, and grand-nephew of Theophilus Lillie, of whom a sketch is given in Sabine's "Loyalists." He was named for his father's friend, Samuel Shaw, whose journals have been published, with a memoir, by Josiah Quincy. I discovered his name as No. 4030, "Samuel Lilley," with middle name omitted and surname misspelled. The items in his case are given as illustrating the general character of the entries. He was one of eighty-nine men found on the ship "Rattlesnake," which was taken by the "Leander" man-of-war, July 13, 1814, off Bull's Island, and received into custody October 6, 1814, from his Majesty's ship "Chesapeake" from Halifax. His description was: "Seaman, nativity Boston, age 19, stature 5 feet 8½ inches, person stout, visage and complexion oval, pale, hair brown, eyes grey, scar on right hand, date of supply October 6, 1814, 1 hammock, 1 bed, 1 blanket." The further entry is: "Bedding returned D. D. 16th May, 1815." The other prisoners captured at the same time were released June 9, 1815. "Date of supply" is supposed to indicate time of admission to the prison, and "bedding returned D. D.," date of death.

MR. JUSTIN WINSOR drew attention to an item in a sale to take place in Munich, April 22, 1895, of the Library of the Château de Lobris, in Silesia, whose catalogue, No. 99, shows

the only copy known of the legends on the sides of the Cabot *Mappe-monde*, printed separately as a brochure, and entitled "*Declaratio chartæ novæ navigatoriæ Domini Almirantis.*" The legends on the only copy of the map known (*Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris) are separately printed and pasted on the margins of that copy. These legends have been the subject of a good deal of controversy; and Harrissee recently drew attention to what may have been the original manuscript draft of them, preserved in Spain. The brochure now made known may, on critical examination, throw light on the authorship of the map. The brochure is without place or date, and, so far as the cataloguing shows, is only conjecturally ascribed to Sebastian Cabot.¹

The Hon. WILLIAM EVERETT, in a few remarks on the publications of the Society, expressed the hope that the Council to be elected to-day would consider the expediency of sending the volumes issued hereafter to Honorary Members.

In the unavoidable absence of Mr. Solomon Lincoln, the Report of the Council was then read by Rev. Dr. ALEXANDER MCKENZIE, as follows:—

Report of the Council.

If it were possible within the scope of this report to survey the general field of contemporary affairs, a brief glance would disclose the making of important history. That of our own State and country during the year now closing has been uneventful, but, on the other hand, the old world has aroused and attracts attention. France has lost one President by assassination, and his successor proved too weak to sustain himself in his high office. Russia has peacefully changed rulers upon the death of the late Czar, Alexander III. All the great powers of Europe are in a state of extreme tension from the pressure of forces arising from internal discontent and external danger. In the far East, Japan, our nearest neighbor on the Pacific Coast, has sprung into the front rank of power, and her future has become of high importance to us

¹ This little tract is now (June, 1895) owned by Dodd, Mead, & Co., in New York. Mr. Eames, the librarian of the Lenox Library, writes me: "So far as I have compared the text with the legends on the map (photograph), I found them to be alike, even to the disputed dates. I believe there is nothing of importance to add to the Catalogue description."

politically and economically. These subjects must, however, be left for a future historian.

In reviewing our own immediate affairs for the past year, the predominant feeling is a sense of our severe losses in the deaths of many conspicuous members,—losses more severe than those suffered for many years. The older generation of members has nearly passed away. We are still glad to welcome the occasional presence at our meetings of the Rev. Dr. Paige, and his contributions when unable to attend. He has already entered his ninety-fourth year, and now completes fifty-one years of membership.

The Society has lost by death six Resident Members. They are:—

Edward Jackson Lowell, who died May 11, 1894. Mr. Lowell had already distinguished himself in historical research, and gave promise of much valuable service to the Society.

Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, who died October 7, 1894. It would be superfluous here to add to the innumerable tributes paid him. Our sense of loss is still keen, and we anxiously inquire how such losses can be repaired.

Mr. Winthrop died on November 16, 1894. No member since the foundation of the Society has given it more devoted and distinguished service. Long its President, he brought to that office great historical learning, grace, and culture; and the Society gained added distinction when so eminent a citizen was at its head.

Dr. Ellis died on December 20, 1894. His zealous interest in the Society is fresh in our memory, and the munificent provisions of his will show how deeply seated was that interest and how dear to him was its permanent prosperity.

Judge Hoar, another of our elder members, died on January 31, 1895. His death added another to our very severe losses. It has been too recently formally remembered to permit more than a mention of it now.

The last death was that of Judge Brigham, occurring on February 27, 1895. Although he rarely attended the meetings of the Society, by reason of his engrossing duties upon the bench, he was yet among our most honored associates. No judge for many years has left behind him a more deeply seated respect for his fidelity as a magistrate, or a memory so affectionately cherished for the amiable graces of his character.

Four Honorary Members have died : Rt. Rev. Lord Arthur C. Hervey, June 9, 1894 ; S. A. R. le Comte de Paris, September 8, 1894 ; James Anthony Froude, October 20, 1894 ; Sir John Robert Seeley, January 13, 1895.

The death of one Corresponding Member has occurred, — that of William Noël Sainsbury, March 9, 1895.

The following Resident Members have been elected : Walbridge Abner Field, April 12, 1894 ; Henry Walbridge Taft, May 10, 1894 ; William Lawrence, June 14, 1894 ; William Roscoe Thayer, October 11, 1894 ; Morton Dexter, March 14, 1895 ; and two Corresponding Members, Alfred T. Mahan, May 10, 1894 ; Jacob Dolson Cox, November 8, 1894.

The number of Resident Members is now 94 ; and of Corresponding Members, 48.

Memoirs of the following deceased members have been prepared and published in the Proceedings : Edwin Lassetter Bynner, by Barrett Wendell ; Henry Warren Torrey, by William W. Goodwin ; Henry Wheatland, by William P. Upham ; Edward Jackson Lowell, by Abbott Lawrence Lowell.

The valuable report of our efficient Treasurer discloses a prosperous condition of our financial affairs.

Bequests to the amount of \$19,000 from deceased members of the Society — Mr. Abbott Lawrence, Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Waterston, and Judge Hoar — have been received and become available.

The Society has taken possession of the valuable property on Marlborough Street, devised to it by its late President, Dr. Ellis, but has not yet received his pecuniary bequest. It will become a matter of careful consideration to determine in what manner Dr. Ellis's generous gift may best be availed of by the Society.

No other events in the proceedings of the Society require especial mention in the report.

During the year the Society has issued the following publications : —

Proceedings, 2d series, Vol. VIII. (October, 1892, to March, 1894).

Also four serial numbers of the Proceedings, Vol. IX., 2d series (April, 1894, to February, 1895).

Seventh Volume, 6th Series, of the Collections, placed on the table at the last Annual Meeting.

Tributes to the memory of Robert C. Winthrop.

Tributes to the memory of George E. Ellis.

Tributes to the memory of Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar.

Among the more important publications of members of the Society have been the following:—

Religious Progress. By Alexander V. G. Allen.

Additions and Corrections to Sumner Genealogy. To January, 1895. By William S. Appleton.

A Report [24th] of the Record Commissioners of the City of Boston, containing Boston Births from 1700 to 1800. Edited by William S. Appleton.

An Address delivered at Bowdoin College upon the opening of the Walker Art Building, June 7, 1894. By Martin Brimmer.

A History of the United States for Schools. By John Fiske.

The Lakin Family. By Dr. Samuel A. Green.

Studies in American Education. By Albert Bushnell Hart.

American History Leaflets, Colonial and Constitutional, edited by Albert Bushnell Hart and Edward Channing, Nos. 15–20.

English History for American Readers. By Thomas W. Higginson and Edward Channing.

Henry Lee, 1782–1867. By Hamilton A. Hill.

Proceedings of the Twenty-fourth Annual Meeting of the National Board of Trade, held in Washington, January, 1894. Edited by Hamilton A. Hill.

Suffolk County. Trade, Commerce, and Navigation. By Hamilton A. Hill.

Address in the Old Concord Meeting-House, April 19, 1894. By Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar.

Woburn Record of Births, Deaths, and Marriages. 1873–1890. Alphabetically and Chronologically arranged. By Edward F. Johnson.

The First Napoleon. A Sketch, Political and Military. Twelfth Edition. By John C. Ropes.

The Story of the Civil War. Part I. By John C. Ropes.

Childhood in Literature and Art. With some observations on Literature for Children. A Study. By Horace E. Scudder.

Diocese of Massachusetts. The Enlargement of its Diocesan Library. Being the Eleventh Annual Report made to the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Massachusetts, held in Trinity Church, Boston, April 25 and 26, 1894. By Edmund F. Slafter.

Memoirs of the Rev. Charles Henry Bell, LL.D. By Edmund F. Slafter.

Cases of Constitutional Law. With Notes. By James Bradley Thayer. In two volumes.

The Harvard Graduates' Magazine, 1894-95. Edited in part by William R. Thayer and Albert Bushnell Hart, University Editor.

The Inaugural Addresses of the Mayors of Boston. Volume I., from 1822 to 1851. Published by the City Registrar, William H. Whitmore.

Maps of the Street-Lines of Boston, made for the Selectmen in 1819 and 1820. By John Groves Hales. Reproduced in fac-simile and published by the City Registrar, William H. Whitmore.

A Report [25th] of the Record Commissioners of the City of Boston, containing the Selectmen's Minutes from 1776 through 1786. Edited by William H. Whitmore.

The Archives of Harvard College. Read before the American Antiquarian Society, April 25, 1894. By Justin Winsor.

Seventeenth Report (1894) of Justin Winsor, Librarian of Harvard University.

Address at the Dedication of the New Library Building of the Northwestern University. Evanston, Illinois, 1895. By Justin Winsor.

Reminiscences of Foreign Travel. A Fragment of Autobiography. By Robert C. Winthrop. Privately printed.

Respectfully submitted,

SOLOMON LINCOLN,

Senior Member at Large of the Council.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN submitted the Report of the Librarian :—

Report of the Librarian.

During the past year there have been added to the Library :

Books	674
Pamphlets	1,452
Bound volumes of newspapers	2
Unbound volumes of newspapers	7
Broadsides	18
Maps	5
Portfolios of maps	11
Volumes of manuscripts	7
Unbound volumes of manuscripts	4
Manuscripts	8

In all . . . 2,188

Of the books added, 575 have been given, 98 bought, and 1 received in exchange. Of the pamphlets added, 1382 have been given, 64 bought, and 6 procured by exchange.

The largest accession during the year has come from our associate Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., who has given 81 volumes and 100 pamphlets, which have a peculiar interest, as they once belonged to the library of his late father. Many of these books were presentation copies from the authors, and nearly all of them contain the autograph signature of Mr. Winthrop, who for more than half a century was so closely connected with the growth and welfare of the Society.

The Library has also received from Mr. and Mrs. Alexander C. Washburn, in continuation of their former gift, a large number of interesting letters arranged in three volumes, and an album of autograph signatures. Among these letters are thirteen written by Colonel David Humphreys, and eleven by John Randolph, of Roanoke, which, for the sake of convenience in arrangement, have been placed in one volume. There are also numerous letters written by Boston ministers, which extend over a period of more than two hundred years, and come down to the present time. These letters have been carefully arranged in two volumes, and are easily accessible. In this list of divines are found the names of many members of the Historical Society, including those of Jeremy Belknap, John Eliot, and James Freeman among the founders, and of Harris, Bentley, Popkin, Pierce, Lowell, Ware, Greenwood, Palfrey, Francis, Young, Lamson, Lothrop, Hedge, Watson, Peabody, Emerson, Foote, Clarke, and Bishop Brooks, not to mention those still among the living. Beside these manuscripts there are also some miscellaneous papers of historical interest and value.

From the income of the Savage Fund, there have been bought 98 volumes, 64 pamphlets, 2 unbound volumes of newspapers, and 1 broadside; and 27 volumes, containing 42 pamphlets bought in previous years at the charge of the same fund, have been bound from the same source, most of them separately.

From the income of the William Winthrop Fund, 115 volumes, containing 650 pamphlets, including many annual reports, serial numbers of magazines, etc., and 7 broadsides, have been bound, and 3 volumes repaired.

Of the books added to the Rebellion Department, 29 have been given and 66 bought; and of the pamphlets added, 41 have been given and 30 bought. There are now in this collection 2109 volumes, 4710 pamphlets, 802 broadsides, and 105 maps.

In the collection of manuscripts there are 810 volumes, 183 unbound volumes, 75 pamphlets with manuscript notes, and 7268 manuscripts.

The Library contains at the present time about 37,800 volumes, including files of bound newspapers, the bound manuscripts, and the Dowse Collection. The number of pamphlets, including duplicates, is about 95,816; and the number of broadsides, including duplicates, is 3,835. Since the last Annual Meeting 562 pamphlets issued by the Commonwealth have been tied up and placed among the State Documents.

During the past year there have been taken out 35 books and 5 pamphlets, and all have been returned.

Respectfully submitted,

SAMUEL A. GREEN, *Librarian*.

Boston, April 11, 1895.

Mr. SAMUEL F. MCCLEARY read the following report:—

Report of the Cabinet-Keeper.

The Cabinet-Keeper respectfully reports that no material change in the condition of the Cabinet has been made during the past year; in fact, no change for a better effect is possible within the contracted limits which environ the collection.

It is a pity that the valuable historic possessions of the Society could not have a better arrangement and more methodical care. But these requisites cannot be had without room. For want of this essential provision, our treasures are distributed in the three stories which we inhabit: a few of the most valuable are nearly invisible in cases on this, the third, floor; others are concealed in drawers; while the rest are deposited with more or less system on the fifth floor, which is seldom visited by our own members and never by others. This seclusion of the paintings and other articles of the Cabinet is not creditable to the Society, when one reflects not only on the historic value of the collection, but especially upon its educational possibilities could it be properly arranged for exhibition to the public.

If the Society expects to receive any rich accessions to its Cabinet, it must prove its title thereto by allowing the public, under proper rules, to inspect its treasures, and by showing an intelligent method and care for their preservation and display. But, as already stated, the contracted quarters we now occupy do not afford for the Cabinet such opportunities for classification or methodical arrangement as such a department requires.

The gifts to the Cabinet for the year 1894-95 were as follows : —

Two bills, Confederate States money, \$10 and \$2. Given by Edward Ingersoll Browne.

Three bullets from a quantity deposited in the attic of the old meeting-house at Lincoln, Massachusetts, in the spring of 1775, by order of the town; found in a leather pouch when the building was repaired. Given by Edward G. Porter.

An engraving of Frederick Fraley. Given by Hamilton A. Hill.

A portrait in sepia of Rev. Eli Forbes, of Gloucester. Bequest of Edwin Forbes Waters.

A fac-simile of "A Draught. of an Engagement between Guardaloupe & Grandterre on the 12th Nov. 1746 between y^e Brig. Greyhound of New-York . . . & y^e La Fleury a French Ship"; the original in possession of William Wright Conway, of Philadelphia. Given by Mr. Conway.

Two engravings: Charles Lowell, by J. Sartain after C. Harding; Bell and Everett, by Carpenter and Allen, Boston. Five photographs: Edward Everett, by Black; C. Mason, by Silsbee, Case, & Co.; J. Slidell, by Charles D. Fredericks & Co.; George Bancroft, by M. B. Brady, "Young Africa," 1862. Given by Samuel A. Green.

Seven views, made in Germany: one of New York and four of Quebec, engraved by François Xavier Habermann; one of New York and one of Quebec, engraved by Balth. Frederic Leizelt. See Proceedings, 2d series, Vol. VIII. pp. 497-499, and Vol. IX. p. 169. Given by Charles Francis Adams.

A photograph of William P. Lunt, Robert C. Winthrop, and George E. Ellis, delegates from the Massachusetts Historical Society to the Semi-Centennial Celebration of the New York Historical Society, November 20, 1854. Given by Robert C. Winthrop, Jr.

A gold locket containing a lock of the hair of Abraham Lincoln, cut by an attending surgeon on the evening of his assassination, April 14, 1865. Given by Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar.

A photograph of the Ladd and Whitney Monument at Lowell, Massachusetts, dedicated April 19, 1865, to the memory of those members

of Company D, Sixth Massachusetts Infantry, who were killed in Baltimore, April 19, 1861. Given by Henry F. Jenks.

Two photographs ; George Bancroft ; and Henry Clay, framed from the wood of his house and library at Ashland. An engraving of Chandler Robbins, by C. E. Wagstaff and J. Andrews, after a daguerreotype by Ormsbee & Silsbee. A lithograph of Barnas Sears by the Forbes Co., after a crayon sketch by J. Baker, 1880. A photograph of the inscription cut in the pavement of the nave of Westminster Abbey in memory of George Peabody, 1870. Four medals ; the bronze Centennial medal, 1876 ; two Washington Centennial medals, April 30, 1889, in white metal ; a bronze medal designed in memory of Washington by St. Gaudens for the celebration, 1889. A bronze badge worn in 1889. A gold badge of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company. Given by Robert C. Winthrop, Jr.

Respectfully submitted,

SAMUEL F. MCCLEARY, *Cabinet-Keeper.*

Boston, April 11, 1895.

The Reports of the Treasurer, Mr. CHARLES C. SMITH, and of the Auditing Committee, Messrs. HAMILTON A. HILL and A. LAWRENCE LOWELL, were submitted in print. They here follow : —

Report of the Treasurer.

In compliance with the requirements of the By-Laws, Chapter VII., Article 1, the Treasurer respectfully submits his Annual Report, made up to March 30, 1895.

The special funds held by him have been increased in number and amount by the receipt of four bequests during the year. They are now fourteen in number, and are as follows : —

I. THE APPLETON FUND, which was created Nov. 18, 1854, by a gift to the Society, from Nathan Appleton, William Appleton, and Nathaniel I. Bowditch, trustees under the will of the late Samuel Appleton, of stocks of the appraised value of ten thousand dollars. These stocks were subsequently sold for \$12,203, at which sum the fund now stands. The income is applicable to "the procuring, preserving, preparation, and publication of historical papers."

II. THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL TRUST-FUND, which now stands, with the accumulated income, at \$10,000. This fund originated in a gift of two thousand dollars from the late Hon. David Sears, presented Oct. 15, 1855, and accepted by

the Society Nov. 8, 1855. On Dec. 26, 1866, it was increased by a gift of five hundred dollars from Mr. Sears, and another of the same amount from our late associate, Mr. Nathaniel Thayer. The income must be appropriated in accordance with the directions in Mr. Sears's declaration of trust in the printed Proceedings for November, 1855. The declaration contains also the following clause: "And when hereafter the accumulations of said fund — by its investments of income; by additions made to it; by gifts, bequests, or otherwise — shall amount to a sufficient sum, in aid of other means, to purchase or secure a suitable site for the library and halls of said Historical Society, or to enable said Society to appropriate and improve the whole of their present premises, — then, and in either of the cases, the said Trustees may, under a recorded vote of authority of the Society, draw out and receive the whole, or any part, of said accumulations of said fund, to be expended by them in the above-named purposes. . . . Provided always, that in no case whatever shall the original trust-sum be encroached upon or diminished."

III. THE DOWSE FUND, which was given to the Society by George Livermore and Eben. Dale, executors of the will of the late Thomas Dowse, April 9, 1857, for the "safe keeping" of the Dowse Library. It amounts to \$10,000.

IV. THE PEABODY FUND, which was presented by the late George Peabody, in a letter dated Jan. 1, 1867, and now stands at \$22,123. The income is available only for the publication and illustration of the Society's Proceedings and Memoirs, and for the preservation of the Society's Historical Portraits.

V. THE SAVAGE FUND, which was a bequest from the late Hon. James Savage, received in June, 1873, and now stands on the books at the sum of \$6,000. The income is to be used for the increase of the Society's Library.

VI. THE ERASTUS B. BIGELOW FUND, which was given in February, 1881, by Mrs. Helen Bigelow Merriman, in recognition of her father's interest in the work of the Society. The original sum was one thousand dollars; but the interest was added to the principal to bring the amount up to \$2,000, at which it now stands. There is no restriction as to the use to be made of this fund.

VII. THE WILLIAM WINTHROP FUND, which amounts to

the sum of \$3,000, and was received Oct. 13, 1882, under the will of the late William Winthrop, for many years a Corresponding Member of the Society. The income is to be applied "to the binding for better preservation of the valuable manuscripts and books appertaining to the Society."

VIII. THE RICHARD FROTHINGHAM FUND, which represents a gift to the Society, on the 23d of March, 1883, from the widow of our late Treasurer, of a certificate of twenty shares in the Union Stock Yard and Transit Co., of Chicago, of the par value of \$100 each, and of the stereotype plates of Mr. Frothingham's "Siege of Boston," "Life of Joseph Warren," and "Rise of the Republic." The fund stands on the Treasurer's books at \$3,000, exclusive of the copyright. There are no restrictions on the uses to which the income may be applied. The cost of publishing the Belcher Papers was charged to the income of this fund.

IX. THE GENERAL FUND, which now amounts to \$9,268.56. It represents the following gifts and payments to the Society:—

1. A gift of two thousand dollars from the residuary estate of the late MARY PRINCE TOWNSEND, by the executors of her will, William Minot and William Minot, Jr., in recognition of which, by a vote of the Society, passed June 13, 1861, the Treasurer was "directed to make and keep a special entry in his account books of this contribution as the donation of Miss Mary P. Townsend."

2. A legacy of two thousand dollars from the late HENRY HARRIS, received in July, 1867.

3. A legacy of one thousand dollars from the late GEORGE BEMIS, received in March, 1879.

4. A gift of one hundred dollars from the late RALPH WALDO EMERSON, received in April, 1881.

5. A legacy of one thousand dollars from the late WILLIAMS LATHAM, received in May, 1884.

6. A bequest of five shares in the Cincinnati Gas-Light and Coke Co. from the late GEORGE DEXTER, Recording Secretary from 1878 to 1883, received in June, 1884. This bequest for several years stood on the Treasurer's books at \$900, at which sum the shares were valued when the incomes arising from separate investments were all merged in one consolidated account. Besides the regular quarterly dividends there has

been received up to the present time from the sale of subscription rights, etc., the sum of \$268.56, which has been added to the nominal amount of Mr. Dexter's bequest.

7. A legacy of one thousand dollars from the late EBENEZER ROCKWOOD HOAR, received in February, 1895.

8. Six commutation fees of one hundred and fifty dollars each.

X. THE ANONYMOUS FUND, which originated in a gift of \$1,000 to the Society in April, 1887, communicated in a letter to the Treasurer printed in the Proceedings (2d series, vol. iii. pp. 277, 278). A further gift of \$250 was received from the same generous friend in April, 1888. The income up to the present time has been added to the principal. The fund now stands at \$1,855.33.

XI. THE WILLIAM AMORY FUND, which was a gift of \$3,000, under the will of our associate, the late WILLIAM AMORY, received Jan. 7, 1889. There are no restrictions on the uses to which the income may be applied. The income has been allowed to accumulate, with the view to the publication of a volume of Collections at some future period.

XII. THE LAWRENCE FUND, which was a gift of \$3,000, under the will of our associate, the younger ABBOTT LAWRENCE, received in June, 1894. The income is "to be expended in publishing the Collections and Proceedings" of the Society.

XIII. THE ROBERT C. WINTHROP FUND, which was a gift of \$5,000, under the will of our late associate, received in December, 1894. No restrictions were attached to this bequest; but by a vote of the Society passed Dec. 13, 1894, it was directed that the income "shall be expended for such purposes as the Council may from time to time direct."

XIV. THE WATERSTON PUBLISHING FUND, which was a gift of \$10,000, under the will of our late associate, the Rev. ROBERT C. WATERSTON, received in December, 1894. The income is to be used as a publishing fund, in accordance with the provisions of Mr. Waterston's will printed in the Proceedings (2d series, vol. viii. pp. 172, 173).

The Treasurer also holds a deposit book in the Five Cent Savings Bank for \$100 and interest, which is applicable to the care and preservation of the beautiful model of the Brattle Street Church, deposited with us in April, 1877.

It should not be forgotten that besides the gifts and bequests represented by these funds, which the Treasurer is required to take notice of in his Annual Report, numerous gifts have been made to the Society from time to time, and expended for the purchase of the real estate, or in promoting the objects for which the Society was organized. A detailed account of these gifts was included in the Annual Report of the Treasurer, dated March 31, 1887, printed in the Proceedings (2d series, vol. iii. pp. 291-296); and in the list of the givers there enumerated will be found the names of many honored associates, living or departed, and of other gentlemen, not members of the Society, who were interested in the promotion of historical studies. They gave liberally in the day of small things; and to them the Society is largely indebted for its present prosperity and usefulness.

By his last will, extracts from which were read at the meeting of the Society held on the 14th instant, our late President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, gave to the Society the sum of \$30,000, and also the dwelling-house No. 110 Marlborough Street, with substantially all its contents. By a formal vote the Society accepted this bequest; and on the 20th instant, at a special meeting of the Council held at No. 110 Marlborough Street, the executor delivered possession of the house and its contents to the Society. The appraised value of the real estate, as it stands on the books of the City Assessors, is \$20,000; and Ellis House is credited with that sum. The contents of the house are of uncertain commercial value, and in this report no estimate has been placed upon them. No portion of the money bequest has as yet been paid over to the Treasurer; and therefore no account is taken of it in the statements herewith submitted.

In common with other institutions and with individuals, the Society has suffered a diminution in the income from its invested funds during the past year; but in spite of adverse conditions the rate actually received has been about four and six-tenths per cent. As no part of the permanent funds is invested in the real estate on Tremont Street, their income has not been affected by the final termination of the lease to the City of Boston, in October last. The general, unrestricted income of the Society has, however, been reduced by this loss of rent; and it is important, for the continued welfare of the

Society, that one or both of the two lower stories should be again let to a responsible tenant. The matter of again letting the part of the building now vacant was referred at an early date to a sub-committee of the Council, who have not been unmindful of the duty intrusted to them. In view of the contingencies which might arise when these rooms should become vacant, it was thought desirable to keep on hand a larger amount of cash than it has heretofore been necessary or expedient to do.

The stock and bonds held by the Treasurer are as follows: \$10,000 in the five per cent mortgage bonds of the Chicago and West Michigan Railroad Co.; \$5,000 in the four per cent bonds of the Rio Grande Western Railroad Co.; \$5,000 in the four per cent bonds of the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad Co.; \$5,000 in the five per cent gold bonds of the Cincinnati, Dayton, and Ironton Railroad Co.; \$5,000 in the four per cent general mortgage bonds of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé Railroad Co.; and \$3,000 in the second four per cent bonds of the same corporation, received in exchange for their income bonds for the same amount; \$11,000 in the five per cent collateral trust bonds of the Chicago Junction Railways and Union Stock Yard Co.; \$2,000 in the six per cent "exempt" bonds of the Burlington and Missouri Railroad Co. in Nebraska; \$6,000 in the four and one half per cent bonds of the Boston and Maine Railroad Co.; fifty shares in the Merchants' National Bank of Boston; fifty shares in the State National Bank of Boston; fifty shares in the National Bank of Commerce of Boston; fifty shares in the National Union Bank of Boston; fifty shares in the Columbian National Bank of Boston; five shares in the Second National Bank of Boston; thirty-five shares in the Boston and Albany Railroad Co.; twenty-five shares in the Old Colony Railroad Co.; five shares in the Cincinnati Gas Light and Coke Co.; three shares in the Boston Real Estate Trust (of the par value of \$1,000); five shares in the State Street Exchange; and two shares in the Pacific Mills (of the par value of \$1,000).

The following abstracts and the trial balance show the present condition of the several accounts:—

CASH ACCOUNT.

1894.		DEBITS.	
March 31.	To balance on hand		\$140.76
1895.			
March 30.	„ receipts as follows: —		
	General Account	8,708.28	
	Consolidated Income	4,085.05	
	Income of Richard Frothingham Fund	62.90	
	Bequest of Abbott Lawrence	3,000.00	
	Bequest of Robert C. Winthrop	5,000.00	
	Bequest of Robert C. Waterston	10,000.00	
	Bequest of Ebenezer R. Hoar	1,000.00	
	General Fund (on acc't of Gift of George Dexter)	25.18	
			<u>\$32,022.17</u>
March 30.	To balance brought down		\$2,730.04

1895.		CREDITS.	
March 30.	By payments as follows: —		
	Investments	\$20,516.25	
	Income of Peabody Fund	482.48	
	Income of Savage Fund	199.98	
	Income of William Winthrop Fund	96.15	
	Income of Appleton Fund	17.50	
	Income of Richard Frothingham Fund	1,104.42	
	Consolidated Income	330.89	
	General Account	6,544.46	
	„ balance on hand	2,730.04	
			<u>\$32,022.17</u>

GENERAL ACCOUNT.

1894.		DEBITS.	
March 31.	To balance brought forward		\$573.45
1895.			
March 30.	„ sundry charges and payments: —		
	Salaries of Librarian's Assistants	2,700.00	
	Printing and binding	1,034.17	
	Stationery and postage	91.16	
	Fuel and light	160.00	
	Care of fire, etc.	342.44	
	Miscellaneous expenses and repairs	216.69	
	Editing publications of the Society	2,000.00	
	„ balance carried forward	2,048.31	
			<u>\$9,166.22</u>

1895.

CREDITS.

March 30.	By sundry receipts :—	
	Rent of Building	\$6,750.00
	Interest	51.73
	Income of Dowse Fund	457.94
	Admission Fees	125.00
	Assessments	790.00
	Sales of publications	991.55
		<u>\$9,166.22</u>
March 30.	By balance brought down	\$2,048.31

Income of Appleton Fund.

1895.

DEBITS.

March 30.	To amount paid for binding and printing	\$17.50
	„ balance carried forward	2,293.73
		<u>\$2,311.23</u>

1894.

CREDITS.

March 31.	By balance brought forward	\$1,752.40
1895.		
March 30.	„ proportion of consolidated income	558.83
		<u>\$2,311.23</u>
March 30.	By balance brought down	\$2,293.73

Income of William Winthrop Fund.

1895.

DEBITS.

March 30.	To amount paid for binding	\$96.15
	„ balance carried forward	156.62
		<u>\$252.77</u>

1894.

CREDITS.

March 31.	By balance brought forward	\$115.39
1895.		
March 30.	„ proportion of consolidated income	137.38
		<u>\$252.77</u>
March 30.	By balance brought down	\$156.62

Income of Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund.

1894.

CREDITS.

March 31.	By balance brought forward	\$803.02
1895.		
March 30.	„ proportion of consolidated income	457.94
		<u>\$1,260.96</u>
March 30.	By balance brought down	\$1,260.96

Income of Richard Frothingham Fund.

DEBITS.	
1895.	
March 30.	To amount paid for printing and binding \$1,104.42
March 30.	To balance brought down \$503.68
CREDITS.	
1894.	
March 31.	By balance brought forward \$400.46
1895.	
March 30.	„ copyright received 62.90
	„ proportion of consolidated income 137.38
	„ balance carried forward 503.68
	<u>\$1,104.42</u>

Income of Douse Fund.

DEBITS.	
1895.	
March 30.	To amount placed to credit of General Account \$457.94
CREDITS.	
1895.	
March 30.	By proportion of consolidated income \$457.94

Income of Peabody Fund.

DEBITS.	
1894.	
March 31.	To balance brought forward \$1,609.25
1895.	
March 30.	„ amount paid for printing and binding 482.48
	<u>\$2,091.73</u>
March 30.	To balance brought down \$1,078.63
CREDITS.	
1895.	
March 30.	By proportion of consolidated income \$1,013.10
	„ balance carried forward 1,078.63
	<u>\$2,091.73</u>

Income of Savage Fund.

DEBITS.	
1894.	
March 31.	To balance brought forward \$286.19
1895.	
March 30.	„ amount paid for books 199.98
	<u>\$486.17</u>
March 30.	To balance brought down \$211.40

1895.

CREDITS.

March 30.	By proportion of consolidated income	\$274.77
	„ balance carried forward	211.40
		<u>\$486.17</u>

TRIAL BALANCE.

DEBITS.

Cash	\$2,730.04
Real Estate	123,280.19
Investments	103,076.45
Income of Peabody Fund	1,078.63
Income of Richard Frothingham Fund	503.68
Income of Savage Fund	211.40
Coupon Scrip	125.00
	<u>\$231,005.39</u>

CREDITS.

Building Account	\$103,280.19
Ellis House	20,000.00
Appleton Fund	12,203.00
Dowse Fund	10,000.00
Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund	10,000.00
Peabody Fund	22,123.00
Savage Fund	6,000.00
Erastus B. Bigelow Fund	2,000.00
William Winthrop Fund	3,000.00
Richard Frothingham Fund	3,000.00
General Fund	9,268.56
Anonymous Fund	1,855.33
William Amory Fund	3,000.00
Lawrence Fund	3,000.00
Robert C. Winthrop Fund	5,000.00
Waterston Publishing Fund	10,000.00
Income of Appleton Fund	2,293.73
Income of William Winthrop Fund	156.62
Income of Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund	1,260.96
Income of William Amory Fund	955.09
Income of General Fund	325.36
Income of E. B. Bigelow Fund	81.13
Income of Lawrence Fund	100.00
Income of Robert C. Winthrop Fund	18.04
Income of Waterston Publishing Fund	36.07
General Account	2,048.31
	<u>\$231,005.39</u>

During the year the Society has published the second part of the Belcher Papers, being the seventh volume of the sixth series of Collections, and also a volume of Proceedings, being

the eighth volume of the second series. A new volume of Proceedings, which will comprise the meetings from April, 1894, to February, 1895, inclusive, will shortly be ready. Work has been begun and regularly continued on the Calendar of Pickering Papers, in which our much lamented associate, the late Edward J. Lowell, took a deep interest; and it has been found that the whole Calendar can be comprised in one volume.

CHARLES C. SMITH, *Treasurer*.

Boston, March 30, 1895.

Report of the Auditing Committee.

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society, as made up to March 30, 1895, have attended to that duty, and report that they find them correctly kept and properly vouched; that the securities held by the Treasurer for the several funds correspond with the statement in his Annual Report; that the balance of cash on hand is satisfactorily accounted for; and that the Trial Balance is accurately taken from the Ledger.

HAMILTON A. HILL, }
A. LAWRENCE LOWELL, } *Committee.*

Boston, April 5, 1895.

The Report of the Committee to examine the Library and Cabinet was read by Mr. EDWARD L. PIERCE:—

Report of the Committee on the Library and Cabinet.

The Committee appointed to examine the Library and Cabinet report as follows:—

They examined April 6 the Library and the Cabinet, being assisted by the Librarian and Cabinet-Keeper. There is little occasion to repeat what has been said in the reports of committees charged with this duty in previous years with regard to the urgent need of ampler accommodations and better appliances for the custody of books, manuscripts, portraits, and souvenirs, many of them ancient and rare, and some of them, the portraits for instance, now kept where they are not available for public exhibition, and not even conveniently acces-

sible to members of the Society. When hereafter the Society shall realize its hope for a building worthy of its treasures, the Committee on the Library and Cabinet will be able to recommend in detail suitable arrangements for both. Meanwhile the Librarian and Cabinet-Keeper are doing all that is practicable for the security and use of the precious memorials of the past committed to their charge.

EDWARD L. PIERCE,
EDWARD G. PORTER, } *Committee.*
EDWARD F. JOHNSON,

April 11, 1895.

The several reports were accepted and referred to the Committee for publishing the Proceedings.

The Hon. JOHN LOWELL, from the Nominating Committee, reported the following list of candidates, all of whom were elected:—

For President.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

For Vice-Presidents.

JUSTIN WINSOR.

SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN.

For Recording Secretary.

EDWARD JAMES YOUNG.

For Corresponding Secretary.

WILLIAM WATSON GOODWIN.

For Treasurer.

CHARLES CARD SMITH.

For Librarian.

SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN.

For Cabinet-Keeper.

SAMUEL FOSTER McCLEARY.

For Members at Large of the Council.

JOHN DAVIS WASHBURN.

EDMUND FARWELL SLAFTER.

ARTHUR LORD.

EDWARD L. PIERCE.

STEPHEN SALISBURY.

On motion of Mr. HENRY W. HAYNES, it was

Voted, that the thanks of the Society be given to Messrs. Solomon Lincoln and Alexander McKenzie, retiring members of the Council, for their efficient services.

Mr. ADAMS briefly acknowledged his election, and intimated that he should take an early opportunity to present to the Society a carefully considered plan for the conduct of its future operations.

Rev. Dr. LUCIUS R. PAIGE, the senior member, now in his ninety-fourth year, remarked that Mr. Adams afforded the only instance where four generations of one family had been members of the Society.

After the adjournment, the members and a few invited guests were entertained at luncheon by the newly elected President, at his house, No. 20 Gloucester Street.

MAY MEETING, 1895.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 9th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the President, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, in the chair.

The record of the Annual Meeting was read and approved; and the Librarian read the list of donors to the Library during the last month.

Rev. Dr. Edward J. Young, Rev. Dr. Alexander McKenzie, and Mr. Charles C. Smith were reappointed a Committee to publish the Proceedings.

The Hon. Thomas Jefferson Coolidge, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member.

The deaths of the Hon. Leverett Saltonstall and Mr. Hamilton A. Hill having been announced, the Hon. JOHN LOWELL spoke in substance as follows:—

MR. PRESIDENT, — I gladly answer to your call to say a few words on the occasion of the death of my neighbor for thirty-seven years.

Mr. Saltonstall was known to us all in this Society as a man and a gentleman in the highest sense of both these words. He was a most manly man, and a most accomplished and perfect gentleman.

At Chestnut Hill, when we went there somewhat less than forty years ago, we were in the country, and neighbors were possible. In town there are next-door residents, but no neighbors.

As a neighbor, Leverett Saltonstall was all and more than his general character as known to you would indicate. He was ready to forward every good work, to rejoice in our successes, and to sympathize readily and truly in our sorrows.

The great charm which all admit him to have had, was owing, as I think, to a certain spontaneous and unaffected heartiness with which he met you in all that was of interest to you, though of no actual concern to him. In this natural and spontaneous characteristic I have known very few persons who approached him, though I must except his eldest daughter, who died too soon in the lifetime of her father, and who inherited this special charm.

Leverett Saltonstall had a happy and successful life, and has left children and grandchildren to uphold the family name and the family usefulness and distinction.

Admirably fitted for public life, he failed to obtain public office until it was too late to hope for a long continuance in that line. This was owing, from my point of view, to his somewhat too absolute dependence upon views which had become obsolete, but which he thought that his father, whom he justly honored and venerated, would have adhered to if he had lived. He thus was thrown a little outside the current of thought and political action which prevailed at the time preceding the civil war, though during the war he was thoroughly loyal.

When, at last, he was called to fill a public office, we all know how admirably he administered its exacting duties, showing a power and an aptitude which agreeably surprised many even of his friends. No better Collector has held that office since its foundation.

Justly proud of his ancestors, who, from the first settlement of Massachusetts Bay to the present time, have been always worthy and often eminent citizens of the Colony, the Province, and the Commonwealth, he has prepared a book, for private circulation, giving the history of his family, which will, I hope, be laid on your table at our autumn meeting.

Our friend was confined to his house and to his room for many months, and looked forward with calm and even cheerful resignation to the event which has now happened. His convictions on the subject of death and immortality had long been formed upon full study and reflection, and he was well assured that death here was but the beginning of life.

In closing these brief remarks, I will say, as our President has said on a recent occasion, the death of a friend leaves a void which can never be filled, no matter what other friends and interests we may have. I may say, without intending an unseemly parody, that we always bear about with us, in the body, the death of a friend.

Rev. Dr. SAMUEL E. HERRICK said :—

There must be many others here who knew Mr. Hill more intimately than I, and who could speak of him more ade-

quately, though there can be none, I am sure, by whom his character was more profoundly respected, or his work more heartily appreciated.

My acquaintance with Mr. Hill for the last twenty-five years has been chiefly due to the prominent position which he held in the religious communion of which he was a most loyal and helpful adherent. It was an interesting coincidence by which I discovered, while looking over some old records last Saturday afternoon, May 4, 1895, that in the afternoon of May 4, 1845, — just fifty years before, and as nearly as possible to the hour, — Mr. Hill became a communicant in the Mount Vernon church, under the ministry of my venerated colleague and predecessor, Dr. Edward N. Kirk. That was twenty-five years before I knew much either of him or of the church to which he then joined himself. Indeed, before I knew him or it, his youth had passed into manhood; the church had largely changed its constituency, owing to the southward movement of the population, and he had removed to another quarter of the city, and had transferred his parish relations. But it shows the forceful and impressive quality of Mr. Hill's social and moral character, even as a young man, that long after he had severed his connection with the parish, when it was about to celebrate the semi-centennial of its foundation two or three years ago, Mr. Hill was immediately thought of as the most competent person to review that portion of our history with which he had been identified. It was a service to which he gave himself most cheerfully, and which he performed with such characteristic sympathy and service as will preclude any necessity of repetition by future annalists.

It would, of course, be impossible to make the barest mention at this time of the numerous papers which he read from time to time before this Society and other historical and antiquarian bodies. His monumental History of the Old South Church is a fine illustration of historic enthusiasm tempered by sobriety of judgment; of painstaking accuracy; of candor and justice; of faithful scrutiny and conscientious use of material, and of a vitalizing historic imagination. The work which he has left behind him will be not only permanent, but of increasing value.

In speaking of Mr. Hill's personal character, one can hardly fail to recognize as prominent, if not predominant, a certain

quality of British sturdiness, — not obstinacy, though upon occasions he was obstinate, rightly and usefully so, — sturdiness which caused me to remember that, though thoroughly American, and loyal to the land of his adoption, he stood in the generation of “first remove” from the soil and institutions of the mother country. He might have been one of the Plymouth Pilgrims, or of the first Puritans of the Bay. This quality made him a faithful friend, and sometimes a foeman of conscientious and unrelenting antipathy. He could be depended upon equally under either aspect. He was neither friend nor enemy in secret. He was open as the day, generous, true, straightforward as the light, never swerved, but, if bent at all, only in right lines. In religion, in politics, in society, in business, in study, or in recreation, our associate was a man to be revered, honored, and beloved. More could be said easily, but less, not truthfully.

Rev. OCTAVIUS B. FROTHINGHAM said : —

Mr. PRESIDENT, — I want to say a word about my friend Leverett Saltonstall. I call him my friend ; for, though I did not see him more than a half dozen times in forty years, when I did meet him by chance, his manner was so genial, his greeting so cordial, the grasp of his hand so warm, that we seemed to be intimates. In politics we were very far apart ; but I was so sure of his essential right-mindedness that any difference was overlooked. When I came to Salem in 1847, as minister of the North Church, Saltonstall was travelling in Europe ; but his family, consisting then of a widowed mother and daughters, were members of my Society ; and when he returned he at once identified himself with the church, took an interest in all its doings, — I recollect his singing bass in the choir, and feeling a special concern about the music.

In my judgment, these were the palmy days of Salem. The town within a century passed through three distinct periods : first was the commercial period, when the great merchants, Derby, Gray, Silsbee, Peabody, Dodge, Pickman, and the rest, were sending their great ships round the Cape of Good Hope to the Isle of France, India, China, Zanzibar, Sumatra, Calcutta, Bombay, Batavia, Madagascar, and Arabia. Then the Custom House, so melancholy in Hawthorne's time, was

thronged with visitors; the wharves, now so dilapidated, were piled with merchandise; the ships lay at their piers loaded with sandalwood, spices from the East, rich silks, and bearing the costly china which now decorates so many homes. All this had passed away; the great merchants were dead; but their sons and daughters inherited their houses, their gardens, their estates, and had wealth and leisure for mental cultivation. It was, on the whole, the most elegant society that I ever saw. The dinners, receptions, suppers, teas, will long be in my remembrance. The best books were read; the centre tables were covered with the latest literature; the women were especially distinguished for their grace and beauty and refinement. There were the descendants of old Governor Endicott, whose lovely manners (like the cannon of Napoleon's battles changed into the elegance of the Column Vendôme in Paris) graced every assembly. Of this circle, Saltonstall was one of the charms. His affability, courtesy, nobleness of demeanor, frankness of speech, made him welcome everywhere. He is dead now, and his companions are either dead or have left the town. To-day Salem is a manufacturing city, with five or six mills where there was one in my day, street railroads, and every "modern improvement." This period I know very little of, for it was just coming in when I went away.

Saltonstall was always to me the ideal gentleman of this world, — not a sage, not a philosopher, not a deep thinker, but a real substantial gentleman; none of your made-up figures, prim, dandified, polite, but a real man; not, perhaps, such as old Thomas Dekker describes, —

"The best of men
That e'er wore earth about him was a sufferer,
A soft, meek, patient, humble, tranquil spirit,
The first true gentleman that ever breathed."

Saltonstall was not exactly a gentleman after that pattern; he was not soft or meek, or particularly tranquil in spirit, but he was humble after a sort. He never forgot that he was a Saltonstall; he lived in his ancestors, — sunk himself, as it were, in his family; their pictures hung on his walls; the records of their deeds were burning in his memory. They seemed to come in whenever he entered the room. He thought not so much of himself as of them. Patient he certainly was; for he

bore without complaining a painful disorder that affected him for years; and although, in his mind, destiny meant the supreme will of a Heavenly Father, submission to it was none the less saintly. There was an edge to his virtues, often a pretty sharp one. It is said that he sometimes used an oath, but it was never after the fashion of Byron's hero, Jack Skyscape, —

“Jack was embarrassed — never hero more;
And as he knew not what to say, he swore.”

Saltonstall never swore because he did not know what to say, but rather because his mind was too full, his feelings were too strong to express themselves in ordinary language. He was brimming over with moral indignation at perfidy of all kinds, — lying, dissimulation, pretence, falsehood. His profanity, if he was profane, was always, if we may say so, uttered in a good cause, the cause of conscience.

He should have been a prince, with large estates, horses, dogs, beautiful gardens, trees, — of which he was very fond, — a numerous tenantry, whom he could befriend; for he was greater than any of these things: he could command them, could use them as instruments of his humanity. Very few men can bear to be rich; but he was one of them, and, instead of being spoiled by grandeur, would have been ennobled by it.

As I was driving in alone from Chestnut Hill the other day, the thought of Saltonstall came into my mind, and through my head, all the time that I was thinking of him, these lines of Tennyson's would keep singing themselves, — it is Enid's song of fortune in the “Idyls of the King.” —

“Turn, Fortune, turn thy wheel, and lower the proud;
Turn thy wild wheel thro' sunshine, storm, and cloud;
Thy wheel and thee we neither love nor hate.

“Turn, Fortune, turn thy wheel with smile or frown;
With that wild wheel we go not up or down;
Our hoard is little, but our hearts are great.

“Smile, and we smile, the lords of many lands;
Frown, and we smile, the lords of our own hands;
For man is man, and master of his fate.

“Turn, turn thy wheel above the staring crowd;
Thy wheel and thou are shadows in the cloud;
Thy wheel and thee we neither love nor hate.”

Such was Saltonstall as I knew him. His days of affluence were few ; his days of distinction were not many ; but he was ever the same brave, high-minded man.

The Hon. WINSLOW WARREN spoke substantially as follows : —

I can add very little to the admirable delineations of the character of Mr. Saltonstall which have been given here to-day, and yet I feel that I cannot let this occasion pass without a few simple words.

Leverett Saltonstall was a gentleman by birth, and equally so by instinct, — soundly hating all shams and meanness, he was vigorous in his expressions and manly in all his dealings. He was a Puritan without the asceticism or disagreeable qualities of the Puritans. My intimacy with him, while largely political, was by no means wholly so ; yet, after what has been said here by lifelong friends, perhaps it will be proper for me to speak more of the public side of his character, as my knowledge of that portion of his career would necessarily be somewhat close.

He never seemed to me wholly fitted for our American politics. He had to deal with many men and many things distasteful for a man of his nature. He was more than ordinarily plain-spoken as to people or measures of which he disapproved, and absolutely indifferent to popular applause unless obtained by firm adherence to principle ; but he had this advantage, that his perfectly frank and straightforward manner gained for him in a surprising way the respect and good-will of many who could hardly appreciate the sincerity of his convictions or the integrity of his motives. Called to high official station, he performed its duties with rare efficiency and firmness, elevated the tone of the public service, and retired with the confidence and respect of all who were brought into connection with him, of whatever rank in life. It was a striking testimonial to the hold he had upon the hearts of men, that, among his former employes at the Custom House, most of whom differed with him in their political views, there was most sincere grief at his decease, and that so large a delegation attended his funeral at Salem to join in the last sad tribute to his memory.

Though an interested participant in the meetings of this Society, I do not think he was a frequent contributor to its proceedings ; but none the less was his loss to us a severe one. His tastes or his other occupations may not have allowed him to take active part in historical investigation and research ; but his connection with the Historical Society brought to its service those qualities which are ever of advantage to any society, — a sound, clear judgment ; the influence of a pure, well-rounded, and dignified character ; and the example of a high-toned, public-spirited citizen.

The Hon. CHARLES R. CODMAN said : —

I heartily join in the tributes that have been made to the manly and gentle qualities of our late associate Leverett Saltonstall, and to the loftiness and integrity of his character, which so endeared him to all with whom he was associated. One thing, however, should be added to what has been so well said.

It was his good fortune to have had the opportunity once in his life to perform a great public service. He was among the first of the public men of the country to demonstrate the practicability of applying the principles of Civil Service Reform in conducting an important public office. I do not mean to say that the Boston Custom House was a nest of political corruption under the rule of the greater number of his predecessors. This community has not suffered in that respect as have some others. Still it is true that the methods of administration in the Custom House, up to the time that Mr. Saltonstall became Collector, were not in conformity with the high standards demanded by the principles in which he believed.

Our late associate, whose political opinions debarred him from office during the earlier years of his manhood, came at last, in the mutations of politics and in the maturer years of his life, to hold this important position. It was a great opportunity, and he improved it. For the first time in its history the place was filled by an avowed Civil Service reformer ; and Mr. Saltonstall showed that no political exigencies were strong enough to prevent him from living up to his convictions. For the first time, in this generation at least, the Custom House became in no sense a political machine, and was thus elevated in character as well as increased in efficiency.

This was the notable public service of Mr. Saltonstall, and it was so recognized by his fellow-citizens when he retired into private life. Others, of course, if they had had the opportunity, might possibly have done as well; but none the less is honor and credit due to the man who actually performed the service, and in so doing refuted the stock argument of the spoilsmen, by showing that reforms are not impracticable in the hands of men of honor and of force.

Mr. Saltonstall's administration of the Custom House has made the task easier for others who are to follow in carrying on the good work in which he was the pioneer. As we recite the catalogue of his good deeds, this surely cannot be omitted, as there is perhaps none that it would have pleased him more to think that his friends and associates remembered and approved.

MR. EDWARD L. PIERCE said:—

My acquaintance with Mr. Hill began twenty-five years ago, when we were engaged in a sharp and strenuous controversy on a public question. Men are perhaps apt under such circumstances to come to a better understanding of each other than when they have been in relations only as coadjutors. I learned then to respect him as I trust he learned to respect me. We have often had friendly intercourse since, abroad as well as at home. A month ago we met here, and again the same evening at a conference of the Round Table Club, engaging in conversation in both places. I little thought then that we were to meet no more on earth.

Mr. Hill was earnest and positive in his convictions,—qualities befitting one who had passed a part of his early life in the atmosphere of Oberlin College, of which his father was treasurer, an institution which has done a good work in promoting the intellectual, moral, and religious development of the West. By his two marriages he was allied to well-known families of this city,—by the first with the Walley-Phillips family distinguished in our history, and by the second with the Carruths who have had large business relations with this community.

Mr. Hill bore through life the English stamp of character, and there is no better. He was most truly an honest man, both as a thinker and in affairs. In no remote corner of his

mind was there a shade of insincerity or disingenuousness. By his death we part with an associate in whom there was no guile.

MR. GAMALIEL BRADFORD said : —

MR. President, — I suppose my acquaintance with Mr. Hill dates back farther than that of any member present, — quite forty years ago, — and it has been ever since continued, if not intimately, upon a footing of uniform respect. I agree with Mr. Pierce, that the strongest impression I received of his character was of thorough honesty and sincerity, both intellectual and moral. His social ambition was high, but based upon honorable and elevated principle. I am glad to add my testimony to that of Mr. Pierce.

MR. ADAMS, from the Committee appointed at the March meeting to consider all questions connected with the bequests to the Society by its late President, Dr. George E. Ellis, submitted the following report and accompanying resolutions. The report was accepted, and each of the votes was separately and unanimously adopted : —

The Joint Committee, consisting of the Council and three members of the Society at large, appointed at the March meeting, to which was referred the general question of the policy to be pursued by the Society in dealing with the bequests made to it under the will of its late President, the Reverend George E. Ellis, have attended to that duty, and report as follows : —

In deciding upon a policy to be pursued in dealing with Dr. Ellis's bequests, it is first of all necessary to ascertain the intent of the testator with a view to paying respectful attention thereto. This intent Dr. Ellis indicated in the following clauses of his will : —

"I, therefore, give, devise and bequeath in trust to the Massachusetts Historical Society, of which I am now the President, the sum of \$30,000, and also the dwelling-house, numbered 110 Marlboro' St., now owned and occupied by me with substantially, that is to say, except as otherwise hereinafter provided, all its contents, including library, ornaments, furniture, &c., therein in perpetuity, and also all policies of insurance on any

property hereby devised or bequeathed to it in force at my decease. This provision in my Will is further indicated and directed by certain instructions drawn by me and hereinafter given, which I wish to stand as parts of this instrument, addressed to my said Executor as to the disposal of certain articles in my house, and to said Massachusetts Historical Society, declaring the uses, trusts, and purposes on and for which the devise and bequests herein made to said Society are made."

The instructions above referred to are found further on incorporated in Dr. Ellis's will, in the form of a direct communication in these words:—

"Tenth. To the members of the Massachusetts Historical Society — My esteemed associates and friends:

"I have devised and bequeathed to said Society in this my Will, the sum of thirty thousand dollars and also my present dwelling-house in Boston, in trust for perpetuity, for uses and purposes such as I will now indicate.

"Perhaps more in the future than at the present time it may be of service to the Society to have a place in this part of the City answering some of the uses of a Club House confined strictly to members of the Society, where Committees may meet in the evening and where individuals may at their leisure pursue investigations with such facilities as may here be afforded them.

"My wish and expectation are that the bequest in money will yield sufficient annual income to insure, maintain, and repair the property without drawing upon the funds of the Society.

"The property of every kind herein devised and bequeathed to said Society is to be under the care, disposal, management, and regulation of the Council of the Society for the time being acting as a Committee. If they see fit they may allow any officer or member of the Society without a family to reside in the house free of rent, he meeting his own household charges; or an employee may be engaged at due compensation beyond the privilege of rent of assigned portions of the house. I am perfectly willing, indeed I much prefer instead of myself dictating minute or even general conditions for the enjoyment and improvement of this trust by the Society, to leave all such matters to their discretion, good judgment, and appreciation of my single purpose to contribute to the welfare, prosperity, and useful resources of an honored fellowship in association with which for now nearly half a century I have found much good. The Society has my full allowance, and may infer my approbation if urgent or reasonable occasion should present itself, to dispose of the real estate which is here bequeathed for the purpose of an equivalent that may be more convenient and eligible, but the real

estate which I give the Society liberty to exchange for that which is bequeathed must not require in its purchase any portion of the above-named sum of thirty thousand dollars, and any money or other things received from the sale or exchange of, or insurance on, the property hereby devised or bequeathed to said Society, or anything substituted therefor, shall be used so far as practicable to rebuild, restore, or replace the property sold, exchanged, or insured."

It will thus be seen that, stated in few words, Dr. Ellis bequeathed his house and \$30,000 in money to the Society; prefacing the bequest with the suggestion that the house should be retained as a sort of up-town club-house, where committees of the Society might meet in the evening, and where individual members might at their leisure pursue investigations; while the \$30,000 additionally bequeathed in money would, he thought, provide a sufficient income to maintain such a club-house without drawing upon other funds of the Society.

It will further be observed that Dr. Ellis, throwing this idea out as a suggestion of what might possibly be found of use to the Society, and carefully introducing it, in a suggestive form, with the word "perhaps," then goes on to say that, instead of himself dictating minute or even general conditions for the enjoyment and improvement of this bequest in trust, he preferred, using his own words, "to leave all such matters to the discretion, good judgment, and appreciation" of the Society, which, he adds, has his "full allowance" and approbation, "if urgent or reasonable occasion should present itself," to sell the real estate for the purpose of buying an "equivalent in real estate elsewhere at some more convenient and eligible point"; and he then adds the additional restriction that no part of the capital sum of \$30,000, also bequeathed to the Society, should be invested in the purchase of the equivalent real estate, the acquisition of which, through the sale of the house, is left in the discretion of the Society; but the income of this fund shall be used to maintain or repair either the original property or that substituted for it.

Bearing these instructions of Dr. Ellis in mind, your Committee has found itself brought face to face with the question of the policy to be hereafter pursued by the Society in the matter of a location and abiding-place. This subject has often

been informally discussed among the members of the Society; but, as will presently be seen, the bequest of Dr. Ellis brings it up for the first time in a practical shape, pressing for an early decision, though not for immediate action. The application of a legacy already received is involved. It is a question of an existing investment to be continued, or a new investment to be made.

Forced thus to a consideration of the subject, and looking at it in a broad way, it has seemed to your Committee evident that the Society could not remain indefinitely where it now is. That its present quarters are central is apparent, and no objection could on this score be urged against them; but, on the other hand, though conveniently placed in some respects, the rooms of the Society are high above the street, and can be reached only by climbing long flights of stairs; the nearness of this building to the centre of business makes the site better adapted and more valuable for commercial than for literary purposes; while the reports of the Committees on the Library and the Cabinet, through a series of years, and especially those recently made, have dwelt with increasing emphasis upon the inadequacy of the space now occupied for the proper preservation, display, and convenient use of our accumulated possessions. Our pictures, stored away as if they were rubbish, are seen by no one. Our books and manuscripts are inconveniently placed, hard to be reached, and without adequate facilities for examination. Our curiosities are scattered, and the space allotted to them is totally inadequate. The difficulties, moreover, of this character already experienced, will of necessity be aggravated in the future.

Under these circumstances it becomes, in the judgment of your Committee, a mere question of time when other and more commodious quarters should be provided, adequate to present conditions, and the requirements of the oldest and most respected historical association in America. The "urgent or reasonable occasion," upon the arising of which Dr. Ellis expressly provided that the Society had his "full allowance," and might infer his "approbation," of the sale of the real estate bequeathed to it "for the purpose of an equivalent that may be more convenient and eligible,"—this very contingency, thus specifically provided for, has, in the opinion of your Committee, presented itself.

But whenever the Society shall move from its present quarters and establish itself in others, it will be not merely a question of the cost of building a proper fire-proof edifice, where the collections of the Society can be kept in absolute safety, but also, in addition to this first cost, the increased expense of the future maintenance of such quarters must be borne in mind. In thus considering the problem in its various phases, your Committee find that the future financial needs of the Society naturally divide themselves under four several heads, —

1. A building fund.
2. A maintenance fund.
3. A library fund.
4. A publishing fund.

The building fund represents a fixed investment in land and the improvements thereon. In the judgment of your Committee, an amount of not less than \$250,000 will, upon a moderate estimate, have to be provided, in order to buy the land and construct a building adequate for the needs of the Society.

Maintenance involves the cost of lighting and heating the Society's building, the necessary attendants for it, salaries, repairs, and all other incidental charges. An income of \$10,000 per annum, or the return on a capital of \$250,000, would not more than suffice for these purposes.

A library fund is necessary to provide additions to the collections of books, manuscripts, etc., of the Society, and for binding the same and keeping them in proper condition. A fund of \$100,000 would, in the judgment of your Committee, supply a reasonably adequate income for this purpose.

The publishing fund speaks for itself. In the judgment of your Committee, the income of \$100,000 would be no more than a reasonable provision under this head.

The several funds to be provided would, therefore, be as follows: —

Building fund	\$250,000
Maintenance fund	250,000
Library fund	100,000
Publishing fund	100,000
	\$700,000

An analysis of the present financial condition of the Society shows that, apart from the bequests under the will of Dr. Ellis, the following amounts have already either been accumulated and could be applied on account of these several funds, or special or general bequests have been made to the Society, which either already have been received, or will come into its hands at no very remote day.

On account of the building fund: —

One half of the Sibley bequest	\$75,000
Four sevenths of the market value of the Society's present building, say	86,000
From the Waterston bequests	10,000
Historical Trust Fund	8,000
	\$179,000

leaving the sum of \$71,000 yet to be supplied on account of an adequate building fund.

For the maintenance fund, the Society already has the following amounts available, without including in this case also the bequest of Dr. Ellis: —

Historical Society Trust Fund	\$2,000
Dowse fund	10,000
Bigelow fund	2,000
William Winthrop fund (for binding)	3,000
General fund	8,000
Anonymous fund	1,700
Amory fund	3,000
R. C. Winthrop fund	5,000
Three sevenths of present Society building	65,000
	\$99,700

leaving, in round numbers, the sum of \$150,000 necessary for the completion of this fund.

In the case of the library fund, the only provision heretofore made for the purchase of books has been the Savage fund of \$6,000 leaving \$94,000 required on account of it.

The following provisions have already been made on account of the publishing fund: —

Appleton fund	\$12,000
Peabody fund	22,000
Frothingham fund	3,000
Lawrence fund	3,000
Waterston fund (Restricted)	20,000
	\$60,000

leaving \$40,000 to be hereafter acquired for the completion of this fund to the full amount estimated as necessary by your Committee.

It would accordingly appear that, out of the desired total of \$700,000, the sum of \$355,000 remains to be accumulated, of which there should be : —

On account of the building fund	\$71,000
On account of the maintenance fund	150,000
On account of the library fund	94,000
On account of the publishing fund	40,000
	\$355,000

The Sibley fund will not be received until after the death of Mrs. Sibley. One half of that fund (\$75,000) will then be available, as above, for building purposes; the remaining half is restricted in its use, and, accordingly, is not included in the foregoing estimates. The same is true, so far as restrictions are concerned, of a further sum of \$10,000 bequeathed by Mr. Waterston.

The two essential funds to be provided are those for building and for subsequent maintenance. Other funds can wait, with a reasonable assurance that, through future bequests, adequate provision for them will be forthcoming; but the building fund, and the fund for the maintenance of the building when finished, must be provided before construction is begun. The first of these funds, that for building, lacks only \$71,000 of the amount estimated to be necessary; while the second, the maintenance fund, lacks \$150,000 of that amount; but in both cases these deficits are exclusive of the bequests of Dr. Ellis. Were those bequests applied to these two funds, the amounts needed to complete them would at once be reduced from \$71,000 and \$150,000 to \$50,000 and \$120,000, or a deficiency of \$170,000 in a total sum of half a million.

It is to be borne in mind that, beyond the settling on a definite policy, and the making of the more remote arrangements necessary to carry it out at the proper time, nothing in the way of building can possibly be done until the Sibley bequests become available; while, on the other hand, judging by the more recent experiences of the Society, it would seem not unreasonable to hope that, through gifts and bequests, the amount (\$170,000) needed to complete the two essential funds may be forthcoming within the next ten or fifteen years.

Under these circumstances, it remains to consider the course to be pursued in the management of the Ellis bequests during that time, under the peculiar conditions of the will, and with the ends the Society has in view. With the desire of carrying out in the most literal manner the suggestions of Dr. Ellis, as expressed in his will, the Council has for several weeks past kept the Marlborough Street house open, the servants he left remaining in charge of it, for the purpose of ascertaining by practical test whether any use would be made of it as a clubhouse confined strictly to members of the Society, where committees might meet in the evening, and where individuals might at their leisure pursue investigations with such facilities as might there be afforded them. As a result of so doing, your Committee has been forced to the conclusion that the Society and its members have no use for an establishment of this character. To maintain it permanently, or even for a series of years, would be a waste of Dr. Ellis's bequest. We cannot but believe that he himself would, on further consideration, have concurred in this opinion. The purpose of Dr. Ellis can, therefore, in the judgment of your Committee, best be carried out by availing ourselves of his express permission, and, in his own words, "disposing of the real estate" which he has bequeathed, "investing the proceeds thereof in an equivalent amount of real estate in the judgment of the Society more convenient and eligible."

Acting upon this view, members of your Committee have already made somewhat careful inquiry as to what desirable real estate might now advantageously be secured for future building requirements. As a result, they are satisfied that the interests of the Society will be promoted by immediate action. Those most competent to form an opinion on the subject now

believe that the time is not remote when the centre of the residence portion of Boston will be in the immediate vicinity of the intersection of Commonwealth Avenue and Massachusetts Avenue, near where the statue of Leif Ericsson now stands. So far as the requirements of the Society are concerned, it is also to be borne in mind as essential, that any future building to be erected for its use should be upon a central street-railway line, making such a building easily accessible to either the residents of the city or those coming to it from different directions. Massachusetts Avenue, between Boylston Street and Beacon Street, is now the route of the principal street-railway communication between the business portions of the city and Cambridge and Brookline. The proposed subway will also make this portion of the city immediately accessible from the north-side stations. For all members residing either west of Boston Common, or in Cambridge or Brookline, a Society building somewhere in the vicinity of the intersection of Massachusetts and Commonwealth Avenues would be, even at the present time, more convenient and accessible, besides infinitely better so far as air, light, and space are concerned, than the site we now occupy.

Meanwhile, your Committee is advised that all real estate in the portion of the city indicated is not only rapidly appreciating in value, but open spaces are being cut up to such an extent that the amount of land requisite for a proper building for the Society, looking ahead for a century, will soon be difficult, if not impossible, to obtain at any price within its means; for it must be remembered that a fire-proof building, two stories in height and standing by itself, with open grassed spaces between it and all adjacent buildings, with adequate room for the collections of the Society and its meetings, — such a building would call for a lot of some 12,500 or at least 10,000 square feet. Your Committee would not recommend a change from present quarters until such change could be made in a way and on a scale commensurate with the standing of the Society. Your Committee has ascertained that several areas of this size could now be obtained in the vicinity of Boylston Street, Massachusetts Avenue, and Commonwealth Avenue, and within two hundred yards of the street-railway line. The immediate purchase of one of these areas the Committee is prepared to recommend, and it has reason to believe

that such purchase could be made on terms less disadvantageous now than hereafter ; for, while the Marlborough Street house is not likely to increase in value, the vacant land referred to almost certainly will. If, therefore, the latter is to be taken as the "equivalent" of the former, the exchange should in the interests of the Society and of the Ellis bequests be promptly made.

Should the land now be secured, it will be necessary to pay taxes upon it and lose interest on its cost until the time, more or less remote, when the Society will be ready to build ; but, on the other hand, as real estate in a growing portion of the city steadily increases in value, these charges will be more than off-set. Under these circumstances, your Committee, having reached the conclusion that the dwelling recently occupied by Dr. Ellis would be of no practical use now or hereafter as a Society club-house, recommend that a more eligible and desirable site for a future Society building should now be purchased, and that the house in Marlborough Street be sold and the proceeds of the sale applied, so far as they will go, towards payment for this "equivalent." The remainder of the purchase money would have to be raised on bond and mortgage. The burden thus placed upon the Society would be light, while through Dr. Ellis's timely bequest the most important future requirement of the Society would once for all be adequately provided for.

Your Committee, therefore, would ask that it be authorized forthwith to enter into negotiations for the purchase of a suitable tract of land upon which a future Society building may be erected, as near as may be to the present intersection of Commonwealth Avenue and Massachusetts Avenue. They would further recommend that the proceeds of the sale of the Marlborough Street house be applied *pro tanto* towards the purchase of the land in question.

They would also, in addition to the foregoing, recommend that the money bequest of Dr. Ellis, to wit : \$30,000, be set aside as an accumulating fund a portion of the income from which can be applied to meeting any mortgage interest on the land purchased until a building shall be erected ; and, thereafter, that the income of the entire fund be used for the maintenance of some room or rooms in the building erected, which shall be known as the "Ellis Rooms," in which the library

and other effects bequeathed by Dr. Ellis to the Society shall be preserved. And furthermore, your Committee would recommend that in planning any proposed building, provision should be made so that these rooms may, if desired, be used as a club-house, or place where, in the language of Dr. Ellis's will, "committees may meet in the evening, and where individuals may at their leisure pursue investigations with such facilities as may be afforded them."

The Committee think it not unreasonable to suppose that in the lapse of time such facilities may be required, especially in a Society building situated more in the residence portion of the city. Should this be the case, the bequest of Dr. Ellis will put it in the power of the Society to accomplish a very desirable result, and, while doing so, to carry out not only in the spirit, but almost in the letter, the provisions of Dr. Ellis's will.

All of which is respectfully submitted, together with the accompanying form of votes:—

Voted, That the Joint Committee consisting of the Council and three members at large appointed at the March meeting of the Society, be authorized and instructed to take immediate steps to carry out the recommendations of the foregoing report so far as the bequests of Dr. Ellis are concerned, and to purchase on behalf of the Society a suitable tract of land to be not less than 10,000 feet in extent at such point in the vicinity of the intersection of Commonwealth Avenue by Massachusetts Avenue as shall seem to the Committee most eligible for a future building site for the Society.

Voted, That the Committee be authorized and directed to take immediate steps to effect a sale of the late residence of Dr. Ellis, and apply the proceeds thereof when received towards payment for the building site the purchase of which is authorized as above; and, furthermore, that the President and Treasurer be authorized to execute a deed of said real estate on behalf of the Society, and to affix thereto its seal, should an offer for such real estate be obtained at a price and on terms satisfactory to the Committee.

Voted, That the Committee be instructed to cause the library and effects in the house of the late Dr. Ellis to be removed either to the present quarters of the Society, or to be stored in some secure place, until the same can be made avail-

able for the use of the Society in quarters hereafter to be provided.

Voted, That whenever another building shall be erected for the use of the Society as recommended by the Committee, certain room or rooms therein shall be designated as the "Ellis Rooms," and especial provision made therein for the preservation and display of the articles belonging to Dr. Ellis, and by him bequeathed to the Society.

By order of the Committee,

C. F. ADAMS, *Chairman*.

Mr. A. C. GOODELL, Jr., read the following notice of W. Noël Sainsbury, a Corresponding Member:—

Mr. President, — William Noël Sainsbury, whose name stands second on the list of our Corresponding Members, died at his home in London, on the ninth of March last, in his seventieth year. On the fifth of April I received the tidings of his death in a private letter from his daughter. Believing that, possibly, you would not have received earlier notice, I at once forwarded the letter to you to enable you to make the proper announcement at the Annual Meeting; but you having done me the honor to assign that duty to me, it remains for me to say the few words that the occasion requires.

This is neither the time nor the place for an extended biography of the deceased; nor, in any event, should I presume to take a place more appropriate to some one of those of our associates who were familiar with his voice, or have had occasion to consult him upon matters of more general interest than are to be found in the narrow and obscure field in the exploration of which I have so long enjoyed his assistance.

For more than a quarter of a century I have had occasional correspondence with Mr. Sainsbury respecting the action of the "home government," — the Privy Council and its committees on trade and plantations; the law officers of the Crown; and the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, familiarly known as the Board of Trade; upon colonial affairs, particularly upon the legislation of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay. In my researches in his department I have found him an intelligent, ready, and even enthusiastic co-worker, and fully alive to the importance of the contributions which the great minds of England have made to the evolution of our local jurisprudence and our political system.

It is rather gratifying to the pride of a New Englander to know that the minute details of legislation, jurisprudence, wars, local diplomacy, and commerce of his own little community were subject of deliberate consideration by the political philosophers and others who controlled the government of England all through the period of our dependency. The great statesmen and lawyers of England, from the days of the Stuarts to the time of Mansfield, Pitt, and Burke, found ample scope for profoundest study and the exercise of all their ingenuity in deciding grave questions of law and public policy, raised by the acumen of the political thinkers and law-makers of Massachusetts. Lord Somers, Sir George Treby, and Sir John Trevor, Locke, Prior, and Addison, Sir William Jones, Sir John Holt, Sir Lionel Jenkins, Sir Simon Harcourt, Sir Edward Northey, Lord Raymond, Godolphin, and Halifax, Lord Hardwicke, Sir Dudley Ryder, and Sir Charles Pratt (Lord Camden), Sir Fletcher Norton and Lord Kenyon, and the great untitled lawyers, Heneage Finch and Richard West, — either assisted in formulating our fundamental law, or regulating our commercial relations with the mother country, keeping a vigilant watch on our local jurisprudence, holding it in due subordination to the superior authority of Parliament.

To this assemblage of great men in aspects nearer and more interesting than they appear to us in the law books or even in the page of the historian, I was presented by our deceased Corresponding Member in his function of keeper of England's vast historical treasure-house, the Public Record Office. This depository still retains for our use, if we are wise enough to avail ourselves of it, a mass of the most curious and useful historical material, serving to replace our own records, which through sheer ignorance and indifference have been suffered to decay and disappear, and which to-day, although we are continuing them at an annual outlay of half a million dollars, we are spending nothing or next to nothing to preserve.

Mr. Sainsbury's agency in restoring to the descendants of English Colonists fragmentary or lost records was not confined to this Commonwealth. He has rendered invaluable service in the same line to the other States of New England and the Middle States, to Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia, to the British West India Islands, and to the provinces of the Dominion of Canada. He has been admitted to membership, if I

am correctly informed, by all the oldest historical societies in at least every government in America where the English tongue is spoken. In the American Antiquarian Society, I believe, he held a higher precedence than he did in ours, being the senior foreign member. Of his published historical works, his Calendars of Colonial State Papers are the chief. Beginning with Colonial Series, 1574-1660, published in 1861, and followed by the volume embracing East India, China, and Japan, 1513-1616 (including the records of the old East India Company) which appeared in 1862, he continued the series so as to make nine volumes in all. The mere mention here of this work is sufficient. His memory is endeared to us chiefly, however, for what he has done to aid in the investigations of American historians, and for what he has contributed in other ways to throw light on our Colonial history.

It may not be so well remembered that he was the author of a historical narrative, founded on the early history of the West Indies, bearing the title "Hearts of Oak," which title has been assumed for quite a different production. This appeared in 1870. Besides this and various contributions to art periodicals, he was the author of "Original Unpublished Papers illustrative of the Life of Sir Peter Paul Rubens," preserved in H. M. State Paper Office. This work was commended by the London Athenæum, and by our accomplished Treasurer in the "North American Review," in 1859. The Athenæum recently, in a brief mention of the book, declared that its great value has been fully recognized by Continental writers.

The falling off of another of our company, which of late has been so frequently admonished of the frailty of life that obituary essays and memorial services have almost excluded the regular business for which it assembles in this chamber, is a peculiarly painful subject to dwell upon. However, I have not shrunk from the duty you assigned me, since I felt that our friend deserved some expression of the esteem and gratitude which I am sure is felt for him among historical students all over our land, and, moreover, I, who have been so much indebted to him, dreaded to incur the reproach which Pope uttered against the quondam friends of Montagu, that patron of the poets whom I have mentioned as one of the Privy Councillors of England, called by his office to take an interest in our local affairs, —

"The love of arts lies cold and dead
In Halifax's Urn,
And not one muse of all he fed
Has yet the grace to mourn."

Mr. JOHN T. HASSAM communicated a list of confiscated estates in Boston at the time of the Revolution, and said:—

The members of the Massachusetts Historical Society are doubtless aware that the land on which the Society's building now stands was confiscated during the Revolutionary War, as the property of a Loyalist, the Rev. Henry Caner, the Rector of King's Chapel. His estate is described in the Inventory taken January 22, 1779, as "A Dwelling House, Barn &c. situate in Tree Mont Street near the Stone Church, with the Land & Appurtenances," and it was appraised at £2550. The lot was then two hundred feet from front to rear. The entire estate was bought for £750, at private sale, of the Committee empowered by the General Court to sell the estates of conspirators and absentees. The purchaser was Samuel Henly. The deed, dated April 8, 1782, was not recorded until September 30, 1793 (Suffolk Deeds, Lib. 177, fol. 82). By certain mesne conveyances, the front part of this estate on Tremont Street became the property of the Society in 1856 (Lib. 695, fol. 55).

The adjoining estate on the North, which now forms part of the Boston Museum, was also confiscated. It was the property of William Brattle, a Loyalist.

The estates of Loyalists were sold under an Act passed April 30, 1779, entitled "An Act to confiscate the estates of certain notorious Conspirators against the Government and liberties of the inhabitants of the late Province, now State, of Massachusetts Bay"; an Act passed May 1, 1779, entitled "An Act for confiscating the estates of certain persons commonly called Absentees"; an Act passed 1780, entitled "An Act to provide for the Payment of Debts due from the Conspirators and Absentees, and for the recovery of debts due to them"; an Act in addition to that Act; and under various resolves of the General Court.

I have compiled, from the records in the Suffolk Registry of Deeds, a list of these confiscated estates, giving the date of record of the deed, the name of the Loyalist owner and of the

purchaser at the sale, the Lib. and fol. of the record, and a brief description of the confiscated land. These estates are one hundred and fifty-nine in number, and they belonged to forty-nine different owners. Nineteen parcels of land were taken from Governor Hutchinson, the Committee receiving for them £98,121 4s. 2½*d.* His mansion-house on the corner of Fleet and Hanover Streets brought £33,500. Eighteen parcels were taken from Eliakim Hutchinson, of the value of £4385. Samuel Sewall lost fourteen pieces of land at £5040 5s. The highest price brought by any single estate was £102,000. This was paid for dwelling-house and land on both sides of Summer Street, belonging to Sir William Pepperell the younger. The sum total of all these sales amounted to £529,591 18s. 8*d.* But as the deeds recite that the consideration was paid sometimes in "gold and silver," sometimes in "gold or silver or its equivalent in paper," sometimes in "specie" or "coined specie," sometimes in "lawful silver money," sometimes in "specie and paper," sometimes in "specie or its paper equivalent," sometimes in "lawful money," and sometimes in "Continental currency," these figures are very misleading.

By an Act passed April 9, 1777, and an Act in addition thereto, passed October 16, 1778, the Judge of Probate for each county was authorized to appoint agents for the estates of absentees in such county. The Suffolk County Probate Records contain the following names of absentees:—

	A.D.	Docket No.		A.D.	Docket No.
Aldis, Nathan . . .	1777	16387	Brattle, Thomas . .	1779	16988
Amory, John . . .	1779	16892	Brindley, George . .	1778	16611
Apthorp, Charles Ward	1781	17441	Brinley, Thomas . .	1779	17194
Apthorp, Thomas. .	1777	17542	Burton, William . .	1779	17462
Apthorp, William . .	1778	17169			
Atkins, Gibbs . . .	1779	16950	Calf, Robert	1778	17463
Auchmuty, Robert . .	1779	16836	Canner, Henry . . .	1777	16426
			Clark, Benjamin . .	1781	17570
Bernard, Francis . .	1779	16965	Coffin, John	1779	16891
Birch, William . . .	1778	16637	Coffin, William . . .	1779	16890
Blair, John	1779	16856	Collier, Hannah . .	1779	17464
Borland, John . . .	1779	16987	Cunningham, Archibald	1777	17465
Borland, John Lindall	1779	17023			
Boutineau, James . .	1778	16748	Deblois, Gilbert . .	1779	16827
Bowes, William . . .	1778	16457	Draper, Margaret . .	1779	17015

	A.D.	Docket No.		A.D.	Docket No.
Faneuil, Benjamin . . .	1782	17666	Loring, Joshua .	1777	16449
Fisher, Willfret . . .	1779	17014	Loring, Joshua, Jr.	1778	16450
Flucker, Thomas . . .	1779	17129	Lyde, Edward . .	1779	16870
Foster, Edward . . .	1776	15912			
Gardner, Sylvester . . .	1778	16778	Martin, William .	1780	17216
Gay, Martin . . .	1779	16842	McNeil, Archibald	1779	16801
Geyer, Frederick William	1778	16577	Minot, Christopher	1779	16885
Goldsbury, Samuel . .	1781	18167	Moffatt, Thomas .	1782	17652
Goldthwait, Joseph . .	1778	16609			
Gore, John . . .	1779	17466	Paddock, Adino .	1778	16688
Gray, Harrison . . .	1779	17467	Paxton, Charles .	1779	16802
Green, Joseph . . .	1778	16657	Perkins, William L.	1781	17472
			Powell, John . .	1778	16788
Hallowell, Benjamin . .	1778	16794	Price, Elizabeth .	1779	16984
Hallowell, Robert . . .	1778	17663	Procter, Agnes . .	1779	17552
Hamilton, Col. . . .	1781	17533			
Hatch, Nathaniel . . .	1779	16812	Quincy, Samuel .	1779	16889
Holmes, Benjamin Mulberry	1781	17468			
Hulton, Henry . . .	1777	16343	Richards, Owen .	1783	17863
Hutchinson, Eliakim . .	1779	16883	Rogers, John . .	1777	17473
Hutchinson, Elisha . .	1777	17379			
Hutchinson, Foster . . .	1779	16884	Savage, Arthur .	1777	17474
Hutchinson, Thomas . .	1778	16858	Scott, Joseph . .	1779	16956
			Sewall, Samuel .	1777	16269
Irving, George . . .	1778	17469	Simpson, John . .	1779	16829
Irving, John . . .	1786	18653	Simpson, Jonathan	1779	16830
			Smith, Richard . .	1781	Misc. Doc.
Jackson, William . . .	1782	17738	Snelling, Jonathan	1779	17475
Jarvis, Robert . . .	1778	16597	Stow, Edward . .	1779	16798
Jeffries, John . . .	1779	17470			
Jenkins, Peter . . .	1779	16934	Taylor, John . .	1779	17056
Johonnot, Peter . . .	1782	17644	Taylor, William .	1777	17380
Joy, John . . .	1777	16258	Thompson, Robert	1779	17476
			Troutbeck, John .	1779	16803
Keighly, Edward . . .	1779	16832			
Knutting, William . . .	1782	17628	Vassell, William .	1779	17367
Laughton, Henry . . .	1781	Misc. Doc.	Walter, William .	1777	16432
Lechmere, Richard . . .	1777	16276	Waterhouse, Samuel	1778	16792
Leonard, George . . .	1780	17471	Willson, John . .	1782	17627
Lewis, Ezekiel . . .	1779	16800	Winnett, John, Jr.	1782	17701
Lillie, Theophilus . . .	1778	16620	Winslow, Isaac .	1782	17793

Several of these names are not to be found in Sabine's "Loyalists of the American Revolution"; and we are able also from these records to make a few additions to the names of Loyalists in the "Memorial History of Boston," III. 175.

These lists have been compiled from notes and memoranda made by me many years ago, while engaged in making researches in the County Records, when those records were not as accessible as they now are. It is possible, indeed, that further investigations and future improvements in methods of indexing may bring to light a few more names. But it is not probable, however; and these lists may be considered as practically complete, so far as the records in these two public offices are concerned. In some cases where confiscated estates were actually sold, the purchaser failed to record his deed.

This, with much other material, was collected and laid aside until I should have leisure to use it in a long-contemplated work. But as this period of leisure is still remote, and may come to me, as it often does to others, too late, I have thought it best to put a part, at least, of this material at the disposal of historical students and investigators, by making it immediately accessible in print. In this way it will be safe from destruction and loss, and will be available to others. It illustrates an exceedingly interesting and important chapter in the history of Boston.

THE CONFISCATED ESTATES

Date of record.	Loyalist owner.	Purchaser.	Lib.	fol.
April 27, 1782	APTHORP, CHARLES WARD	JOSEPH HALL	134	187
June 10, 1782	" " "	EDWARD SMITH . . .	135	12
June 22, 1782	" " "	EPHRAIM MURDOCK . .	135	47
July 4, 1782	" " "	DANIEL DENNISON ROGERS	135	68
July 19, 1782	" " "	JOHN WHEELWRIGHT .	135	114
July 19, 1782	" " "	" "	135	116
Sept. 24, 1782	" " "	GRIZZELL APTHORP, } widow, and PEREZ MORTON }	136	8
July 30, 1783	" " "	ANDREW SYMMES . . .	139	117
March 7, 1786	" " "	FRANCIS JOHONNOT, agent for creditors of NATHANIEL WHEEL- } WRIGHT, deceased }	155	225
June 10, 1786	" " "	SAMUEL PITTS	157	222
April 5, 1787	" " "	NATHANIEL GREENE . .	160	25
Sept. 29, 1783	ATKINS, GIBBS	THOMAS TRAIL	140	8
Dec. 31, 1788	" "	NATHANIEL HICKMAN .	164	71
Jan. 1, 1794	" "	TITUS MORGAN	177	249
Feb. 26, 1780	AUCHMUTY, ROBERT et al.	SAMUEL CLARK	131	58

OF BOSTON LOYALISTS.

Description.

Land and moiety of dwelling-house in BOSTON, Cole Lane S.W.; Joseph Hall E.; Samuel Barrett N.; Jonathan Williams W.

Land and buildings in BOSTON, Wings Lane N.; Brattle St. E.; land of Elizabeth Clark deceased, [formerly] Lillie W.; John Roulstone S.

Lands and part of house in ROXBURY. 11 A. opposite dwelling-house of the late Rev. Mr. Walter, road S.; said Murdock W.; heirs of Gov. Dudley N.; said Murdock E. — 8 A. near where the old meeting-house stood, road N.; John Davis E.; heirs of John Scott S.; Ezra Davis W. — 2 A., said Murdock N.; John Morrey E.; town way S.; William Dudley W.

Land and buildings in BOSTON, Beacon St. in front; highway to Beacon Hill N.W.; John Spooner N. and E.

Land, flats, warehouses and wharf near the South Battery in BOSTON, Purchase St. N.W.; heirs of Alexander Hunt S.; the sea E.; the highway N.

Land and dwelling-house in BOSTON, Atkinson St. E.; Burry St. S.; Proprietors of the Irish Meeting House W.; Onesephorus Tileston N.

One moiety of land and two brick tenements in BOSTON, Fleet St. N.; Edward Langdon E.; William and Mercy Stoddard S.; W.; S.; W.; S. and W.

Assignment of mortgage Lib. 100 fol. 97.

Assignment of mortgage Lib. 97 fol. 200.

Assignment of mortgage Lib. 103 fol. 89.

One half part of four parcels of land in ROXBURY. $2\frac{1}{2}$ A.; 17 A. near the tide-mill; $13\frac{1}{2}$ A. woodland; and piece of salt marsh.

Land and house in BOSTON, Black Horse Lane N.; William Clark W.; Gibbon Sharp S.; Gibbs Atkins E.

Land in BOSTON, Middle St. W.; Procter's Lane N.; John and William Houston E.; Thomas Marable S.

Land with large dwelling-house in BOSTON, Middle St. E.; Black Horse Lane N.; Gibbs Atkins W.; Gibbin Sharp S.

Land and dwelling-house in BOSTON, School St. S.; the town's land W.; John Rowe N.; Joseph Green E. — Garden land near the above, Cook's Alley W.; Leverett Saltonstall N.; William Powell E.; S. and E.; Leverett Saltonstall S. [Description corrected in margin of record.]

Date of record.	Loyalist owner.	Purchaser.	Lib.	fol.
Apr. 13, 1782	AUCHMUTY, ROBERT, et al. (continued.)	JOSIAH WATERS JR. . .	134	164
July 31, 1783	" "	INCREASE SUMNER . .	139	122
Aug. 18, 1779	BERNARD, SIR FRANCIS	MARTIN BRIMMER . .	130	178
Jan. 2, 1781	" " "	WILLIAM ALLEN . . .	132	76
Sept. 29, 1787	BLAIR, JOHN	VICTOR BLAIR	161	79
Aug. 2, 1782	BORLAND, JOHN . . .	WILLIAM FALLASS . .	135	146
Feb. 26, 1780	BOUTINEAU, JAMES et al.	SAMUEL CLARK	131	58
July 24, 1780	" "	SAMUEL BROOME . . .	131	237
Feb. 16, 1782	BOWES, WILLIAM . . .	RICHARD DRIVER . . .	134	23
June 11, 1783	" "	MUNGO MACKEY . . .	139	16
Feb. 16, 1784	" "	ROBERT JENKINS . . .	141	132
Nov. 6, 1784	" "	JAMES WELCH	145	250

Description.

Discharge of mortgage Fillebrown et al. to Auchmuty dated Feb. 10, 1766.

6 A. 3 qr. 10 r. land and dwelling-house near the meeting-house in ROXBURY, the road N.; Jonathan Davis E.; S.E.; and S.; the lane and Increase Sumner W.

Farm, 50 A., mansion house and barn in ROXBURY, highway to Benj. Child S.E.; Jamaica Pond N.E.; Joseph Winchester N.W.; Samuel Griffin and school lands S.W.; the hill N.; Samuel Griffin W.; S.W.; W. and S.W. — Wood lot in ROXBURY, 12 A. 3 qr. 36 r., Sharp and Williams S.; land of heirs of William Douglas deceased W.; land of heirs of Edward Bromfield deceased N.; land of heirs of Elizabeth Brewer deceased E. — Wood lot in ROXBURY, 2 A. 1 qr. 17 r., highway W.; Capt. Baker S.; John Harris E.; Mr. Walter N. — Salt marsh in ROXBURY, 3 A. 1 qr., John Williams S.; creek N.W.; Robert Pierpoint N.; creek to Dorchester E.

Land in DORCHESTER, 25 A. 3 r., road to Point of Dorchester Neck N.; land of town of Dorchester and Richard Withington deceased E.; said Withington, James Baker, Samuel Blake deceased and James Blake S.; Jonathan [Clap] W. — Salt marsh in DORCHESTER, 2 A. 3 qr., Sir Francis Bernard N.; salt marsh of Richard Withington deceased E.; James Blake W.; the sea S.

Land and part of dwelling-house in BOSTON, Purchase St. E.; Victor Blair S.; W. and S.; Cow Lane W.; land of Onesephorus Tilestone deceased N.

Land and buildings in BOSTON, Newbury St. W.; Eliz^h Durant N. and E.; heirs of Joshua Winslow deceased S.

Land and dwelling-house in BOSTON, School St. S.; the town's land W.; John Rowe N.; Joseph Green E. — Garden land near the above, Cook's Alley W.; Leverett Saltonstall N.; William Powell E.; S. and E.; Leverett Saltonstall S. [Description corrected in margin of record.]

Land and dwelling-house in BOSTON, Milk St. S.; land of Old South Church W.; Stephen Minot N.; widow Jones E.; N. and E. — Pasture land, 1 A. 10 r. opposite said dwelling-house, Milk St. N.; Cole, Decoster et al. E.; heirs of Barnabas Binney et al. S.; heirs of John Greenleaf deceased W.

Land in BOSTON, Fitch's Alley W.; Margaret Phillips N.; Corn Court E.; Andrew Oliver S.

One fourth of land, brick distill house and other buildings in BOSTON, Cambridge St. N.; George St. E.; heirs of John Guttridge deceased S.; Belknap St. W.

Land and buildings in BOSTON, Wilson's Lane W.; Dock Square N.; Arnold and Samuel Wells E.; heirs of Charles Hammock deceased S.

Land in BOSTON, Wings Lane N.; Nathan Frazier and heirs of Charles Apthorp deceased E.; said heirs S.; E.; S. and W.

Date of record.	Loyalist owner.	Purchaser.	Lib.	fol.
May 12, 1781	BRATTLE, WILLIAM . .	JAMES ALLEN	132	202
Sept. 28, 1782	BRINLEY, THOMAS . .	GUSTAVUS FELLOWS . .	136	11
Sept. 30, 1793	CANER, REV. HENRY . .	SAMUEL HENLY	177	82
Aug. 9, 1783	COFFIN, JOHN	CHRISTOPHER CLARK . .	139	151
Mar. 12, 1785	" "	MOSES WALLACK	146	260
Feb. 13, 1786	" "	EDWARD JONES	155	111
Feb. 3, 1783	DEBLOIS, GILBERT . .	GILBERT DEBLOIS, JR. . .	137	28
Oct. 17, 1785	" "	ANN DEBLOIS, wife of } GILBERT DEBLOIS }	151	217
Feb. 7, 1783	DRAPER, MARGARET . .	RICHARD DEVENS	137	48
May 4, 1787	ERVING, JOHN	JAMES LLOYD	160	105
July 2, 1787	" "	JOHN CODMAN, JR. . . .	160	201
Feb. 13, 1789	" "	NATHANIEL APPLETON . .	164	149
May 6, 1789	" "	JOHN DEMING	166	11
Mar. 16, 1782	FISHER, WILFORD . .	PHILIP WENTWORTH . .	134	66

Description.

- Land and buildings in BOSTON, Tremont St. W.; John Rowe and Henry Caner, an absentee, S.; Nathaniel Holmes E.; George Bethune N. and E.; John Andrew and heirs of Samuel Pemberton deceased N.; Robert McElroy W. and N.; passageway W. and W. [N.].
- Land, dwelling-house, distill house and wharf in BOSTON, Hollis St. S.; heirs of Joshua Henshaw deceased W.; low water mark.
- Land and dwelling-house in BOSTON, Tremont St. W.; Chapel Burying Ground and heirs of Middlecott Cook deceased S.; John Rowe E.; William Brattle, an absentee, N.
- Land in BOSTON, Essex St. S.; Short St. W.; Joseph Ford E.; Thomas Snow N.
- Land in BOSTON, Essex St. S.; said Wallack W.; S. and W.; Blind Lane N.; Thomas Downes and Samuel Bradley E.
- Land in BOSTON, Essex St. N.; the sea S.; sugar house and land of heirs of Thomas Child deceased E.; Mary Pitman and heirs of Samuel Bradley W.; with flats to low water mark.
- Two thirds of land and brick warehouse in BOSTON, Cornhill W.; Spring Lane N.; Stephen Minot E.; land of Old South Church S.
- Two thirds of land and house in BOSTON, Common St. W.; Martha Symmes N.; E.; N. and E.; Moses Gill N.; William Dana E.; Rawsons Lane S.
- Land and buildings in BOSTON, Newbury St. W.; heirs of Benjamin Church S. and E.; Josiah Waters Jr. N.
- Land and buildings in BOSTON, Kilby St., formerly Mackerel Lane, E.; heirs of John Erving deceased N.; heirs of Samuel Hughes W.; Joseph Winthrop S.
- Land and message in BOSTON, Newbury St. W.; John Crosby N.; E. and N.; John Soley E. and S.; passage or alley S. — Land, 14 A., in WALPOLE, road from Walpole to the sign of the Black Lamb in Stoughton N.; Nathaniel Preble S.E.; Philip Bardin S.W. and N.W.
- Land, 14 A., in WALPOLE, road from Walpole to the sign of the Black Lamb in Stoughton N.; Nathaniel Preble S.E.; Philip Bardin S.W. and N.W.
- Land and message in BOSTON, Newbury St. W.; John Crosby N.; E. and N.; John Soley E. and S.; passage or alley S.
- Land and buildings in BOSTON, Blind Lane N.; William Kitchen and heirs of Josiah Quincy Jr. W.; Samuel Hewes S.; heirs of John Pratt deceased E.

Date of record.	Loyalist owner.	Purchaser.	Lib.	fol.
July 2, 1781	FOSTER, EDWARD . . .	THOMAS GREENOUGH .	132	257
June 22, 1782	" "	WILLIAM BURBECK } LEVI LANE }	135	49
Dec. 12, 1782	GARDNER, SYLVESTER .	WILLIAM COLEMAN } BENJAMIN COLEMAN }	136	146
Nov. 21, 1783	" "	JOSEPH GARDNER . . .	140	113
March 2, 1784	" "	JOHN BOIES	141	195
Aug. 7, 1784	" "	JOSEPH HENDERSON . .	144	111
Jan. 7, 1783	GAY, MARTIN	JOHN DAVIS	136	228
Dec. 13, 1787	" "	TIMOTHY ATKINS . . .	161	240
May 12, 1780	GEYER, FREDERICK } WILLIAM }	NATHAN FRAZIER . . .	131	143
Sept. 24, 1782	GOLDTHWAIT, JOSEPH .	PEREZ MORTON	136	9
Feb. 11, 1780	GRAY, HARRISON . . .	JOHN STANTON } DAVID DEVENS } JONATHAN HARRIS }	131	51
April 4, 1780	" "	SAMUEL ALLEN OTIS .	131	93
July 24, 1780	HALLOWELL, BENJAMIN	SAMUEL GARDNER JARVIS	131	230

Description.

- Land and buildings in BOSTON, Bear Lane, N.; Middle St. E.; Theophilus Lillie, an absentee, S.; said Greenough W.
- Land and buildings in BOSTON, Prince St. or Black Horse Lane N.; Gibbeon Bony E.; Nathaniel Barber S.; John and William Freeman W.
- Land and buildings in BOSTON, Marlborough St. W.; John Sprague and Samuel Partridge S.; alley between said land and land of John Erving E.; Samuel Partridge N.
- Land in BOSTON, Marlborough St. E.; alley S. and E.; Samuel Dashwood S. and E.; Martin Gay E.; Winter St. S.; heirs of William Fisher W.; S.; W. and S.; heirs of Henderson Inches S.; John Williams and land of the State W.; Jon^a Cole N.; John Lucas E. and N.
- Land in BOSTON, Winter St. N.; John R. Sigourney W.; Dr. John Sprague S. and E.
- Land and buildings in BOSTON, Long Lane E.; Dr. John Sprague S. and E.; Andrew Johonnot S.; Charles Paxton and Dr. Sprague W.; said Sprague N.
- Land in BOSTON, Winter St. S.; Samuel Dashwood E. and N.; Dr. Sylvester Gardner, an absentee, W.
- Land and buildings in BOSTON, Union St. E.; Philip Freeman S.; E.; E. and S.; heirs of Benjamin Andrews W.; N. and W.; Dorothy Carnes N. and W.; Jeremiah Bumstead N.; reserving that part of the premises set off to Ruth Gay, wife of said Martin Gay.
- Land and house in BOSTON, Summer St., formerly Seven Star Lane, in front; land of First Church S.W.; John Rowe S.W.; Benjamin Church, Thomas Thayerweather and heirs of Samuel Sewall N.W. — Green Lane S.W.; John Welsh S.W. and S.W.; John Gooch and others S.E.; James Gooch N.E. and N.W.; John Gooch S.W. and N.W.; James Gooch and others S.W. — Green Lane S.; John Welsh W.; John Gerrish N.; lane from Green Lane to the Mill Pond E.
- One undivided half of land, distill house and other buildings in BOSTON, Pecks Lane W.; John Osbourn N.; N.W.; N.E. and N.; Francis Johonnot E.; the sea S.
- Land and two brick dwelling-houses in BOSTON, Cornhill W.; land purchased by Samuel Allen Otis N.; E. and N.; Wilson's Lane E.; Nathaniel Appleton S.
- Land and brick dwelling-house in BOSTON, Cornhill W.; land purchased by John Stanton and others S.; W. and S.; Wilson's Lane E.; Samuel Vallentine N.
- Farm, 7½ A., and dwelling-house in ROXBURY, Jamaica Plain N.W.; road by widow Parker's N.E.; Joseph Williams S.E.; heirs of Capt. Newell, deceased, S.W.

Date of record.	Loyalist owner.	Purchaser.	Lib.	fol.
Mar. 15, 1782	HALLOWELL, BENJAMIN (continued.)	JOHN COFFIN JONES .	134	60
Mar. 15, 1782	" "	" " "	134	62
July 11, 1781	HATCH, NATHANIEL . .	SAMUEL DUNN JR. . .	132	263
Nov. 2, 1782	HOLMES, BENJAMIN } MULBERRY	JEREMIAH ALLEN . . .	136	77
May 12, 1781	HULTON, HENRY . . .	DAVID COOK	132	203
Feb. 21, 1782	HUTCHINSON, ELIAKIM .	WILLIAM MCNEILL } ARCHIBALD MCNEILL	134	27
June 17, 1782	" "	EDWARD COMPTON HOWE	135	22
Sept. 9, 1782	" "	JOHN READ	135	196

Description.

- Land and brick dwelling-house in BOSTON, Hanover St. N.; heirs of Alexander Chamberlain, deceased, and heirs of Miles Whitworth, deceased, W.; land in occupation of Samuel Sumner S. and W.; said Sumner and Joseph Scott, an absentee, S.; said Scott and heirs of Benjamin Andrews, deceased, E.
- Land and dwelling-house in BOSTON, land purchased by said Jones N.; Joseph Scott E.; S. and E.; said Scott and Sampson Mason S. and E.; Masons Court S.; heirs of Miles Whitworth, deceased, W.
- Land, 60 A., and mansion house in DORCHESTER, road to Dorchester meeting house N.; Jonas Humphrey, Thomas Wiswall and James Bird E. and S.; John Holbrook S.; John Williams, Samuel Humphrey and brook between Dorchester and Roxbury W. and N.
- One fifth of land and brick house in BOSTON, Ann St. E.; heirs of Henry Newman, deceased, S. and W.; Paddy's Alley N.
- Lands in BROOKLINE. Land, 5 A., dwelling-house and barn, road S. and W.; Elisha Gardner N. and N.E.; heirs of Henry Sewall E. and N.E.; town land by the meeting-house E. — 5 A., road N.; town way N.W.; Samuel Clark E. and S. — Land bounded by same road and town way and by land of Elisha Gardner, excepting school-house. — 3 A., town way E. and S.; Nehemiah Davis W. and N. — 7 A., Samuel Clark E. and N.; Nehemiah Davis S.; John Seaver N. and S.; said Seaver and said town way W. — 8 A. land, part of 40 A. lot, highway S.E.; Crafts N.E.; Gardner N.W.; rest of said 40 A. lot S.W. — 10½ A. in Sawmill Woods, bounded by lands of Samuel Sewall and Samuel and Daniel White.
- Land in BOSTON, Cow Lane E.; Howe's ropewalk S.; W. and S.; Milk St. W.; Palmer's pasture N.
- Land in BOSTON, Milk St. N.; Mr. McNeil E. and S.; McNeil's ropewalk E.; Cow Lane S.; ropewalk of Ferister and Torrey W.
- Land, 37A., in ROXBURY, bounded by the road from Roxbury to Dorchester, the brook and salt water creek between Roxbury and Dorchester, the way to the clay pit and by the lands of John Howes, John Humphrey, John Williams, Aaron White, James White, Caleb Williams, Samuel Warren, Joseph Clapp, Isaac Williams and Benjamin Williams. — Woodland, 13A., in ROXBURY, Elijah Wales S.; widow Bourne and heirs E.; Noah Davis W. and N. — Right of William Shirley Esq. to the clay pits above mentioned called the Town of Roxbury clay pits. — 23½ A. in ROXBURY, John Williams N.; Aaron White, Samuel Cheney, John Hawes, widow Warren and heirs of Joseph Warren W.; Nehemiah Munroe S.; town way from Dorchester brook to Braintree road E. — Pasture land, 19 A., in ROXBURY, Daniel Holbrook N.; Braintree road W.; James White S.W.; said town way S. and E. — 22 A. in ROXBURY, said town way N.W.; John Williams and Swan S.; John Humphrey E.; John Williams N.E. — Salt marsh and upland, 20 A., in ROXBURY, heirs of Benjamin Williams S.W.; town creek between Roxbury and Dorchester S.E.; Joseph Curtis N.

Date of record.	Loyalist owner.	Purchaser.	Lib.	fol.
Oct. 4, 1782	HUTCHINSON, ELIAKIM . (continued.)	JOHN LUCAS EDWARD TUCKERMAN }	136	22
March 1, 1783	" "	NATHAN SPEAR . . .	137	131
April 3, 1783	" "	FRANCIS BIGELOW . .	137	260
July 12, 1783	" "	JOSEPH RUSSELL . . .	139	75
Feb. 18, 1784	" "	THOMAS GREEN . . .	141	136
Aug. 28, 1784	" "	THOMAS WALLEY . . .	144	172
Dec. 24, 1792	" "	SAMUEL EMMONS JR. } VICTOR BLAIR }	174	183
May 17, 1793	" "	JEFFERY RICHARDSON .	176	8
Dec. 15, 1795	" "	" "	182	27
Apr. 13, 1796	" "	MARTIN BRIMMER . .	183	37
Feb. 25, 1783	" FOSTER et al.	EBENEZER PARSONS } DANIEL SARGENT }	137	95
Sept. 25, 1783	" "	JOHN CODMAN JR. . .	140	4
Dec. 27, 1779	" THOMAS, GOV.	JOSEPH VEASEY . . .	131	21

Description.

Land in BOSTON, on Dock Square and Cooper's Alley, bounded by lands of Thomas Green, Joshua Blanchard, widow Apthorp, John Newell, William Greenleaf, Jonathan Simpson and heirs of Thomas Young.

Land in BOSTON, passageway from the Town Dock to Green's wharf W. ; Jonathan Williams, William Hyslop, Nathaniel Correy, Alexander Hill, heirs of John Gould, of Anthony Stoddard, and of John Walker deceased N. ; the end of the wharf E. ; the dock between said wharf and Green's wharf S.

Land in BOSTON on Milk St., bounded by a passageway and by land of said Bigelow, said Hutchinson and Mr. Bourne.

Land in BOSTON near Fort Hill, Gridley's Lane S. ; Cow Lane E. ; land of Town of Boston and of heirs of Andrew Oliver N. ; Thomas Palmer W.

Land in BOSTON, Dock Square S. ; Eliakim Hutchinson W. ; Mr. Blanchard N. ; Thomas Green E. ; N. and E.

Land and buildings in BOSTON, Cross St. S. ; Thomas Walley W. ; widow Holmes N. ; Samuel Ellinwood E.

Land in BOSTON, Milk St. and Cow Lane, between a highway and ropewalk of Farreter and Torrey.

Land in BOSTON, Cow Lane S.E. ; Samuel Emmons N.E. ; Thomas Davis S.W. ; extending towards Milk St. N.W.

Confirmation of above

Flats and wharf in BOSTON, Minot's T N. ; flats towards the town W. ; wharf and flats of William Davis S. ; the channel E.

Land and dwelling-house in BOSTON, Fish St. W. ; passageways N. and E. ; land purchased by Thomas Stephenson S. — Land and dwelling-house, Fish St. W. ; land purchased by John Hancock N. ; Thomas Hutchinson E. ; land purchased by John Hotty S. — Land, store, block-maker's shop and other work places near the above, passageways S. ; W. and E. ; Thomas Hutchinson N. — Flats, dock, wharf and stores, near the above, passage W. ; dock N. ; sea E. ; dock S. — Flats, dock and wharf adjoining the above described wharf, John Brick S. ; passageways W. and N. ; dock N. ; the sea E.

Land, wharf and dock in BOSTON, Town Dock N. ; heirs of William Clarke deceased W. ; heirs of Benjamin Andrews S. ; passage from the Town Dock to Green's Wharf E.

Land and dwelling-house in BOSTON, Fish St. W. ; land purchased by Thomas Stephenson N. ; passageway E. ; heirs of William Graves S.

Date of record.	Loyalist owner.	Purchaser.	Lib.	fol.
July 24, 1780	HUTCHINSON, THOMAS, Gov. (continued.)	SAMUEL BROOME . . .	131	233
Aug 8, 1780	" " "	JOHN HOTTY . . .	131	247
Feb. 25, 1783	" " "	EBENEZER PARSONS } et al. DANIEL SARGENT }	137	95
Feb. 25, 1783	" " Gov.	EBENEZER PARSONS } DANIEL SARGEANT }	137	99
Mar. 13, 1783	" " "	THOMAS STEPHENSON .	137	161
Oct. 14, 1784	" " "	ENOCH BROWN . . .	145	126
Sept. 4, 1782	JOHONNOT, PETER . .	EBENEZER SEAVER . .	135	190
Mar. 31, 1783	KEIGHLY, EDWARD . .	JAMES TATE . . .	137	256

Description.

Land, 43 A. 2 qr. 34 r., in MILTON, a back lane E.; Mr. Ivers and Milton River N.; Stephen Badcock and a brook N.W.; lane to Stephen Badcock S.W.; road to Milton meeting-house S.E. — Land, 33 A. 1 r., mansion house and barn in MILTON, road to Braintree E.; heirs of William Badcock S.E. and S.W.; road to Milton meeting-house N.W. — 14 A. 3 qr. 3 r. in MILTON, road to Braintree S.W.; Robert Williams S.E.; heirs of William Badcock N.; Milton River N.E. — Woodland, 48 A. 1 qr. 9 r., in MILTON, road by Moses Glover's N.W.; Braintree town line S.E.; John Bois S.W.; John Sprague N.E. — Tillage land, 17 A. 2 qr. 27 r., and salt marsh, 16 A. 14 r. adjoining, in DORCHESTER, lower road from Milton bridge to Dorchester meeting-house W.; Hopestill Leeds N.E.; John Capen and others E.; Amariah Blake and the river N.; Ebenezer Swift, Daniel Vose and a creek S. — Salt marsh, 2 A. 3 qr. 9 r., near the Hummucks in DORCHESTER, Levi Rounsavel N.; Robert Swan and Madam Belcher S.; the river W. — Salt marsh, 7 A., in DORCHESTER, Billings Creek S. and W.; Robert Spurr N.; Henry Leadbetter S.E. and E. — One undivided third of 8 A. salt marsh in DORCHESTER, held in common with Timothy Tucker and Joseph Tucker, Billings Creek S.; Nathan Ford W. — Woodland, 33½ A. 9 r., in BRAINTREE.

Land and dwelling-house in BOSTON, Fish St. W.; land purchased by Parsons and Sargeant N.; passageways E. and S.

Land and dwelling-house in BOSTON, Fish St. W.; passageways N. and E.; land purchased by Thomas Stephenson S. — Land and dwelling-house, Fish St. W.; land purchased by John Hancock N.; Thomas Hutchinson E.; land purchased by John Hotty S. — Land, store, block-maker's shop, and other work places near the above, passageways S.; W. and E.; Thomas Hutchinson N. — Flats, dock, wharf and stores near the above, passage W.; dock N.; sea E.; dock S. — Flats, dock and wharf adjoining the above-described wharf, John Brick S.; passageways W. and N.; dock N.; the sea E.

Land and dwelling-houses in BOSTON, Fish St. W.; land purchased by said Parsons and Sargeant S.; passage N.; passage E.; land purchased by said Parsons and Sargeant S.; passage W.; then running W. and S.

Land and dwelling-house in BOSTON, Fish St. W.; land purchased by Parsons and Sargent N.; passage E.; land purchased by Joseph Veasey S.

Land and brick dwelling-house in BOSTON, Middle St. W.; Fleet St. N.; street from Clark's Square to Fleet St. E.; Lady Franklin S.

Land and buildings in BOSTON, Orange St. E.; Samuel Pope and Hopestill Foster S.; Joseph Lovell and heirs of William Ettridge W.; Zachariah Johonnot N.

Land and part of house in BOSTON, Purchase St. S.; Gridley's Lane E.; land held in common by said Keighly and Tate N.; said Tate W. — Land and part of house, Jeremiah Green W.; said land held in common N. and E.; passageway S. — Two undivided thirds of land, Thomas Flucker N.; Gridley's Lane E.; above-described land and said Tate S.; Jeremiah Green W.

Date of record.	Loyalist owner.	Purchaser.	Lib.	fol.
June 11, 1783	LECHMORE, RICHARD .	MUNGO MACKEY . . .	139	14
May 26, 1781	LILLIE, THEOPHILUS .	JOHN GREENOUGH . .	132	216
Aug. 3, 1781	" "	SAMUEL HOWARD . . .	133	5
Aug. 31, 1779	LORING, JOSHUA . . .	JOHN KEYES	130	191
Oct. 28, 1779	" "	ISAAC SEARS	130	237
Feb. 1, 1782	" "	JAMES SWAN	134	6
Apr. 28, 1783	" "	JOHN TUFTS	138	101
Nov. 23, 1795	" "	ELLIS GRAY	181	275
Feb. 21, 1785	LYDE, EDWARD . . .	NATHANIEL BYFIELD LYDE	147	131
Sept. 18, 1783	MARTIN, WILLIAM . .	JOHN BOSON	139	245
Nov. 26, 1782	MCNEIL, ARCHIBALD .	SAMUEL CONANT . . .	136	115
Aug. 1, 1782	PADDOCK, ADINO . . .	THOMAS BUMSTEAD . .	135	139

Description.

Land and dwelling-house in BOSTON, Cambridge St. S.; Staniford St. W.; passageway N.; Timothy Newell E. and N.; Jeremiah Allen E. — One undivided half of land, brick distill house and other buildings, Cambridge St. N.; George St. E.; heirs of John Guttridge deceased S.; Belknap St. W.

Land and buildings in BOSTON, Middle St. E.; Samuel Ridgeway S.; Thomas Greenough W.; Thomas Greenough and Edward Foster, an absentee, N.

One undivided third of land and large brick dwelling-house in BOSTON, Sun Court St. N.; Joseph Hemmingway and others E.; John Leach and others S.; Market Square W.

Land, 19 A., mansion house and barn in ROXBURY, Joshua Loring N. and N.E.; Lemuel May E.; Ebenezer Weld S.; road leading to Dedham W.; then running S., E. and N. on land of John Keyes.

Farm, 54 A. 3 qr. 9 r., and mansion house in ROXBURY, road leading by Jamaica meeting-house to Boston W.; heirs of Mr. Burroughs deceased N. and N.W.; lane N.E.; lane and Capt. May E.; land of Joshua Loring, absentee, now of John Keyes S. — $5\frac{1}{2}$ A. salt marsh, creek W.; Mr. Bowdoin S.; heirs of Joseph Weld deceased E.; heirs of John Williams deceased N.

Wood or pasture land, 8 A. 31 r., in BROOKLINE, road W.; Mr. Crafts N.W. and N.E.; Capt. Baker S.E.

Land and dwelling-house in BOSTON, common or training-field N.W.; West St. N.E.; David Colson S.E.; heirs or assigns of Dr. George Stewart S.W.

Wood and pasture land, $24\frac{1}{2}$ A. 7 r., in ROXBURY, near Henry Williams; Caleb Williams and Mr. Morries S.E.; Ebenezer Chanies S.W.; Mr. Bourn N.W. and N.E.

Land and buildings in BOSTON, Summer St. S.; Bishop's Alley W.; heirs of Andrew Cunningham deceased N.; land formerly of John Simpson deceased E.

Land in BOSTON, Orange St. W.; Henry Bass N.; the salt water E.; James Richardson S.

Land and buildings in BOSTON, Marlborough St. E.; land late of William Blair Townsend deceased S.; William Ireland W.; William Turner and others N. — Passageway between the above land, formerly of Timothy Batt deceased, and land of the late William Turner and others.

Land and buildings in BOSTON, Common St. W.; land of the Commonwealth S.; heirs of Gillum Taylor deceased E. and S.; Thomas Cushing E.; N. and E.; Rawson's Lane N.

Date of record.	Loyalist owner.	Purchaser.	Lib.	fol.
Jan. 2, 1783	PEPPERELL, SIR WILLIAM	THOMAS RUSSELL . . .	136	203
July 19, 1782	SEWALL, SAMUEL . . .	EDWARD KITCHEN } WOLCOTT }	135	113
Nov. 12, 1782	" "	JOHN HEATH . . .	136	102
Aug. 11, 1783	" "	JOHN MOLINEUX } WILLIAM MOLINEUX }	139	153
Dec. 18, 1783	" "	JOHN McLANE . . .	140	207
May 10, 1786	SIMPSON, JOHN JONATHAN }	JOSEPH BARRELL . . .	157	20
Dec. 6, 1782	SNELLING, JONATHAN .	EZEKIEL GOLDTHWAIT .	136	126

Description.

Land and dwelling-house in BOSTON, Summer St. S.; Benjamin Goldthwait E.; heirs of Benjamin Cunningham deceased N.; Samuel Whitwell W. — Land and buildings, Summer St. N.; widow Jones W. and N.; Joseph Balch W.; John Rowe and Thomas Thompson S.; said Thompson W.; John Rowe S.; Zachariah Brigdon E.

Land, 263 A. 1 qr., in BROOKLINE, Thomas Aspinwall E.; marsh road to Charles River N.E.; Charles River N.; Thomas Gardner and Moses Griggs S. and S.W.; Solomon Hill S. and S.E. — Land, 16 A. 3 qr., and half of house in BROOKLINE on Sherburn Road and the marsh lane, bounded by Capt. Cook, Samuel Craft and Elisha Gardner.

Land and buildings in BROOKLINE. 9 A. 33 r., Sherburn Road S.E.; a town way N.E.; Mr. Aker N.W.; a town way S.W. — 32 A. 3 r., Daniel White and the pound S.W.; road and Joseph Williams S.E.; Joshua Boylston and William Hyslop N.E.; Sherburn Road N.W. — 18 A. 2 qr. 5 r., Samuel White N.W.; John Dean S.W. and S.; a town way S.E.; said Dean N.E.; S.E. and S.; said town way E.; road N.E. — 59 A. 3 qr. 4 r., Benjamin White and Dr. Winchester N.E.; Sarah Sharp S.W.; Samuel White and heirs of Justice White S.E.; Benjamin White N.E.; S.E. and N.E.; Sherburn Road N.E. — 23 A. 3 qr. 33 r., Ebenezer Crafts and Caleb Gardner N.W.; said Gardner and Benjamin White S.W.; Moses White S.E.; Benjamin White and Moses White N.E.; Moses White S.E.; a town way N.E. — 3 A. 28 r., Ebenezer Craft S.W.; S.E. and N.E.; the County line N.W. — 8 A. 1 qr. 31 r., Daniel White N.W.; the County line S.W.; David Cook S.E.; heirs of Ebenezer Davis N.E. — 5 A. 2 qr. 38 r., said Craft N.W.; saw mill meadow W.; William Heath S. and S.E.; Benjamin White and William Hammon N.E. — 7 A. 2 qr. 32 r., Edward K. Walcott S. and W.; Benjamin White S.; William Acker S.E.; John Child E.; Charles River N.; Joseph Adams and Daniel White W. — 4 A. 26 r., Moses White W.; Esquire White, Ebenezer Craft and a creek S.; Nehemiah Davis and heirs of Caleb Denny S.E.; the marsh road N.

Land and buildings in BOSTON, Newbury St. W.; Daniel Crosby, John Solely and heirs of Benjamin Church deceased S.; land late of Frederick William Geyer E.; Thomas Fairweather, Sampson Reed, John Homands and Edward Hollowday N.; said Sewall W.; N.; W. and N.

Land and buildings in BOSTON, Newbury St. W.; said Sewall S.; E.; S. and E.; Edward Hollowday N.

Two undivided thirds of land and buildings in BOSTON, Summer St. S.; Samuel Whitwell E.; heirs of Andrew Cunningham deceased N.; Edward Lyde W. — Dock Square E.; Cornhill S.; John Rowe W.; Cooper's Alley N. — Cooper's Alley S.; Eliakim Hutchinson E. and N.; William Greenleaf W.

Land and buildings in BOSTON, King St. S.; Fitch's Alley E.; land next herein described N.; Gowen Brown W. — Said Brown N.; Fitch's Alley E.; above described land S.; said Brown W.

Date of record.	Loyalist owner.	Purchaser.	Lib.	fol.
June 16, 1784	SNELLING, JONATHAN . (continued.)	EDWARD TYLER . . .	143	221
Mar. 19, 1783	STOW, EDWARD . . .	BENJAMIN THOMSON . .	137	197
June 11, 1782	TAYLOR, JOHN . . .	NATHANIEL FELLOWS .	135	17
Sept. 25, 1781	VASSALL, JOHN . . .	JOHN WILLIAMS . . .	133	110
Jan. 8, 1784	" "	ISAIAH DOANE	141	2
Sept. 27, 1784	WALTER, REV. WILLIAM	LEONARD JARVIS . . .	145	32
Mar. 4, 1783	WARDEN, WILLIAM . .	CHRISTOPHER CLARK	137	139
June 15, 1782	WINSLOW, ISAAC . . .	EBENEZER CROSBY . .	135	20

Description.

Land and buildings in BOSTON, Middle St. E.; David Willis S. and W.; said Willis and Sarah Doubt S.; George Vincent and John Owen W.; New North Alley N.

Lands and buildings in BOSTON, Orange St. W.; heirs of Sutton Boyles deceased S.; end of a wharf E.; said Stow N. — Land and shop adjoining the above, Orange St. W.; said Stow S.; the flats E.; heirs of Thomas Thomson N.

Land and buildings in BOSTON, Cornhill E.; William Davis S.; E. and S.; Joseph Green W.; heirs of Stephen Boutineau, deceased, N.

Land, $3\frac{1}{2}$ A., and buildings in DORCHESTER, the high road S. and W.; Ebenezer and Lemuel Clap N.; Zebadiah Williams E. — $\frac{1}{2}$ A. South of the above, Mr. Jeffries E.; the high road on the other sides.

Land and buildings in BOSTON, Tremont St. E.; heirs of John Jefferies deceased S.; heirs of Jeremiah Allen deceased, William Vassall and heirs of Joseph Sherburne W.; William Vassall and land of the old brick church N.

Land and buildings in BOSTON, South St. W.; Samuel Quincy, an absentee, S.; Robert Robbins and heirs of Benjamin Clark, deceased, E.; Samuel Connant N. and E.; Nathaniel Taylor, an absentee, N.

Three undivided tenths of dwelling-house and land in BOSTON, Elizabeth Murray W.; Samuel Hill S.; said Murray E.; land of Susanna Heaton deceased N. — Three undivided tenths of an undivided half of dwelling-house and land, Marlboro St. W.; land late of Nathaniel Wardell deceased N.; John Berry E.; land above described S. — Three undivided tenths of an undivided half of land and buildings, Marlboro St. W.; John Valentine S.; John Gilbert E.; Mr. Heaton N. — Three undivided tenths of an undivided half of land, land late of Thomas Bleigh deceased N.; Bishop's lane or alley E.; Joseph Gooch S.; land late of Jabez Eaton deceased W.

Assignment of mortgage Joseph Crosby to Isaac Winslow, dated Aug. 5, 1768.

Mr. JOSIAH P. QUINCY presented a curious satirical print representing Lord North, who, thrown from his horse in an imaginary ride from Boston to Salem, fractures the mile-stone with which his head comes in contact. It was bought in London in 1775, by the patriot, Josiah Quincy, Jr., and formed almost the sole ornament in the college room of his son, afterward President Quincy.

Rev. HENRY F. JENKS communicated an unpublished letter from Mrs. Lucy Downing, sister of Governor Winthrop, to her daughter Anne, second wife of Governor Simon Bradstreet, and said: —

At the meeting in February I communicated some letters from Dr. Isaac Watts to Rev. Dr. Colman, found among the early records of the church in Brattle Square, with the statement that I hoped at a later time to present some other letters from the same source.

About a year ago our late associate, Mr. Hamilton A. Hill, whose death we lament to-day, looked over with me the box containing those records; and when we came to the letter which I hold in my hand we thought that we had made a valuable discovery, supposing it, from the superscription, — These For my very Loving Daughter M^{rs} Anne Bradstreet at Boston in New England, — to be addressed to Mrs. Anne Bradstreet, daughter of Governor Thomas Dudley, the poetess of New England.

On examination, however, it appeared from the date, two years after her death, that we had made a mistake, but that we still had an interesting letter, for it was written by her mother, Lucy, sister of Governor Winthrop, and widow of Emanuel Downing, to the second Mrs. Anne Bradstreet, who, as we learn from Savage, was the widow of Captain Joseph Gardiner, and married Governor Simon Bradstreet, at the time more than thirty years older than herself, June 6, 1676, and died, aged 79, April 19, 1713.

In the third volume of the Winthrop Papers (Collections, 5th Series, Vol. I.), are about sixty pages of letters from Lucy Downing, to which this is an addition.

Our associate Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., writes me in regard to it: —

“The letter you have discovered is probably the latest of hers now in existence (she died April 19, 1679, when nearly eighty years old,

having been born at Groton, Jan. 9, 1600, O. S.); the latest found among the Winthrop papers being dated April 17, 1674, four years earlier.

"The precise date of her husband's death has never been ascertained, though there is little doubt that it occurred in Edinburgh in 1659; so that she was about twenty years a widow.

"In his introduction to Winthrop Papers, Part III., my father alludes to the straitened circumstances of her old age, and the stinginess to her of her son Sir George, who had become quite rich."

It will be seen that there is in the letter an allusion to this stinginess.

At our last meeting I had intended to communicate this, but, expecting that the business of the Annual Meeting would be more prolonged, deferred it, by request, until to-day. I mentioned my intention to Mr. Hill, who sat beside me, telling him that the letter, though not having the special interest we had supposed, was still one of much interest, and added, "You will have the chance to hear it at the next meeting." Alas! that chance is not for him; but I communicate it according to intention.

May 14th 1678

DEARE CHILD,—Yo^r dated on January 2^d 77 I received and am very glad to heare of yo^r good health and abundantly glad of yo^r good Husband's kind fre, and that ther is so much comeplaticency betwixt you the Lord in mercy long continou it I am sorey the leter of a Torney was not sent sooner last yeare but it was yo^r Bro : Georgs¹ falt and not myne for he did not give it me til the ships were gon as I tould yo^r Husband. I did not heare til this day that yo^r Bro : Georges leters were not gon yet and now I heare he will send them tomorow and so I have been all this afternnoon a geting a frend to write yo^r Husbands leter for me and therefore I shall only fill yo^{rs} wth Comments and Complaints for Inded I have been extrordnary weake of my leges all this winter and a very bad Cough that gives very litel rest day or night and my Chamber being 2 paier of bad stayers high I seldom can get doune once in a month nor have I so much as Closit either to be privit or to kepe any thing privit in : and it is a hard place for coaches y^t you can come in to turne their coache wth out giving money whereby I am wholly deprived of seeing or going abroad wth my Relations to take the aier some times w^{ch} is a greater mistife to me then the price of my Chamber and allthoug all the furnitur of my Chamber be my oune yet yo^r sister Peters will not abate me one peny of seven pounds a yere for it and 3 pounds a yere my mayds wages comes to and Judg you how I can live of twenty pounds a yeare for meate drink and Clothes and firing all else and inded I have not had one six pence more from [my you]ng Lady but

¹ Sir Geo. Downing.

be not troubled for I cold [*illegible*] of this if time were conuencyniy [*sic*] then you [*illegible*] bit excep you heard it, but no more of that exept it were beter. I pray present my servis most affectionately to my sister Norton with many thanks to her for her great Civility to her Nephew and my Gransone John Norton. I hope in gods time he will be pleased to Inable him for his beter servis I ame very glad to heare of the well fare of all my relations wth you, but I have nither time nor my oune pen wherby I can take my oune time to Inlarge to partikulars therefore I must Intreat yo^r selfe as you have oportunity to be myne [?] with servis & love to all my relations & freinds wth you y^t shall enquier of me for I owe a gratfull heart to them all allthough I want ability to expres, but I continually participate with them in what I heare of their Conditions and I hope our mutuall prayers do meete in heaven for each others wellfare. yo^{ur} sister Peters I supose writs she is very well but her two liteler ons that are at home have had the mesels latly and my Lady Downing's two yongest daughters Mary & Anne are now in towne and have not been this two or three years before & fearing of ronging of them by the like distemper although my Lady prefers to send her Coach for me when I found myself fittest to goe out yet I have not been there this 5 months but the Children have all been wth me before the mesels were in this house and Inded they are all very handsome well bred Children, and my Lady Mary Phenick never sees me but she most affectionately inquires after you & desiers me when I write to present her servis to you yo^r Nece Cotton hath a daughter & she is big againe but I do not heare that yo^r Neece Pikering is yet with Child but my Gransone Cotton in respect his [Mo]thar is still Living [?] & his Mother in Law still a Child bering woman for so [*illegible*] evident reasons are so

[*one line illegible*]

my daughter Pickering's house who is most Richly marr[*illegible*]nd the old Lady my Gransones Mothers She is in the house wth them & the tendres M[othe]r of her Daughter-in-Law that can be Immagined I am allmost in the mind to goe do[wn] wth them if I can & then I cannot write one word more but to pray yo^{ur} good helths & beg yo^r prayers and rest

Yo^u ever Loving Mo

LUCIE DOWNING.

Excuse me to John Norton if I live I will write to him next.

This day I found my Lady Downing but very weake & wears much and daily takes the aier in her Coach & wants no meanes that art & nature can aford for her Comfort the litel ons Caried me in their Coach to lhide Park & brought me home again.

Rev. EDWARD G. PORTER communicated an account of a visit to Acton on occasion of the recent commemoration of the events of April 19, 1775, in substance as follows: —

Having accepted an invitation from the town of Acton to participate in its special observance of the nineteenth of April this year, I improved the opportunity to copy the inscriptions carved upon the three memorial stones which were dedicated with appropriate ceremonies.

The weather was exceptionally fine, and from an early hour the citizens from all the outlying districts came pouring into the town in teams, on bicycles, and on foot. It was a genuine old-fashioned celebration, such as we do not see any more in our larger towns. It suggested, in some of its features, the traditional college Commencement. Enterprising traders had pitched their tents around the spacious green, and catered to the varied wants of every passer-by. Besides the eatables and drinkables, there was an imposing display of dry-goods, hardware, and all sorts of "notions." Some of these itinerants, I noticed, had sold out their entire stock before the celebration was over.

The Acton houses were gayly decorated, — even some of the farmhouses in remote parts of the town, — showing the popular interest in the observances of the day. At nine o'clock some of the military and other guests arrived at the nearest station, — about a mile east from the village. The procession comprised the Salem Cadet Band, the Isaac Davis Post and the Concord Post, G. A. R., the Dunstable Band and one hundred and thirty-five members of the old Sixth Regiment, M. V. M.

The first halt was made at the old Robbins farm, about a quarter of a mile from Nashoba Brook. Here a boulder, eight feet long, and weighing several tons, had been placed by the wayside, in front of the cellar-hole of the old house in which lived Captain Joseph Robbins. On the face of the stone is sunk a deep rough panel, inscribed in large plain letters, as follows: —

SITE OF HOUSE WHERE FIRST
ALARM WAS GIVEN IN ACTON!
MORNING OF 19TH OF APRIL 1775.
"CAPT. ROBBINS! CAPT. ROBBINS!
THE REGULARS ARE COMING!!"

The house had two stories in front, with a pitch-roof behind. It was painted red, and was said to have been the first painted house in the town. It was burned about 1863. The estate has descended from father to son for five generations without a deed of transfer. I talked with a lady born near by in 1811,—one of nine children.

The dedicatory exercises consisted of prayer by Mr. Wood, and addresses by Luther Conant, president of the day, and Moses Taylor.

The company then proceeded to the neighboring cemetery, — a large and attractive spot, well shaded and well cared for, — the old and the new in one enclosure. Here, under the fluttering flags, rest more than a hundred Revolutionary soldiers, — a larger number than can be found in any rural cemetery with which I am familiar. This shows the remarkable stability of the population of Acton. Her sons have generally chosen to remain on the ancestral acres. Here they have lived and here they have died, — a homogeneous, industrious, contented people.

After patriotic exercises among the graves, conveyances were furnished for citizens and guests to go about two miles through the village, to the southwest-central part of the town, to dedicate another monument. This was placed on the greensward in front of the house now owned by H. A. Gould, a little south of the Harvard turnpike. It is an old dwelling, but in good repair, and was once the home of the Hosmers and Blanchards. The boulder is large and well shaped, like the other, and bears the following inscription:—

FROM THIS FARM WENT
CALVIN AND LUTHER BLANCHARD
TO CONCORD FIGHT AND BUNKER HILL
SONS OF SIMON BLANCHARD WHO WAS
KILLED AT THE BATTLE OF QUEBEC 1759
LUTHER WAS THE FIRST MAN HIT BY A
BRITISH BALL AT THE OLD NORTH BRIDGE
AND DIED IN THE SERVICE OF HIS COUNTRY
A FEW MONTHS LATER

On the rear of the stone, in a small panel, are the words:—

ERECTED 1895 BY
LUKE BLANCHARD
GRANDSON OF CALVIN

Here two ministers of the town, Messrs. Buxton and Lindh, conducted the brief memorial exercises.

An additional inscription ought to be placed here, stating that this was also the home of Abner Hosmer, the Acton patriot who shared with Captain Davis the honor of being the first to fall at Concord Bridge.

About half-way back to the village, on the other road to West Acton, we dedicated the third stone which had been set up to commemorate the day. This was in front of the premises of Captain Davis. The house of his day is gone, but portions of it, we are told, appear in the present buildings. The flat stone doorstep now in use is undoubtedly the original.

Few spots in the town have more interest to the student of history. Here, in the early morning, about six o'clock, were assembled the brave minute company, — mostly young fellows, — eager to place themselves under the command of their chosen leader, ready for service, but knowing not just where or just what it was to be.

Davis was a gunsmith, and in his little shop, under the apple-trees near the well-sweep, he had that winter examined many of their flint-locks and put them in good order. He himself carried a musket as well as a sword that morning as they went forth, keeping step to the tune of the "White Cockade." They followed the lane by the parsonage west of the present village, and came out by the old meeting-house; thence they turned down over Nashoba brook, and along the old Strawberry Hill road into Concord near Colonel Barrett's.

The following Sunday another and a very different scene was witnessed at the Davis homestead. Perhaps Acton, in all its history, has not been so profoundly moved as on this occasion, when the bodies of Davis, Hosmer, and Hayward were brought hither for the funeral solemnities. The whole town was in mourning; and the agonizing appeal to heaven uttered by the Rev. John Swift, then in the last year of his long ministry, found a tender response in every heart.

It is fitting that this spot should be marked by an enduring memorial in honor of the first American officer who fell in the Revolutionary War.

The stone is rounded at the corners, and inscribed as follows:—

DAVIS HOME.

THIS FARM WAS THE HOME
OF CAPT. ISAAC DAVIS
WHO WAS KILLED IN BATTLE
BY THE BRITISH AT
THE OLD NORTH BRIDGE
IN CONCORD APRIL 19TH
1775

and on the other face:—

ERECTED 1895
BY
CHARLES WHEELER

Mr. Wheeler is the present owner of the estate. The exercises here consisted of an address by Mr. Clark, of West Acton, and prayer by Mr. Porter.

An excellent dinner was then served by the ladies in the Town Hall, after which addresses were given in the adjoining tent, which was filled with listeners. Mr. Copping, the pastor of Acton Centre, officiated as chaplain. The chairman, Mr. Conant, welcomed the guests, and introduced as speakers Governor Greenhalge, ex-Governor Boutwell, Colonel Olin, Secretary of State, Colonel Watson of the Sixth Regiment, Captain Adams, Congressman Fitzgerald, and others. Mr. Porter responded for Lexington.

Every one was glad to welcome Mr. Boutwell, of Groton, as he was the Governor of the Commonwealth, and a most efficient helper, when the Battle Monument on the village green was dedicated in 1851. His presence on that occasion is gratefully remembered by the town.

Two other venerable guests received special honor. These were the surviving sons of men who fought at Concord Bridge, — Mr. Luke Smith, son of Solomon Smith, and Mr. James Miller Edwards, son of Ebenezer Edwards. So far as is known, there is only one other man living who can claim this distinction, and he is a brother of Mr. Edwards, — all three, therefore, sons of Acton.

It is proposed to erect a memorial stone next April at the home of James Hayward in West Acton. Lexington has already placed a tablet at the spot where he fell within her borders, while in pursuit of the British on their retreat early in the afternoon.

The Hon. WILLIAM EVERETT read an autograph letter of Captain Nathaniel Saltonstall, from whom he was descended, as was the Hon. Leverett Saltonstall, whose death had been that day commemorated. It was addressed to Governor Leverett, and indorsed as received by him. Appended to the letter was a minute of court proceedings, signed with the initials of Edward Rawson, Secretary.

Captain Saltonstall, it will be remembered, was that member of the famous Court of Oyer and Terminer of 1692, who withdrew at a very early stage from the bench, and took no part in the witchcraft proceedings. His graduation at Harvard College was in 1659, exactly two hundred years before his descendant's who exhibited the letter.

HAVERHILL.

HON^D SR. — This day May y^e 16 1675 being informed that Sam^l Gild jr he who hath been so long lookt for, to be taken and apprehended about y^e matter of y^e Rape comitted upon y^e body of Mary y^e wife of John Ash, was in this towne, I did forthwith, tho: upon y^e Sabbath day, judgeing myself bound both to God & Man so to doe, issue out a Spetiall warrant for his apprehension, upon which he was seized, in order to his conveyance to Boston prison. And because they are now upon motion, & goeing as farre as Andover, I could not tell how to let slip y^e opportunitie of sending the enclosed which is the charge of y^e said Mary, made before Maj^r Pike, and by him sent to mee, which may be of use, and not knowing how soon his triall may bee, I thought it my duty to send it to your self, by the officer who takes charge of y^e body of y^e said Sam^l being ignorant of w^t the Maj^r hath done; in order to y^e mak-

ing of y^e s^d charge known to Authoritie. I shall at present trouble yo^rself no farther, but wth y^e subscription of self, to be

Your servant

NATH : SALTONSTALL

To this letter is appended, in another writing, a species of court hand, as follows : —

Samuel Guile in open Court owned
in Court 9 7 mo 75 that he was present at Newbery on 25 December
last and that he heard of an Hue en Cry was after him
and being demanded why he did abscond or hide himself so many weeks
& months he Ans^d not to make himself Guilty sayd now he knows his
hideing is accounted a flight
he also owned in Court y^t he was Going and was at the Dept Gou^rner
House to render himself to y^e Dept Go^unor, & presently went away
before the Dept Govenr came.

E R S (in a somewhat different hand).

[Addressed]
To the much Hon^d
John Leverett Gour^r
at his House
in Boston

[Indorsed in another hand]
Capt. Saltingston
about Gile

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN communicated a paper on the dates of some early Commencements at Harvard College : —

No attempt has ever been made, so far as I know, to give a list of Commencement Days at Harvard College in early times, as gathered from contemporary records. There is a list of such days in "The New-England Historical and Genealogical Register" (XXXIII. 423) for October, 1879, prepared by Mr. John Ward Dean, the editor; but it is based largely on the statement of Cotton Mather, in his *Magnalia* (Book IV. 128), that the day "was formerly the Second *Tuesday* in *August*, but since, the first *Wednesday* in *July*." While this statement in the main is correct, the impression is left that it held true from the very beginning of the institution, which is not the fact.

Cotton Mather may have received this information from

his father, who entered college in 1651, though he did not graduate until 1656. Under date of February 18, 1690-1, while in London, Increase Mather writes: "I was sent to Harvard Colledge at Cambridge in N. E. in the year 1651 when I was but 12 years old: there continued 6 years" (Proceedings, 2d series, VIII. 347). A change in the day had been made the very year he went to Cambridge; and long afterward Mather, knowing that Commencement during his college course came in August, may have told the fact to his son in a general way, leaving the inference — which he himself might well have believed — that before his time the day always fell on the second Tuesday of August. As a matter of record for some years previous to 1651, it came on the last Tuesday of July, and before that even as late in the year as September or October.

In the following list of Commencements I have appended the authorities, under each year, for the several statements in regard to them. I have had occasion to use Mr. Sibley's *Harvard Graduates* so often, that for the sake of convenience I have generally mentioned him by name, rather than his work, as my authority; and for the same reason I have mentioned Judge Sewall rather than his *Diary*.

1642.

Mr. Sibley, in his *Harvard Graduates* (I. 15), says that the first Commencement of the College came probably in October, 1642; but a careful reading of the letter printed on the next two pages of that work shows that it took place shortly before September 26. Mr. Sibley, doubtless, supposed October to have been the date, as it occurred in that month during the next year. According to Winthrop's "*History of New England*," the first Commencement happened on Thursday, September 22, as under that date the author writes: "Nine bachelors commenced at Cambridge; they were young men of good hope, and performed their acts, so as gave good proof of their proficiency in the tongues and arts" (II. 105).

1643.

During this year Commencement occurred in October, but the exact day is unknown. In the Historical Library is a copy

of the printed Theses used at Commencement, and it is dated at "*Cantabrigiæ Nov. Ang. Mens. 8. 1643.*"

See Proceedings (IV. 444-446) for March, 1860, and (2d series, IX. 413) for February, 1895; and Sibley's Harvard Graduates (I. 74-76).

1644-1646.

For these three years I can find no contemporary records.

1647.

The Historical Library owns an imperfect copy of the printed Theses for this year, but the imprint at the foot of the sheet is "*Cantabrigiæ Nov: Ang: 6. Calend. Sextilis. 1647,*" — which day fell on July 27, the last Tuesday of the month.

1648.

I find no record of the date, but perhaps it was the last Tuesday of July.

1649.

The Historical Library possesses a small pamphlet entitled :

Oratio Quam Comitiji Cantabrigiensibus Americanis Peroravit reverendissimus D.D. Samuel Whiting Pastor Linnensis; in aula scilicet Harvardina, Pridie Calendas Sextiles, Anno M.DC.XL.IX. No titlepage. 16mo. pp. 16.

This date came on July 31, the last Tuesday of the month.

1650.

According to the College Steward's Account-Books, as printed in the Appendix to the first volume of Sibley's Harvard Graduates (pp. 548, 549), Commencement fell on July 30, the last Tuesday of the month. The date is found in the entries set severally against the names of Mildmay, Mather, and Stoughton, viz.: "Commencement day 30 of July"; "Debitor 30-5-50 'being the day of Commencement'"; and "his 'Commencement Chardge,' 30-5-50."

1651.

Edward Johnson, in his "Wonder-Working Providence of Sions Saviour in New-England" (chapter 19, page 166), while speaking of the College, says: —

The number of Students is much encreased of late, so that the present year 1651. on the twelfth of the sixth moneth, ten of them took the degree of Batchelors of Art, among whom the Sea-born son of Mr. *John Cotton* was one, some Gentlemen have sent their sons hither from *England*, who are to be commended for their care of them, as the judicious and godly Doctor *Ames*, and divers others.

This extract from the "Wonder-Working Providence" fixes the day as August 12, the second Tuesday of the month, which is confirmed also by the entries after the several names of Cotton, Dudley, Butler, and Burr, as found in Sibley (I. 551, 552). During the year 1651 the change appears to have been made from the last Tuesday in July to the second Tuesday of August.

1652.

No contemporary records found.

1653.

According to an entry after the name of Samuel Phillips in Sibley (I. 550), the day fell on "9-6-53," August 9, the second Tuesday of the month. For a confirmation of this date, see also page 322 of the same work.

1654.

See the entry after the name of Michael Wigglesworth in Sibley (I. 551), which gives the Commencement charges on "8-6-54," August 8, the second Tuesday.

1655.

The day came "Decimoquarto Die Sextilis 1655," August 14, which was the second Tuesday,—according to a programme reprinted in Sibley (I. 322).

1656.

According to Sibley (I. 358), it was "Duodecimo Die Sextilis, M.DC.LVI."—August 12, the second Tuesday.

1657.

No contemporary records found.

1658.

Under the name of John Barsham in Sibley (I. 539) is the following: "Att the 10-6-58 by his Comencement Chardges £3," — which date fell on August 10, the second Tuesday of the month.

1659.

The programme reprinted in Sibley (I. 593) gives the date as "Die Nono Sextilis: M.DC.LIX." — which was August 9, the second Tuesday. See also the same volume (page 562) for the following entry after John Eliot's name: "Debitor from 10-7-52 to 9-6-59," which last date came on August 9, and is an additional confirmation of the date.

1660.

According to a list of "Quæstiones" printed in Sibley (I. 488), the day came "Decimo-Quarto Die Sextilis 1660," August 14, the second Tuesday of the month.

1661 and 1662.

No contemporary records found for these two years.

1663-1666.

The "Quæstiones in Philosophia Discutiendæ," as found in the second volume of Sibley, on pages 53, 72, 101, and 133, give the dates as falling respectively "Undecimo Die Sextilis" (August 11), "Die Nono Sextilis" (August 9), "Die Octavo Sextilis" (August 8), and "Die Decimo Quarto Sextilis" (August 14), all which days fell on the second Tuesday of the month.

1667.

No contemporary records found.

1668-1670.

According to the programmes reprinted in Sibley (II. 163, 205), Commencement occurred "Die Undecimo-Sextilis" (August 11) in the year 1668, and "Die Decimo Sextilis" (August 10) in 1669; and, according to a programme in the

library of this Society, the day fell "die nono Sextilis" (August 9) in 1670, — in each instance the second Tuesday of the month.

1671.

Sibley (II. 381) says: "August 8, Adams 'was admitted to y^e degree of Batchelour of Arts . . . under y^e Reverend Charles Chancey President.'" The day fell on the second Tuesday of the month.

Sewall (I. Introduction, xiii, xiv) writes: —

At this time the commencement was in August. In the year 1667 my father brought me to be admitted, by which means I heard Mr Richard Mather of Dorchester preach Mr Wilson's Funeral Sermon. "Your Fathers where are they?" I was admitted by the very learned and pious Mr Charles Chauncey, who gave me my first Degree in the year 1671. There were no Masters in that year. These Bachelours were the last Mr Chauncey gave a degree to, for he died the February following.

Without doubt there was no printed programme for this year, as there were then no candidates for the second degree.

1672 and 1673.

No contemporary records found for these two years. During this period the customary way of giving the date of Commencement on the college programme was changed, and the Roman system adopted.

1674-1676.

According to a programme for 1674 reprinted in Sibley (II. 335), the day came "Tertio Idus Sextiles" (August 11), the second Tuesday; and this date is confirmed by a note in John Sherman's Almanac for that year. According to another programme for 1675 in the same work (II. 413, 414), the day came "Quarto Iduum Sextilium" (August 10), the second Tuesday. This date is borne out by an entry in Increase Mather's manuscript diary belonging to the Historical Library, as follows: "10) [1675] At Commencement at Cambridge" (page 26). According to still another for 1676 in Sibley (II. 415), the day fell "Sexto Idus Sextiles" (August 8), the second Tuesday. In Increase Mather's diary (page 73) is

the following: "8) [1676] At Coñment in Cambridge." This date is confirmed in part by an entry in Sewall's Diary, where the day is placed undated between July 28 and August 12 in the manuscript copy, though unfortunately in the printed edition (I. 15) it is given under July 28.

1677.

No contemporary records found.

1678.

According to Sibley (II. 447), the day fell "Idibus Sextilibus" (August 13), the second Tuesday.

1679.

Sibley (II. 481) says: "Pridie Idvs Sextiles" (August 12), Tuesday; and this is confirmed by an entry in John Danforth's Almanac for that year.

1680.

Sibley (II. 500) says: "Ante Diem IV Idus Sextiles" (August 10), Tuesday, which is confirmed by a memorandum under that date in John Foster's Almanac for 1680. See also an allusion to the day in Quincy's "History of Harvard University" (I. 472), at the bottom of the page.

1681.

"Die quinto ante Idus Sextiles" (August 9), Tuesday. See Sibley (III. 1), and an entry in Foster's Almanac for 1681 under that date; also Sewall (II. 14*) for an allusion to Commencement.

Cotton Mather, in his manuscript diary for 1681, writes: —

9^d 6^m This Day, I took my second Degree proceeding *Master of Arts*.

My Father, was *præsident*, so that from his Hand I Received my Degree.

Tis when I am gott almost Half, a year, beyond *Eighteen*, in my Age.

And all y^e Circumstances of my Coñment, were ordered by a very sensibly kind Providence of God.

My *Thesis* was *Puncta Hebraica sunt Originis Divinæ*.

1682.

"Die Sexto ante Idus Sextiles MDCLXXXII." (August 8), Tuesday. See Sibley (III. 170); and also a note in William Brattle's Almanac for 1682 under that date. In opposition to this, however, is the word "Commencement," in Sewall's handwriting after September 13, in the same almanac, which day fell on Wednesday. It is not easy to explain this discrepancy.

At the bottom of the page under August, Brattle gives the following lines:—

Commencement's come, but (friendly) I Advize
 All sorts of Rabble now their Homes to prize,
 For if to it they come, so Blind they 'll bee,
 That Really no Body they will see.
 Now *Sol* to *Virgo* goes, & there does stay,
 Till that his Heat does very much Decay.

Do they have reference to the drinking-habits of that period?

1683.

In Cotton Mather's Almanac for this year the printed announcement of Commencement comes after the date, September 12, which was the second Wednesday of the month. I find no other contemporary authority for the statement that it fell on that day, — as it probably did also on the corresponding day in the preceding year.

1684.

Sibley (III. 210) says: "Calend: Quintilis" (July 1), which came on Tuesday. See Noadiah Russell's Almanac and Benjamin Gillam's Almanac for a confirmation of this date; and also Peirce's "History of Harvard University" (page 49) for other authority.

A letter under date of December 9, 1683, written by John Rogers, President of the College, and by Samuel Andrew, a Fellow, and John Cotton, also a Fellow and the Librarian, to Increase Mather, who was then the senior Fellow, gives the reason why a change in the day was made for 1684. It is found in the Collections (4th series, VIII. 521, 522) of the Society, and is as follows:—

REVEREND SIR, — We are heartily sorry that we are enforced to give you the trouble of these lines; the purport whereof is to signify our great dissatisfaction with the stated time of the Commencement, on the first Wensday in July next; the occasion whereof is, that upon that very day wil fall out a grand Eclipse of the Sun, which was not foreseen, or at least, thought of, upon the last meeting of the Corporation. What reflection wilbee vpon our oversight of it, or upon our persisting, notwithstanding we have still the opportunity of correcting it, before the Almanack come forth; as also how obstructive the Eclipse wilbee as to the busines of the day, is very obvious. Wee are not superstitious in it, but reckon it very inconvenient. If, therefore, yourself shal joyne with us, and improve your interest once more with the Hono^red Overseers, to alter and confirm the day on the 2^d Wensday in July, or for this p^rsent turne on the first Tuesday in July, or the forementioned 2^d Wednesday, it shal be most grateful and obliging to us.

Sir, praying a blessing upon al your labo^rs, and begging your prayers for us, we kisse your hands, & are

Your friends & servants,

J. ROGERS.

SAMUEL ANDREW.

JNO. COTTON.

CAMBRIDGE, 9, 10, 83.

1685.

In the almanacs for this year, prepared respectively by William Williams and Nathaniel Mather, Commencement is noted after Wednesday, July 1; but as there were no graduates in 1682, there were no candidates for the Master's degree, and consequently no programme was printed. Sewall (I. 85) also gives the same date.

1686.

According to Sibley (III. 242), the day fell "Nonis Julii" (July 7), Wednesday; and this date is confirmed both by Danforth's Almanac and Mather's.

1687.

According to Sibley (III. 270), the day occurred "Pridie Nonarum Julii" (July 6); and this date is borne out both by the Cambridge Ephemeris (William Williams's?) and Tulley's Almanac for 1687. Sewall (I. 181) has the following entry:

Wednesday, July 6. Waited on his Excellency to Cambridge. Eleven Bachelors and Seven Masters proceeded. Mr. Mather, Presi-

dent, Pray'd forenoon and afternoon. Mr. Ratcliff sat in the Pulpit by the Governour's direction. Mr. Mather crav'd a Blessing and return'd Thanks in the Hall.

Mr. Ratcliffe was a clergyman of the Church of England; and without doubt Andros intended in this way to annoy or insult the great body of Congregationalists, who then governed the College.

1688.

Sibley (III. 316) says: "Quarto Nonarum Julii" (July 4); and this is confirmed by Sewall (I. 219), who writes:—

Wednesday, July 4. Commencement managed wholly by Mr. W^m Hubbard; compared Sir William [Phips], in his Oration, to Jason fetching the Golden Fleece. Masters proceeded, no Bachelours.

At that time Increase Mather, President of the College, was in England on public business. See Collections (4th series, VIII. 671) for a letter written to him by his nephew Warham Mather, a graduate of 1685, which gives an account of the Commencement exercises, when he took his second degree.

See Collections (3d series, I. 83) for a copy of Mr. Hubbard's commission to act as President at this Commencement.

1689.

According to the programme reprinted in Sibley (III. 353), the day fell "tertio Idus Septembris" (September 11), Wednesday, though the reason for postponement is not now clear. Tulley's Almanac for 1689, printed months before Commencement, gives July 3 as the date. Perhaps the change was due to the political troubles of that period.

1690.

Sibley (III. 368) gives the date "Sexto Nonas Quintilis" (July 2), Wednesday; and Newman's Almanac says the same. Under date of July 2, 1690, Sewall (I. 323, 324) writes:—

Came to Cambridge by Water in the Barge, wherein the Governour [Bradstreet], Major Generall [Winthrop], Capt. Blackwell, Mr. Ad-dington, Allen, Willard and others: Had the Tide homeward. Thirty Commencers besides Mr. [Nathaniel] Rogers, Sir [Samuel] Mather, and Mr. [John] Emmerson. Sir Mather in England yet had a Degree

conferred on him. Mr. Rogers and Emerson should have Commenc'd last year, but were hindred by Sickness.

1691.

There were no graduates in 1688, and on that account no candidates for the Master's degree in 1691. Presumably there was no printed programme for Commencement; but Newman's Almanac gives as the date July 1, which occurred on Wednesday. Henry Newman, who compiled it, was a graduate in the Class of 1687, and he showed his loyalty to *Alma Mater* by placing on the titlepage, after the age of the World, and the time since the Flood, the number of years since the "Founding of Harvard Colledge." In this particular the author followed the example of William Brattle, William Williams, and Samuel Danforth, who also were graduates, and, respectively, wrote almanacs for the years 1682, 1685, and 1686.

1692.

Sibley (III. 404) says: "Die Sexto Quintilis" (July 6), the first Wednesday of the month; and this date is confirmed by H. B.'s Almanac for that year.

1693.

Tulley's Almanac gives July 5, Wednesday, as the date.

1694.

Sewall (I. 390) writes: "July 4 [Wednesday], 1694. Waited on the Governour to the Commencement." An Almanac for this year, "By Philo - - - - Mathemat," probably a pseudonym of William Brattle, gives the same date.

1695.

John Tulley notes the day after July 3, Wednesday.

1696.

Tulley gives the date as July 1, Wednesday.

1697.

Sewall (I. 456) has the following entry:—

July, 7. 1697. I ride with my wife and Mr. Stoddard and his wife to the Commencement. Mr. Willard, W^m Hubbard, Cotton, [of] Plimouth, Whiting, Brinsmead not there.

This date, which fell on Wednesday, is confirmed by Tulley in his Almanac.

1698.

According to Sewall (I. 481), the day came between June 28 and July 13, but Tulley gives it definitely as Wednesday, July 6.

1699.

Tulley says that it occurred on Wednesday, July 5.

1700.

The same authority gives it on Wednesday, July 3.

SUMMARY.¹

1642	September 22	Thursday	1672		
1643	October		1673		
1644			1674	August 11	Tuesday
1645			1675	August 10	Tuesday
1646			1676	August 8	Tuesday
1647	July 27	Tuesday	1677		
1648			1678	August 13	Tuesday
1649	July 31	Tuesday	1679	August 12	Tuesday
1650	July 30	Tuesday	1680	August 10	Tuesday
1651	August 12	Tuesday	1681	August 9	Tuesday
1652			1682	September 13?	Wednesday?
1653	August 9	Tuesday	1683	September 12	Wednesday
1654	August 8	Tuesday	1684	July 1	Tuesday
1655	August 14	Tuesday	1685	July 1	Wednesday
1656	August 12	Tuesday	1686	July 7	Wednesday
1657			1687	July 6	Wednesday
1658	August 10	Tuesday	1688	July 4	Wednesday
1659	August 9	Tuesday	1689	September 11	Wednesday
1660	August 14	Tuesday	1690	July 2	Wednesday
1661			1691	July 1	Wednesday
1662			1692	July 6	Wednesday
1663	August 11	Tuesday	1693	July 5	Wednesday
1664	August 9	Tuesday	1694	July 4	Wednesday
1665	August 8	Tuesday	1695	July 3	Wednesday
1666	August 14	Tuesday	1696	July 1	Wednesday
1667			1697	July 7	Wednesday
1668	August 11	Tuesday	1698	July 6	Wednesday
1669	August 10	Tuesday	1699	July 5	Wednesday
1670	August 9	Tuesday	1700	July 3	Wednesday
1671	August 8	Tuesday			

¹ See *post*, p. 360.

Rev. OCTAVIUS B. FROTHINGHAM communicated the memoir of the late President, Dr. George E. Ellis, which he had been appointed to prepare for publication in the Proceedings.

A new serial containing the second part of the proceedings at the February meeting was ready for distribution at this meeting.

MEMOIR
OF
GEORGE EDWARD ELLIS, D.D., LL.D.

BY O. B. FROTHINGHAM.

It is not surprising that on the resignation of Mr. Winthrop in the early spring of 1885, Dr. Ellis should have been elected President (April 9) ; for though this honor does not follow from any previous distinction (Dr. Ellis had been Vice-President since the spring of 1877), and is bestowed only on those who are considered, on the whole, the most competent members of the Society, by reason of their devotion to historical pursuits, their loyalty to the Society, their constancy in attending its meetings, their fidelity in the discharge of all its duties and responsibilities, and their painstaking accuracy in the performance of all literary tasks, Dr. Ellis's service to the Society deserves to be called distinguished. Apart from his work on the Standing Committee for ten years at various times from 1852 to 1877, his membership in the Publishing Committee, and his production of five memoirs of members deceased, — namely, Luther V. Bell, M.D., LL.D. (1863), Jared Sparks, LL.D. (1868), Hon. Charles Wentworth Upham (1876), Dr. Jacob Bigelow (1880), Nathaniel Thayer (1885), — he suggested, in 1869, the course of Lowell Institute Lectures on "Subjects relating to the Early History of Massachusetts" by twelve members: R. C. Winthrop, G. E. Ellis, S. F. Haven, William Brigham, Emory Washburn, C. W. Upham, O. W. Holmes, Samuel Eliot, Chandler Robbins, Joel Parker, E. E. Hale, and G. B. Emerson. Dr. Ellis gave the second and third lectures, respectively entitled "The Aims and Purposes of the Founders of the Massachusetts Colony," and "Treatment of Intruders and Dissentients by the Founders of Massachusetts." Besides this, in connection with William G.

Brooks, as Committee of the Historical Society, he obtained from the representatives of the family, in 1868, the papers of Judge Sewall. To these, for several years, he gave a vast amount of labor; and although he did not alone edit them (his associate being W. H. Whitmore, in connection with J. R. Lowell and Henry W. Torrey), he did act on the Committee which passed through the press, in three volumes, Sewall's Diary, a very important contribution to the Society.

George Edward Ellis was born on August 8, 1814, in Summer Street, Boston, in the house then numbered 25 (now 51), standing between Chauncy Place and Kingston Street. Summer Street then was a delightful place of residence; many of the houses had large gardens with fruit-trees, shrubbery, and flowers. Elm and chestnut trees met in the middle, making a bower. The breezes from the ocean crept up the street, in which were at that time no warehouses, so that even in summer it was a charming place to live in. George Edward was the fourth child of David and Sarah Rogers Ellis. Mr. Ellis had been married before: his first wife, Theda Lewis, brought him nine children, all of whom, except one, died early in life; and Francis, the fifth child, died at Newton Upper Falls, Massachusetts, in 1839. By his second wife, Sarah Rogers, born in Halifax, Nova Scotia, December 25, 1782, there were seven children. Both Mr. Ellis and his wife were, in many respects, remarkable people. David Ellis was a prosperous merchant and shipowner. As he grew old and infirm, to quote the words of John Harvard Ellis, George's son, —

“His mind became somewhat weakened, and, contrary to the urgent solicitation of his friends and relatives, he insisted on doing business in his old way. This course, as might be supposed, was disastrous to his property, and together with the failures in the great commercial crisis of 1837 of many of those whose notes he had endorsed, had well-nigh ruined him. His sons, however, interposed in season, and insisted upon his leaving business and retiring from the city to a place which he owned in Newton. This place, situated in that part of Newton known as ‘Newton Upper Falls,’ had originally belonged to a company of gentlemen in Boston. It had an extensive water privilege which ran a cotton factory, a nail mill, and a mill for rolling iron. Attached to these were houses for the workmen employed, a store, a blacksmith's shop, and a large house situated on a hill at some distance, where his brother Rufus had formerly resided as Superintendent of the Company, and where his son, Francis, died a few years before. Mr. Ellis, having

been a large shareholder in this Company, had at last bought up all the rest of the stock, so that, at the time of his removal there, he was sole owner of the whole concern."

Sarah Rogers, the mother, was the youngest daughter of Jeremiah Dummer Rogers, a barrister, and a Loyalist. His devotion to the Crown led to his banishment to Nova Scotia, where Sarah was born on Christmas day, 1782. On her father's death, she was bequeathed to the fostering care of her Aunt Sarah, the wife of Mr. Samuel Parkman, one of the rich Boston merchants of that day. At their house she lived until she was married. On her husband's death in 1846, at the age of eighty-one, she was living in Newton a quiet, retired, settled life. She was kind and considerate to her neighbors; but having a good deal of leisure, and being very fond of reading, especially in books of poetry, she was able to devote a great deal of her time to her family. In the days of pain and sickness, which were many, she showed a wonderful constancy and courage, and died in 1862, an example of fortitude and goodness. She was directly connected with John Rogers, the President of Harvard College. Three of her ancestors in succession had been clergymen, and ecclesiastical traditions were in the family. The first John Rogers of whom we have any mention was settled as a clergyman in Dedham, England, and was a famous preacher of Puritanism in Essex. He was supposed to be a grandson of the Rev. John Rogers, the first martyr of the Marian persecution. It is a curious circumstance that his oldest son, John Rogers, graduated at Harvard University in 1641, studied for the ministry and became his father's colleague, but left the ministry afterward.

Young Ellis began his education when he was but five years old, and seems to have drifted about from school to school till he entered college. His earliest school-bills show that he was first in Boston, then in Medford; then, in 1824, as we learn from a classmate of his, in the Public Latin School of Boston. In 1825 he was back in Medford again, at the school of Mr. John Angier, the same that Francis Parkman attended. After this he must have gone to the Round Hill School in Northampton. He wanted to enter there the year before, but there was no room for him, as we are told in a letter of the managers:—

DEAR SIR, — We have your favor of November 27. Our school is at present so full that it is out of our power to offer to receive your son immediately. After our vacation in April next, we can find a place for him, if such is your desire. We gather from your letter and those accompanying it, that your son has good powers, and that his feelings and dispositions are right. If these things are so, we shall feel no hesitation as to undertaking the care of him.

With many expressions of respect, your obedient servants,

J. G. COGSWELL,

GEORGE BANCROFT.

NORTHAMPTON, 4th of December, 1826.

Before this, we find him as the pupil of Daniel Kimball, in Needham. Thence, after a short time, he went to a private seminary kept by Gideon F. Thayer, afterward master of Chauncy Hall, where he remained as a day scholar a little less than two quarters. From the Round Hill School he went to that of D. G. Ingraham (H. C. 1809), who kept a private school of some note at the time. From Mr. Ingraham's he passed to the school of William Wells, in Cambridge, who fitted him for college. He entered in 1829, being then not quite fifteen years old.

In a speech delivered at the Harvard Alumni Dinner in June, 1883, Dr. Ellis said : —

"It may be a privilege — it is hardly an exhilarating office — to speak before a class of Harvard graduates through a retrospect of fifty years since we were sent forth to the fates of life. Most vague and dim are to me the recallings of my old pupilage here. It has always been a mystery to me how I got into the college, and how I got through it; as a boy too young in years, undeveloped and immature, to realize that I was here till I passed on to serious years and studies. I have no remembrance, even, of the occasion when I spoke my 'Commencement part' on the platform of the Old Meeting House, near the site of Dane Hall, — last used for the purpose by my class. Better far is the usage of these recent years, when young *men*, as they call themselves, not boys, come to improve these glorious opportunities, older on their entrance than we were at our exit."

The roguish disposition that characterized the man broke out the first year of his college life, when, for some boyish freak, he was suspended for several months. Of his career at Harvard we know next to nothing. That he held no high rank in his class is proved by the fact that he was not chosen

a member of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, but was made an honorary member in 1841, the year after his settlement in Charlestown; but he had a Commencement part, whereof this is the title: "The Moral Effects of Public Amusements." The following letters indicate the kind of reputation that he had on graduating:—

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN, — I certify that George E. Ellis, of Boston, a member of the present Senior Class of Harvard University, is of good rank as a scholar, and of good moral character, and well qualified to take charge of the instruction of a school or an academy.

JOSIAH QUINCY, *President of Harvard University.*

CAMBRIDGE, 18th of July, 1833.

It may be added, by the way, that Mr. Quincy was inaugurated in 1829,—the year that Dr. Holmes graduated, and the year that Mr. Ellis entered as a Freshman. Here is another tribute:—

This may certify that Mr. George E. Ellis, of the present Senior Class of Harvard University, has been under my tuition most of the past year, and that I regard him as a gentleman of studious habits, good talents, valuable attainments, and excellent character. I would cheerfully recommend him, both as regards scholarship and character, as an instructor, to the trustees of any school or academy for which he may be considered a candidate.

A. P. PEABODY, *Tutor in the University.*

CAMBRIDGE, July 18, 1833.

And, as attesting his literary taste, I find among many papers the following:—

The Corporation of the University in Cambridge, Massachusetts, have received a volume of tracts on the Catholic question, letters to Sir W. Scott on the visit of George IV. to Scotland, and a volume of miscellaneous tracts, a gift to the Public Library from Mr. George Edward Ellis, for which the Corporation return a grateful acknowledgment.

On the part of the University,

JOSIAH QUINCY, *President of Harvard College.*

CAMBRIDGE, September 10, 1833.

Among his classmates were the Rev. Dr. Edward J. Stearns, the Rev. Dr. Abiel Abbot Livermore, the Hon. William Whiting, Fletcher Webster, Waldo Higginson, Thomas Wiggles-

worth, Sidney Howard Gay, Professors Francis Bowen, Joseph Lovering, Henry W. Torrey, Morrill Wyman, and Jeffries Wyman. From the College he passed directly to the Divinity School. There he found William Silsbee, Theodore Parker, Abiel Abbot Livermore, John Sullivan Dwight, Richard Thomas Austin, and Samuel Page Andrews. An intimacy with Mr. Parker sprang up here, — which is not surprising; for Mr. Parker was one of the sunniest, wittiest, merriest of men, very fond of human sympathy, and full of kindliness. This was a period before his peculiar theological views were avowed or even existent. In connection with Theodore Parker and William Silsbee, he edited the “Scriptural Interpreter,” a monthly founded by Dr. Gannett in 1831; and when Ellis was in Europe in 1838, and Parker was settled in West Roxbury, the latter wrote familiarly to his classmate. In Parker’s Journal at the Divinity School, there is this record: —

“Mr. Dewey gave us the Dudleian lecture this year. It was the best, perhaps, I have ever heard, though upon the least interesting part of the evidences of revealed religion; namely, ‘Miracles.’ He removed the presumption against them. The objections were not only met, but overturned.”

In a letter written to his brother Rufus in 1853, Mr. Ellis says: —

“Mr. King has several families who have grown weary of Mr. Parker, and who say, that, however interesting his views and style are to grown-up persons, they are not the things to benefit the young. Mr. Parker’s frank publication of opinions which his brethren from the first knew him to hold, but which the public had no real understanding of, has opened the eyes of many to views which they had not realized before.”

On his return from Europe in 1839, Ellis called on Mr. Parker at West Roxbury, and that is the last that we hear about him, — Mr. Ellis having no sympathy with the opinions that his friend professed. The Divinity School was left in the summer of 1836, and the companions were scattered. At the Annual Visitation of the School, Wednesday, July 20, Ellis read a paper on the “History, Character, and Uses of the Latin Vulgate, and its Influence on the Formation of the Received Text of the New Testament.” Many years later, in the “Inaugural Address” delivered in the Chapel of Harvard

College, Tuesday, July 14, 1857, on his induction to the Professorship of Systematic Theology in the Divinity School of the University, he paid a glowing tribute to the School and its teachers : —

“A score of hurried years, burdened with changes, pressing cares that confuse while they engage the mind, may have impaired the freshness of my own remembrance of what this School seemed to me when I was a member of it; but its privileges I have ever since been appreciating. Those who were then its instructors I love to remember; for affection and honor connect themselves with their names, their features, their mild and faithful discipline. The elder Ware — that venerable, good old man, whose steps had begun to totter, and whose head had long trembled on its withering trunk — comes back to me whenever I come here. How candid and gentle and true he was; moderate, slow even, but not dull; passionless, but still earnest; the embodiment of all that was winning and persuasive in a religious guide of young men! And his son, the junior Professor, the inventor and proposer of every good work in our brotherhood, devout, fervent in spirit, whose eye and voice and heart and life all preached, and preached the same doctrine, because in the same spirit of Christian love! I may not name him who yet lives beloved by all his pupils, because he was so true to them, as he has ever been true in other great trusts to God and man, to his country, to humanity, to righteousness. Such was the aim of this School; such the men to whom it was intrusted.”

The last man referred to was John G. Palfrey. On leaving the School, Ellis went back to his father's home in Boston; for several months he occupied himself in supplying the pulpits of vacant parishes or disabled ministers. It was probably at this time that he filled the pulpit of Federal Street (Dr. Channing's); Mr. Gannett being then absent in Europe for rest and health, while Dr. Channing was not then preaching at all.

On the 8th of May, 1838, he sailed for Europe in the “Roscoe,” under Captain J. C. Delano, afterwards so well known among the citizens of New Bedford; a man of decided literary and scientific tastes, who in his ninetieth year came up to Boston to attend the lectures of Professor Agassiz. The voyage was on the whole pleasant, and Ellis experienced no great discomfort from seasickness. Arriving in Liverpool on June 4, he went all over the city, visited every public building, the Athenæum, the Exchange, and the Docks. He found the people generally looking well, and the stores handsome,

but was offended by the beggars and the filth. This journey was undertaken for observation and instruction, rather than for pleasure. The Journal is contained in several volumes of different sizes, altogether comprising many hundred pages. Of course it cannot be printed in full, and only those parts of it that throw light on the character of the man can be cited. The guide-books of that period were exceedingly imperfect, and cannot have given him the antiquarian information which is so abundantly scattered throughout his pages. From Liverpool he went to Chester, made the whole circuit of the walls, noticed the gates, the old inscriptions, and read the record placed on the "Phoenix Tower," where Charles I. beheld the defeat of his army on Rowton Moor, September 24, 1645. He went to the top of the Cathedral, visited Trinity Church, where Matthew Henry and Parnell are buried; the Castle; the old house in Watergate Street, with its inscription, "God's Providence is mine inheritance." Then he walked four miles to Eaton Hall, the seat of the Marquis of Westminster. On his return, he meditated upon "the broad distinctions which mark out the inheritances of men, but not their happiness, thank God." He went to Nottingham to see the monument to his uncle Rogers, who was buried there,—a teacher, of whom Lord Byron was a pupil; then came Birmingham, where he was struck with the "gayety of the streets, the strolling musicians and singers, the number of pickpockets and lewd women." After Birmingham came Lichfield, where he looked on the monuments of Garrick and Johnson, and explored the Cathedral. He admired the Bishop's Palace; saw the house where Johnson was born; went to "St. John's Free School, where Addison, Garrick, Hawkins, Ashmore, Johnson, and Wollaston were educated." He heard the bells on St. Mary's Church, and saw the spot "where Lord Brook fell in the Civil Wars by a shot from the tall steeple of the Cathedral." He had strong compunctions against travelling on Sunday, but there was no help for it. It is needless to say that he saw everything in Warwick Castle,—the curiosities of every sort,—the mail in which Elizabeth reviewed her troops at Tilbury Fort, the splendid sarcophagus from Italy, the instruments of torture from the Spanish Armada, the bloody doublet in which Lord Brook was killed. He ascended Guy's Tower, which had two flights of steps; "the one intended for escape is con-

nected by a subterranean passage with Kenilworth Castle, five miles away." He then set out for a walk to Kenilworth. "The oldest trace of the Castle is in the reign of Henry I. After various changes in owners and additions, Elizabeth gave it to Lord Dudley, created Baron Denbigh and Earl of Leicester, who expended on it sixty thousand pounds, and then invited the Queen to visit it. Geoffrey de Clinton first possessed it; then Henry II. garrisoned it against his rebel son; then Henry III. gave it to Simon de Montfort; afterwards John of Gaunt possessed it. It had sheltered rebels. Cromwell made sad work with it, and divided it among his officers, who drained the lake, felled the trees, demolished the Castle, etc. Chancellor Clarendon afterwards received it from Charles II., and his successors now own it. The walls, still visible, enclose seven acres; the old lake is a sheep-meadow; the great gateway is a farm-house. Thus has its glory passed away." He is disappointed in Stratford-on-Avon; but Woodstock and Blenheim were a delight to him. Here is a characteristic touch: "Visitors must beware of the impositions of the servants. The division of labor is carried to a great extent among them; each does a little, and expects a great deal." Oxford, we may suppose, occupied much of his attention.

He reached London on June 15th, and witnessed the coronation of Queen Victoria, dwelling at some length on the magnificence of the ceremonial. He then went by omnibus to Chelsea, where he visited the Hospital and walked over the grounds, "which are very airy and beautiful. The old soldiers, with their trim uniforms and crutches, looked neat and happy." He called on Mrs. Somerville and Mr. Carlyle, who received him, without an introduction, with great pleasure and courtesy, as he did all New Englanders. "We had a long conversation with him upon the prospects of humanity, and particularly the condition of England. Here is a man of the brightest hopes; he sees the good in everything. I was struck with his apparent simplicity and freedom from affectation; for I had thought, from his writings, that he must be an artificial man. We took tea with him, and saw his wife." Ellis's companions were Mr. Gannett and Mr. Hutton, of Birmingham. Of the dinners and breakfasts he attended, it is useless to speak. He went through Grub Street, the former residence of poor men of letters, now called Milton Street;

attended the anniversary of the Domestic Mission Society; went to the British Museum, and "passed two or three hours inspecting some documents for Mr. Bancroft"; met many distinguished men, — James Martineau and Mr. Hallam among the rest. He visited Sir Francis Chantry's studio; one afternoon he spent two hours in "Bunhill Fields," the Dissenters' Burial Ground, "first set apart to its uses in the pestilential year, 1665, and then leased to Dr. Tindall, who made it a cemetery for dissenters." He was a trifle homesick on the 4th of July, but breakfasted with Mr. Gannett, and then set out for a visit to the Tower, which he inspected throughout. This is a pleasing incident: "As I was strolling in a quiet part of Hyde Park, three pretty children playing near me called out, 'The Queen! the Queen!' and I saw her again, free from a crowd. The children hailed her, and she smiled and kissed her hand to them several times. The sincerity and heartiness with which she did this made her look rather pretty." He heard Brougham, Chancellor Cottingham, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Holland, and others in the House of Lords. He met Sydney Smith at the Athenæum Club; visited the rooms of the Royal Society, "forming part of the celebrated Somerset House of Queen Elizabeth." "The librarian kindly conducted me over the rooms, showed me the library, the original manuscript of Newton's 'Principia,' the first reflecting telescope made by Newton, the portraits of the great worthies, and the mace which is necessary to the Charter, given to them by Charles II. It is the very one which Cromwell ordered from the House of Commons: 'Take away that bauble.' It is very heavy, carved richly, of silver gilt with gold." He visited the Fleet Prison, Newgate, etc. Where did he not go? What churches did he not enter? It would be useless to specify all the places he inspected, all the men he met.

On his way to Salisbury, he passed several interesting villages, in all of which he found something to interest him, — Egham, for instance, "where are held races, where King John signed Magna Charta, and where is Cooper's Hill, the scene of Denham's Poem." At Salisbury I find nothing particularly worthy of note, except this little sentence, which illustrates the practical bent of the man's mind: "The spire [of the Cathedral] is four hundred and one feet high. A man goes up

inside of it every year to within forty feet of the top, and then goes outside through a hole, and up by hooks, to grease the spindle." He sees all the magnificence of Bath; but the warmth of the water made it sickish to his taste. Tintern Abbey enchanted him, as it does everybody. He ascended by one of the hidden staircases to the top of the walls, and was surprised at their width. He "could have looked at it for a lifetime, admiring its calm and lovely ruins"; he walked all around it at a distance, that he might lose nothing, and applied to the person in charge of it for admittance. "It is a spot in which, of all others, one might feel in death the most perfect sentiments of love and worship, and where he would most willingly give himself up to a past thus attractively set forth." He spent nearly three hours in examining every tower and vault of the ruins of the old castle of Chepstow. Through a staircase in its walls he ascended into the parapet, whence he could at one view command the whole plan of the ancient structure. Then he went to hunt up the old lame clerk of a church, once the chapel of a Benedictine priory. At Ross he remembered the "Man of Ross," made familiar by the lines of Pope. He was buried in Ross Church, where there is a monument to him and a bust. But time was short, and Ellis could n't stop to find the clerk and gain admittance; so he did what he could,—he ran to the churchyard and looked in at the windows, in order to see the two elm-trees which are growing inside, and which spring from a tree outside, said to have been planted by Mr. Kyrle. At Hereford he went out immediately to visit the Cathedral; walked into Castle Green, — a delightful promenade on the river Wye, in the centre of which is a stone column sixty feet high in honor of Nelson, — "a bloody idol of the land"; saw Pipe Lane, where Nell Gwynne was born; the theatre where Mrs. Siddons and Kemble were nursed; then took a walk of about a quarter of a mile to see the ruins of the Gray Friars' Monastery, now converted into the Red Coat Hospital. At Oswestry, which he passed in going to Bangor, while some of the passengers breakfasted, he took the opportunity to wander in the burial-ground; and while the horses were changing at Llangollen, he ran into the churchyard and saw the old stone pillar, called the "Sword of Glendower." On leaving England, he makes this remark: "The word 'flourishing' is the last in the English language

which I should think of applying to any village in Wales, or, indeed, to many of the towns and villages of England. They all appear stationary and dormant, without enterprise or any expectation of improvement. How different from the bustling thrift of a New England village!"

The view of Dublin Bay struck him as beautiful, and the buildings in the city seemed to him superb; but —

"I was beset at every turn by crowds of the most miserable wretches, all in the filthiest rags, women with children, imploring aid in the most persevering manner. I was utterly at a loss what to do with them. The contrast of their appearance and the splendid public buildings seemed to utter a reproach upon some who have the management of affairs. The squalidness and filth and nakedness were most disgusting. . . . Beggars encountered me everywhere, at the doors of the churches, on the sidewalks, the steps. I could not but reflect upon the ingratitude of the Irish emigrants in America, who, leaving behind them such misery and finding there such high wages and such opportunities, are still wasteful, indolent, and stubborn; in America, too, they often say how much better things are in their own country. I never will believe them after having seen their gross filth and wretchedness. In one of the streets through which I passed, I was almost killed with the stench. The misery of the people was beyond description. . . . The last half of the ride to Belfast exhibited to us a country rivalling parts of England in beauty and fertility; but the first half was distressing, — the squalid poverty, the unthriftiness, the lazy listlessness of the people, the dirty mud cottages, shared with pigs and monkeys. We saw several of those inexplicable round towers, — a riddle of history and a singular sight to look upon. . . . I was amazed at the contrast between the appearance of the women engaged in the factories at Belfast, and that of the Lowell girls. In place of the neatness and cleanliness of the latter, I here saw a slipshod, ragged nakedness, bare feet and necks, wild uncombed hair, and a stench which nearly confounded me. They have no lyceum or lectures for their instruction, and work for very trifling wages. Whatever ideas I may have had on the picturesqueness of mud cottages have flown."

It is interesting to read what he says about the "Giant's Causeway," because it so completely exhibits his love of detail: —

"There is a vast variety in the pillars. They run out to an unknown distance into and under the water and beneath the surface upon which we stand. We see them from an inch to thirty-six feet in height, according to the slope. They have from three to nine sides, very regular;

the joints are from six to twenty inches, and the corners run up over the edges. They are set so closely together that water stands upon the top of them, and yet they are as distinct all the way through as the bricks in a large pile. The guide showed me a most perfect triangle and hexagon, which seemed to serve as key-stones for portions of the work. Most generally one surface of the joint is concave and one convex; but the guide showed me a pillar, which he himself had discovered, where one joint had both surfaces convex and the joints beneath it both concave. No joint will fit any other beside that from which it came off; when separated from each other, a process which requires a crow-bar and much strength, there is a report like a pistol."

At Glasgow he went to the theatre and witnessed a performance of "Rob Roy." The theatre was small, but very pretty; the gallery was filled with operatives, both male and female. The play was of course well done, as the characters of Baillie Jarvie, Rob Roy, and his family were acted by those who had the best reason to know the Scotch manners and language. Here he was within a stone's-throw of the Tolbooth and the salt-market; "and all my old remembrances of Scott's bewitching story were revived." He noticed all the antiquities of the place, which, on the whole, he found very pleasing in appearance; admiring the clean streets, the beautiful buildings, and the well-dressed people.

"From the burial-ground around the Cathedral, I tried to call up a vivid idea of the old Covenanters, a true memorial of whom I was longing to see, when my eyes gladly caught sight of an old black stone affixed to the north side of the Cathedral."

From Glasgow he went to Loch Lomond. There he climbed up to "Rob Roy's Cave" at the head of the lake, — a wild, rocky cavern with a narrow and hidden entrance. From Loch Lomond to Loch Katrine was but a step. Then he went through the Trosachs, and all the spots rendered interesting by Sir Walter Scott. On his way to Stirling he passed Doune Castle, "which Queen Mary in her happy days with Darnley often used as a hunting-seat." The chief object of interest in Stirling was of course the Castle, "an object of vast importance in the civil and international wars. It is noticed by Buchanan in the ninth century, with Edinburgh, Dunbarton, and Blackness Castle, making up the forts which by the articles of union are to be constantly garrisoned. . . . I went

into the room where James II. murdered the Earl of Douglas, and here I saw an original picture of Mary. It is the birth-place of James IV. Mary was crowned here; and in a room now occupied for a carpenter's shop James VI. was educated by Buchanan. . . . Seeing the old Tolbooth Tower, I obtained permission to enter; and here I saw the old Stirling jug and other appointed standards of measure, — the great court-room and pictures, the prisoners with their cells, and inscriptions on the floor, — the condemned cell, and the silver keys of the city, a very consequential jailer magnifying his office." At Perth he was struck by the singular-looking houses, with winding stone steps inside, leading up to different flights or stories which are occupied by different families; by the broad Scotch heard at every turn, and the Scotch method of speaking English, which seemed to him unintelligible and barbarous. He had thought of stopping at Kinross over night and making a visit to the island in Loch Leven upon which are the ruins of the castle in which Mary was confined; but the abominable price which was exacted for rowing visitors there deterred him, and he was satisfied to look at it from a distance. At Edinburgh he thought of making a visit to Dr. Chalmers, and inquired of his friends how it would be received; but the impression which he was led to feel kept him away. He heard that Chalmers held Unitarian ideas in the greatest detestation, and yet had so much vanity that the knowledge of his being sought after by strangers even from New England would add so much to his self-conceit as to prejudice the singleness of his character. Of course he explored Edinburgh most thoroughly, and made a long visit to the Society of Antiquaries, "which was filled with curious objects." From Edinburgh he went to Melrose and Abbotsford, and Dryburgh Abbey, where Sir Walter Scott was buried; then to Newcastle on his way to Holland. He had no time to stop at Durham to see the Cathedral where The Venerable Bede is buried. The chief attraction in York was the far-famed minster:—

"The two towers at the west end are 196 feet high; length of the whole cathedral, 524 feet; breadth of transepts, 222 feet; length of choir, 131 feet; height of tower, 234. Nothing but a walk around it and the measurement of time taken to perform it by the watch held in the hand, will acquaint you with its extent. It is august and sublime in its whole appearance, — itself an argument for the existence of God

and the truth of Christianity. If I lived in York, I should wish to go into it and around it every week of my life."

He paced the whole town of Hull from end to end, went over the ancient church and the docks, saw the monument of Wilberforce and the gilded statue of William III.; then he passed to Rotterdam.

In Holland he carried out the same method that he had pursued in England and Scotland, that of indefatigable research. In Rotterdam he visited the reading-room, the great church of St. Lawrence, and went in the evening to the favorite place of amusement, — rope-dancing, fireworks, horseback-riding, smoking, "drinking tea and stronger articles." He walked all about the town, saw the house where Erasmus was born, his statue, the workshops, and everything of literary interest. At The Hague he visited first the Cathedral, where he saw some women enjoying their tea; then attended service in the cloister church; went into the Lottery building and into the Parliament room; described the scene at Scheveningen, and was everywhere struck by the neat appearance of everything, the fresh paint, the absence of mud, the bright polish, — "even the tails of the cows and horses are tied up, lest they should dirty their sides. Some of the houses at The Hague look as if made and polished with watchmakers' tools." At Leyden he made for the University, "noble in its origin, history, and associations. The Prince of Orange offered the town, in reward for its bravery during the siege, either an exemption from some taxes or a university. They chose the latter. Many distinguished men learned their humanities and taught their wisdom here. In the senate-room, of one hundred and seven portraits, I noticed particularly the venerable faces of Scaliger, Salmasius, Everard, Heinsius, Arminius, Simon Episcopus, Boerhaave, Wesselius, Fabricius, Witsius, J. D. Hahn, etc. The view from the top of the building is very wide and fine. In a turret on the roof is a telescope of great power, and an old clock-tower with divers bells. . . . Certainly a very interesting city, filled with such objects and sacred with such memories. Though a dull, lifeless town as far as apparent business is concerned, it has done more for glory, science, and wisdom than any other place in Holland." Then to Amsterdam, not stopping in Haarlem to hear the famous organ, "because it was surpassed by those at Birmingham and York, and well-

nigh rivalled in beautiful architecture by that at Rotterdam." In Amsterdam he is amused by the incessant bowing of the people in the streets, which sometimes looks laughable to him.

"I believe I shall always laugh when I think of Holland: astonishment at its wonderful perseverance and its miraculous achievements often gives place to laughter at its grotesque appearances, its deliberate and slow faces, its unchristianlike-sounding language."

At Utrecht he ascended the high tower of the Cathedral (388 feet); "such elevations the traveller needs in Holland more than elsewhere, if he would get an idea of the country." He went with a young friend to the top of the tower of St. Lawrence: "a hard ascent; there is a large number of bells in the tower,—sixty, I think. Indeed the music which they make, invented as it was in the Low Countries, seems as much beloved there as ever." Once more he is in Rotterdam, and it makes him sad to pass the house of Erasmus and see that it is now used as a house of ill-fame. At Antwerp he admires the pictures of Rubens: "The 'Descent from the Cross,' the masterpiece of Rubens, is in the Cathedral, and long did I sit before it to study it. I wished that the German Neologist who says Christ was not dead when taken from the cross could look at that lifeless figure,—hanging a dead weight upon the fearful tree, and the arms of those who with such a gloomy seriousness are lowering it as kindly as if it still could agonize in its wounded nerves: the picture speaks its tale of fearful truth. The heavens have not yet acquired their serenity, the air seems still dark with the frown of God, and the clouds seem still to mutter feeble thunder. The pure whiteness of the sheet speaks of the devoted affection of the last friends, for it is the best and finest that the wardrobe of peasant families could offer." At Malines he visits St. Rumbold's Cathedral. At Brussels he hunts up the spot "where Tindale was strangled and burnt at the stake as a heretic in 1536"; a large penitentiary, he says, now marks the site. At Brussels, too, he admires the grand old buildings, the Hôtel de Ville especially. "It was completed in 1442; its spire, which we ascended, is 364 feet high; the view from it is superb, but the situation is a very dizzy one. The gilt St. Michael on the top who does the duties of a weathercock is seventeen feet." Of

course he went, after the fashion of the day, to the field of Waterloo, upon which he remarks: "If one tenth of the civilized world meditated rightly on that battlefield, there would never be another. To say nothing of the vice and profanity to which this place was witness, the lives which were cut short were twenty thousand, and the hearts which were caused to bleed were threefold more." He attended High Mass on Sunday, 9th of September, in the Cathedral of St. Gudule, and expatiates at length on the Roman Catholic service:—

"I can scarcely say that I attend church, though I spend all day in one of the Cathedrals,—for a church for the worship of God should be something more than a museum of the fine arts. When I see the priest pass along the aisles shaking a kind of cobweb brush about him, I know not how to conceive that all who do it do themselves reverence the symbol. My previous impression that Catholicism keeps the people in ignorance and monopolizes all wealth for its own purposes, is not a whit weakened by the fact that in the population of Bruges, estimated at forty-three thousand, eighteen thousand receive public charity during the winter."

In Aix-la-Chapelle, he is haunted by the memory of Charlemagne.

In Cologne the Cathedral is the great object. Of course he remembers the history connected with the town, both old and new: "In the time of Napoleon, it is said, there were twelve thousand mendicants, thirteen hundred nuns, and twenty-four thousand monks, with six thousand citizens; if here is not argument enough for the necessity of reformation, one must be beyond conviction." The magnificence of the Cathedral, both outside and inside, is dwelt upon with enthusiasm. Ellis goes all over it, sees the relics and treasures; visits the sacristy, "which contains wealth to an enormous amount"; visits the Church of St. Ursula to see the bones of the eleven thousand virgins,—

"rather an extraordinary number to have existed in Britain in the year 237; but so the story goes. . . . The bones are seen all around the church, built into the walls and covered with glass. The skulls, each with a martyr's crown, grin out in all directions, while there are whole piles of bones to be seen in various parts. It is said that an eminent physician was driven by persecution from the town because, on a close inspection, he pronounced the relics to be a very general assortment of the bones of men, women, and dogs. . . . Last of all, I went to the

chapel of the Minorites, and entering it through a long range of monkish cells, looking like the wards of a prison, the sacristan showed me the tomb and unlocked the bones of Duns Scotus. His epitaph, 1308, is: 'Scotia me genuit, Anglia me suscepit, Gallia me docuit, Colonna me tenet.' I was satisfied that this old scholar should be my last relic for the day, though there were many others in this vast relic of a place."

It was customary then, as it was for many years afterwards, to compare the Rhine with the Hudson. Ellis did so; and his remarks would hardly be worth quoting except for the strong feeling for America which they betray:—

"Considered as Nature shows them, without regard to the handiwork of man or the history of his actions, his lays and songs and legends, the Hudson has nobler glories; but then if the Rhine receives all the added weight of these attractions, and the Hudson is dressed in its thriving villages, its forts constructed not for pillage but for freedom, and its crops which rather gladden the heart than gild the countenance of man, then is there a contrast, and a contest too, between romance and sincerity, between the past and the future, between life and death. And when we speak of literary attractions, thrilling narratives, the wild legend, the touching lay, the Hudson, though unsung, is not unfabled; humanity has poetized its shores, not with the wildness of passion, but with the wildness of Nature; and if rays of solemn depth and melting tenderness have fallen more sublimely upon another watercourse than this of the New World, it must be in a land yet newer and not now discovered. On any spot upon the Hudson I could dwell in happiness for a life, with a calm or an excited spirit, as my resting-place might be either upon a mountain or in a dell, — I should be content that the merest chance should there fix the spot of my abode; but upon the Rhine of all places there would be a necessity of choice, of long deliberation and slow decision; and when it was made, it might be followed by a long transport of enthusiasm and then excited to change and roving."

In Bonn he visits the University:—

"It occupies the old Castle; so the same intellectual progress which invents new means of making a fortress impregnable does away with the necessity for it. . . . The German Cornelius who designed it has chiefly honored his own countrymen: Goethe, Wieland, and Herder stand out at the expense of Homer, Dante, and Shakespeare; Socrates and Cicero, Virgil, Aristotle, and Bacon are deep in the shade. Charity, however, has obtained a triumph; for Saint Jerome and other fathers served to unite Luther, Calvin, and Wickliffe with Ignatius Loyola and others of the Catholic Church. They would not have stood so peacefully together in their lifetime, especially with so many stones around them."

At Mayence he remembers Gutenberg, the printer:—

“Mayence rather conquers in disputing both with Holland and Strasburg the honor of the invention of movable type. Here John Gensfleisch, or Gutenberg, was born in 1393 to 1400. The house is now removed; but I saw the inscription upon the new one on its site, and I went into his old printing-office. He was undoubtedly the inventor of printing. His statue was erected last year in a large market-place opposite the theatre, by a collection taken all over Europe: a marble pedestal, with four tablets, two with inscriptions,—one the process of printing, the other a man coming for a type to G., who sits with dignity in his chair; the whole is surmounted by a magnificent bronze statue, modelled by Thorwaldsen: an interesting sight.”

At Wiesbaden he goes to see the gambling-rooms in the Kursaal, and tastes the water. “It has a nasty taste, and I expect, like chicken-broth, it will do no harm and no good. A number of quack physicians infest the spot, mystify the waters and stultify the patients by trivial directions and restrictions. As for curing diseases, every one knows that a watering-place makes ten times the diseases that it cures.” In Frankfort he goes into the house where Goethe was born, visits the library facing the river, examines the curious books and relics, sees “the original portraits of Luther and his lady, and Luther’s two pairs of shoes, the heels cut away and the toes round, looking as if they supported an immense frame and supported it well.” Then he went over the Cathedral, noted its old clock, “and drank some of the priests’ wine.” He is at Mannheim on Sunday, and remarks: “How gladly would I have listened to any religious services to-day if they had been in English! Never during my travels have my thoughts gone back with more longing to my New England Sabbaths than to-day. Sunday on the Continent would be much more fitly described as a day of amusement than a day of religion. The shops are open, and many kinds of work go on. I went into a Protestant church, and listened till I was weary. I tried in the mean while to imagine Dr. Follen back in his loved land and in this town. Then I tried the Jesuits’ church, but I was disgusted with them already, and so took to the place of worship the next best to a church. I went to a burial-ground, where I saw Kotzebue’s simple monument.” No charm of Heidelberg is lost upon him. He even ascends the steep and green summit behind, called the “Königstuhl.”

Twenty pages are devoted to delightful Baden-Baden. He mounted the tallest remaining portion of the walls of the old Schloss, and descended into the recesses of the new Schloss, where the instruments of torture are. He had not time to inspect all the curiosities of Strasburg, being there only three hours. He did not even ascend the spire of the Cathedral, not because it was so hard, but because he had not leisure.

I intended to omit all of the journal about Switzerland, although I had marked several passages exemplifying his shrewdness, sagacity, coolness, and extraordinary self-confidence ; but a few sentences must be quoted, — this, for instance, about the Falls of Schaffhausen : —

“ It is very natural that those who have not seen any real waterfalls, those who make guide-books, etc., should use the word ‘ torrents,’ ‘ galleries,’ ‘ violent cataracts,’ in describing this scene ; but truth is satisfied when you call it beautiful. The mill at its side had got the true philosophy of it. A few rocks stand in the current and break the river into five beautiful rushing streams. The haze rises in obedience to the law of Nature, and if the sun happens to shine brightly, it is said it will create a rainbow, as it does in some other places. I looked at the scene in all the approved directions, and made the most of it. If I lived within two miles of it, I should go to see it again.”

Here is a striking passage about a morning on the top of the Righi : —

“ Henceforth when I would write upon that theme [the Glory of God], let my pen be dipped in that flood of light, and let my words be of strength and of power. The sun, as I have seen it from day to day, has seemed to show its years, not by a feebleness in its rays or motion, but by its constant and faithful drudgery. If it goes forth each day rejoicing like a giant, it has seemed to glory in its patience and dutifulness in fulfilling its rounds. But now I shall no longer suppose that the sun which measures out the succession of Time, can be marked by its ages. This morning it came forth as young and as joyous as on its first morning, and when I dared to get a full gaze, it punished all my past dishonor of it.”

Here is another pretty picture, in Berne : —

“ Thirty summits with the ridges all filling a half quadrant in the horizon, and all covered with the same virgin mantles, were not imaginations, but realities. For ages have they stood there, and while whole kingdoms have been born and died and forgotten, that fleecy covering which we take as the emblem of instability and a momentary life had

never for a moment been unveiled. And here in full view of that prospect, the husbandman for centuries had committed his seed to the ground when the winter seemed still to hold his reign, and the sun had ripened the most juicy fruits, while he had no power on that hoary mantle, and the autumn skies with mild warmth have found their gentle and continued agency unavailing. There is no sternness in the sight, but rather the solemn and benignant counsel which comes from the man of white hairs."

He passed a night in the Hospice on the top of St. Bernard, and in order to get a view he incautiously ascended a sharp peak, the like of which rise like needles all round the house; but the dreary desolation of the view was awful, and he realized the imprudence of going up, when he tried to come down again, for he was obliged to lie flat and slip over rocks without the aid of any path. The pass over the Simplon filled him with wonder.

Then he went down into Italy:—

"The change in the customs, the steeple-crowned hats, the whole demeanor was enough without a word of the language or anything besides; but the brilliant eyes which expressed in almost every individual so much fire and passion—and I might also add wickedness—not only told me that I was in Italy, but explained to me in a good measure what it was to be there. There was something in the appearance of the lowest peasants evidently superior to what is seen in the same class in other European countries. They have an expression of more character and of a more dignified origin. They meet and greet each other and perform their drudgeries with more animation and liveliness. I saw two Carthusian friars in the street who looked like a remnant of old times with their sandalled feet, coarse robes, cowls, and shaven heads. This first view of Italy realized all my conceptions of its climate and scenery. The remembrance of our cold morning's ride would hardly remain with us when we looked on the soft and gentle sky, and saw such a luxuriant verdure all around us. The hills, though partaking somewhat of the character of their neighbors, seemed to be fertile even to their summits; and there is something so peculiar in the appearance even of the most shabby tenements as to make them picturesque, either for their situation, their grouping, or their mere shabbiness."

Of the famous Borromean Islands he says little; but there is much to see in Milan,—the great theatre, the Cathedral (so famed all over the world), the Ambrosian Library, Da Vinci's "Last Supper," the picture-gallery, the churches. He went

to the top of the "lantern tower" in the cathedral, the ascent of which he describes as "very fearsome, especially when the wind blows stiff; but one must perform it, and risk falling from dizziness through the open works, if he would realize the perfection and symmetry of the vast mass of labor on the white marble." The smaller towns of Italy—Treviglio, Brescia, Verona, Vicenza, Ferrara, Bologna—we need not dwell on. But at Verona he is reminded of the degeneracy of the Italians:—

"Only in the expression and feelings of the Italians would one be led to know their origin. Their employments, customs, and ignorance are unworthy of their lineage; but no one would wish to refill that amphitheatre with the multitudes to witness its old scenes. Twenty-five thousand people assembled to see men contend for life with each other or with wild beasts, trained up from youth for that end, with every feeling of humanity repressed and only brute passion and suppleness of limb cultivated! That arena has made a good exchange by losing its scenes of suffering, if only for those of folly. It answers now a better purpose, poor as it is, than it has ever done before; the injudicious laugh there, but the tortured do not shriek."

He has no faith in the Juliet legend, and thinks the monument of the Scaligers ugly. Venice, of course, is a delight to him; but in speaking of the grand square, he remarks:—

"Here, then, are gathered the remembrances of her triumphs and of her glorious days. Now, if you walk upon the quay, you are surrounded by a ragged group who press their gondolas on your service. Every stroke of the bells seems burdened with a melancholy note, and even the sunshine on the bright array looks melancholy. No new houses are seen, and all the old ones need repairs. The Rialto is a market for toys and eatables; the people do not even look as if they remembered their former glories; beggars are numerous; many of the best palaces are owned and inhabited by Jews, or used for lodging-houses."

At Ferrara he visited the library, saw the manuscripts, and in the hospital of St. Anna looked into the cell where Tasso was imprisoned. The Puritan feeling breaks out again in Bologna:—

"The Cathedral has a bold front, and on entering it presents an imposing appearance. High Mass was performing; the cardinal, with mitre and crosier, most richly robed and jewelled, and innumerable priests of different functions were around the altar. They looked like a body of men able to do something, but knowing not what. It seemed

to me as if they must feel that all the preparation of dress, etc., which they had gone through was scarcely repaid by a few bows at the altar. It required the whole care of six officials to superintend the motions of the cardinal, to take off and put on his mitre, to hold a book before him, to keep his robes from the floor when he sat and from encumbering his limbs when he walked. However, the whole show was something, and I wondered that with all their means they did not make something more of it."

And so we come to Florence. I cannot undertake to tell all he did there; nor is it necessary, for there is nothing very striking, and the city itself is so familiar that nothing new is to be said.

"Sismondi has characterized it as a city of nobles, the city of individual strength, the city where every man was lord and master in his own house. . . . It has seventeen squares, one hundred and seventy public statues, twenty fountains, six columns and obelisks, twenty-eight parishes, eight thousand houses, and ninety thousand inhabitants. The Jews and other religions are tolerated. . . . Took a general stroll through the city. As a whole it cannot be considered beautiful. The streets are narrow, without *trottoirs*, flagged and dirty. The buildings, even the palaces and churches, though massive and imposing, have a sullen and gloomy appearance, more like prisons and monasteries."

Here he met and had a pleasant conversation with Macaulay, "a very agreeable man, with an open Scotch face, though not very intellectual in appearance." Here, too, he met Dr. Lowell of Boston, and spent the evening with his family. This was Friday. On Sunday he says: "Went around with Dr. Lowell and family to several churches to see if we could find any resource for the want of our familiar services." It is remarkable how some faculties of the mind appear under favorable circumstance, and then, under other conditions, disappear entirely. In all my close acquaintance with Dr. Ellis I never heard him speak of a picture, of architecture, or any work of æsthetic art. Music he knew nothing about, and he never mentioned a building except to speak of its external convenience; but here in Florence he utters himself with all the confidence of a connoisseur in paintings, statues, churches, palaces. One would suppose he was an expert in all these things. Afterward, in coming back to America, there was no soil for such tastes, and they had not originality enough to assert themselves. They became *atro-*

phied, so to say; one would not have suspected that they ever existed.

If it was necessary to summarize the experiences in Florence, it is doubly so in speaking of Rome, especially as the journal covers a hundred and seventy pages, though almost every page has something that exemplifies his common-sense, his keenness of observation, his caustic humor, his grave habit of moralizing. Still there are two or three incidents that must be recorded as characteristic. Here is one:—

“The Chapel of the Holy Stairs is connected with the Lateran. It takes its name from twenty-eight steps of Tyrian marble, on which Jesus is said to have descended from the Judgment Hall of Pilate. Clement XII. had them covered with wood to keep them from being worn out by worshippers. For many centuries these were stowed away in the palace, until Sextus V. brought them out again, and revived or created the story. It is not permitted to ascend even the casing except on the knees; and the temptation to do this is very great, as one purchases thereby three thousand years of indulgence. There were many devotees kneeing it up, and I joined them; though when I had got half-way up I should have backed out, were I not incited on by a desire to see a picture of the Saviour, by Saint Luke, and some angels, which makes the altar-piece in the Sanctum Sanctorum at the top.”

There is a description of a visit to the Sistine Chapel on Advent Sunday, the occasion of a festival.

In Rome he was presented to the Pope (Gregory XVI.), and here is his account of it:—

“I had requested a presentation to the Pope, that I might have a present view of one who held all that remained of a power which once bound together the Christian and civilized world. Sadly shorn as that power has been, ridiculed, resisted, and overcome by the better part of its subjects, one must now feel for its holder some of the pity and regard which belong to a fallen enemy. . . . Passing in succession five halls or rooms, which were attended by servants, attendants, guards, priests, and noble officers, rising, in the splendor of their various dresses and in their rank, as they approached nearer to the room where the Pope was, we at last found ourselves at rest in a handsome apartment, adorned with a throne, which is used for the meetings of the sacred council. Here we were obliged to wait an hour and a half, as the Pope had then audience with his Treasurer, with a Roman Senator, and with Cardinal Barberini. We saw each of these dignitaries

enter, which was done with not much pomp, but with easy politeness. How little men in place understand or are willing to abide by the simple dignity of the human form simply clad! This endless profusion of laces, silks, and trappings, of gold chains and gewgaws, seems rather to designate tools and instruments than free human actors. Here they are loaded with great abundance; menials cringe at the sight of them, and, as they cringe, the wearers stand up with more pride, I think, and think themselves honored. While waiting in this papal antechamber, we had a good opportunity to observe the etiquette which is practised in the reception of visitors, also of seeing the Marquis of Melchiori, a distinguished man of the city. The Pope's especial body-guard is composed of the noble families, who serve in rotation. Some priests in blue robes were in attendance. At last our turn came. Mr. Greene [the consul] had given us instructions relative to the congées, but we found them almost unnecessary, for the Pope was not at all formal. We were to make three reverences or bows, — one on entering the door, one midway in the room, and a very profound one as we approached his Holiness. We were received into his private cabinet, formed in a line on Mr. Greene's right. The Pope stood close to us, addressed himself to Mr. Greene; and thus the conversation was carried on with perfect ease for twenty minutes between them. The room had a canopied seat, a crucifix, and rich furniture. The Pope was dressed in a white woollen robe bound with satin, and a small cape and sleeves; it was buttoned down to his feet, and was much soiled. He wore a silk skull-cap, which was likewise much soiled. Indeed, he had throughout a most untidy appearance, — his nose, hands, and breast being completely covered with snuff. However, he is very easy and affable in his manners, a good-looking old gentleman, strong and fleshy; his nose is very large and very red, owing to disease. He is seventy-three years old, and has filled his office seven years. He has the reputation of being profoundly ignorant of common affairs all over the world. An Englishman told me that his topic of conversation with the English was railroads. He insists that the rapidity of the motion must injure the respiration. With Americans his topic of conversation is the Canadas. He asks why the States do not interfere and free them, and take them into the confederacy, — seeming to be utterly ignorant of two facts, namely, that we have no right to interfere with the Canadas; and, secondly, that they are not worth interfering with. He expressed himself as perfectly satisfied with the footing of the Catholics as well as other sects in the States. The Pope wished to know which of us was of New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, and then addressed each of us. Mr. G. told him that the Protestant churches of Boston had aided in the erection of the Catholic church, with which he was highly pleased. He asked us how we enjoyed the sights of Rome, received our thanks, told

us a story relative to the new planisphere constructing for him, and another story about the devil; and then, with a polite bow, terminated the interview. Etiquette demanded that we should back out; but as his Holiness went to his table, and did not look to see the mode of our exit, we preferred to follow the plan which Nature adopted when she set our noses upon our faces."

So far the journal; but in private conversation Mr. Ellis added some information which he did not write down. He had to dress, he said, in black silk stockings and small clothes, and was very cold, as it was in December. The room being chilly and warmed only by a brazier, he took occasion to stir up the coals in the brazier in order to get heat. Dr. Hale relates that the Pope, on learning of Mr. Ellis's place of nativity, said that he had no fault to find with the treatment of the Catholics in Massachusetts except in one instance. Mr. Ellis said that he presumed that he referred to the burning of the Ursuline Convent at Charlestown, and thereupon enlightened his Holiness in regard to that affair, vindicating the character of Massachusetts and the Protestants. This may be true, is altogether in keeping with the man's independence, and I have no doubt that Ellis told the story; but he was fond of a good story, and was quite equal to embellishing it with a view to effect.

"On arriving at an inn, the appearance of a stranger in a village or a town is the signal for the gathering of beggars, valets de place, and veturini; and it requires some large measure of patience not to listen to them, but to hear their various statements without listening. The surest way of getting free of beggars is to beg yourself. Take off your hat, hold it out and state your case, and many of the strong healthy mendicants will be ashamed of themselves."

The ascent of Vesuvius, then in a state of eruption, well illustrates the persevering curiosity of the man, and, besides, presents an attractive picture.

Here is an amusing sketch of his visit to the Grotto of the Cumæan Sibyl:—

"By a long dark passage cut through the tufa stone, and supposed to have once led to many secret and mysterious places, we approached the sanctum of the ancient oracle. It would be a formidable place to be left in without torches; even as it was, I hesitated a little when I saw five men besides our guide strip their clothes far above the knee, telling us we must stride their backs. We had not come to consult the

oracle, but we did not wish to insult it by riding up to it in such a ragamuffin way. We found, however, that the dark and secret chambers which we were to enter, called the Sibyl Baths, were two or three feet deep with water, and concluded that if the Sorceress required a more courtly entrance, she should keep more courtly apartments. We mounted on the strong backs of the fellows, and one by one were introduced through the splashing passages to the three Mosaic chambers, which were very curious. Returning to our carriage, we rode to the remains of Nero's villa, of which but a few piles of bricks clinging to the crag overlooking the sheltered haven of the bay are now to be seen. After the Sibyl's cold Baths, we were scarcely prepared for the change to Nero's hot Vapor Baths which were annexed to his villa, and have, in their full heat, survived all change unto the present day. We were likewise somewhat alarmed to see our guide strip his whole body to the skin, and warn us to do so, before entering. I thought if this was necessary I should prefer not to go, and, intending only to look in at the entrance, I kept on my surtout, hat, and gloves. All five of us started in the long and dark tufa Grotto. Soon a body of steam of almost insufferable heat came against us, and three of my companions turned their backs to it and ran out. Thinking the first sensation would be the worst, Mr. D. F. and myself persevered. When, after going some distance, we turned an angle to the right, it seemed as if we should be melted with heat. Every hair in my head became a water-spout, and every thread of my clothing was saturated with steam. Here I stopped and partly undressed myself, carrying my clothes in my hand and groping along the steep and slippery descent. We came at last to the spring at the bottom, the water of which is intensely and scalding hot, boiling an egg in two minutes. When we issued forth, we bore the laugh of our companions for our sorry appearance, all inflamed and muddy as we were."

In the city of Naples he learned that there were more than sixty charitable foundations, such as hospitals for invalids, decrepit and aged persons, foundlings, etc. Christian charity, he says, "has long been at work, and with all the degraded and infamous vice of Naples, it contains elements of virtue. Perhaps travellers, having, of course, a superficial acquaintance with society, are led to form an over-harsh judgment on the state of things here; but there is surely enough for terrific censure, as any one who walks the Toledo at night must know." Here is a touching scene which shows that Ellis had a heart:—

"Made a visit to the Campo Santo to witness some of the interments. As we approached it, we saw men carrying bodies in on trays

merely covered with a white cloth, and others descending the hill with empty trays for more. Thus the first scene of this melancholy spot had all the coarse and uncereemonious appearance which characterizes the Neapolitan disposition of the dead. As we entered the quadrangle, we noticed a poor ragged woman at the gate, attended by two children, and having under her arm a small rough coffin with a little cross of wood at the end. She remained outside as we entered, and seemed unwilling to go in with us. The attendant raised a large stone with a lever, and allowed us to look into the hole which was in use for this day. A hot steam, like a compound of all infectious and deadly airs, rose from this fearful tomb. Covering our mouths with handkerchiefs, we looked for a few moments upon a sight which it seems to me would disgrace a heathen country. Fourteen bodies had already been thrown in, and they lay in all directions, crossing and covering each other. The feet seemed to be tied together, and the arms bound to the side by the wrists. Men and women lay there promiscuously, as naked as they were born into the world. While we looked in, the poor woman came and laid her little coffin by the hole. The attendant took it roughly and broke off the cross from the foot, endeavoring to pry off the lid with it. He then stood it on end, and broke off the top. This exposed the little infant, apparently three months old, with a piece of dark cloth round its waist. The attendant told the woman to throw it in. She said she could not; and he, asking her why she troubled him so, took it by the waist and dropped it in as one would throw a log into the cellar. The sound of its fall rang through the pit, and one more was added to that mass of corruption more odious than any other sight upon which we could gaze. This scene is not only a violation of prejudice, but an outrage on humanity. The woman did not weep, but presented an image of the most deeply impressed melancholy and serious woe. Probably she looked forward to the time when the same rude hands should consign her to the same last resting-place; and if a spark of religious fire glowed in her soul, then was the moment when in the barrenness and desolation of every earthly prospect, it would warm her heart with a glow of delight which would burst forth into madness, if it was not the rapture of the highest intelligences, kindled by the spirit of the Great Father of all. The kiss which that mourning mother impressed on our hands in gratitude for the gift, to us so small, to her so large, which we bestowed, was like an angel's blessing."

On February 11, 1839, he is in Paris; busy as ever, curious as ever, visiting all the places of interest, and tramping all over the city:—

"Walked about through some of the principal streets and boulevards at hazard, and now realize fully the oft-mentioned tale that Paris is

ever gay and brilliant; that time needs no killing here, as it dies a natural death. . . . Made a tour through some parts of the city across the water, and came suddenly upon the majestic Pantheon, which, as the inscription 'Aux grands hommes la Patrie reconnaissante,' gilded on the architrave, declares, is built by the nation in honor of its illustrious dead. . . . What this great building will be next would be difficult to say: it would furnish a hard task to a mob to destroy it. Descended into the vaults designed for the cemeteries of the great men. It will take France a long time to furnish enough great men to fill it. Here lie opposite to each other Voltaire and Rousseau, the blue pills of a diseased society. . . . So passes day after day in Paris; and so for many people passes year after year. A person need not even think here, save of himself, and then only of the outward man. . . . Went to the Place Bastille, the scene of Revolutionary havoc. Peaceful industry now marks the spot; a canal passes through it, and a guard-house in the open place bears the tricolored flag and the motto 'Liberté, Ordre République.' The Bastille was destroyed in May and June, 1790. In the centre of the place which it occupied Napoleon designed to make a fountain, consisting of a bronze elephant seventy-two feet high spouting water from his trunk, and having a staircase in one leg leading to the tower on its back. But this has not been done, and probably never will be. The spot is occupied by a plaster model of the elephant painted black and open to the weather. Another monument was begun near it by Louis Philippe, to consist of an immense doric column in bronze. The pedestal alone is now placed. On this spot, which has been the scene of so much violence, I saw jugglers performing their harmless tricks, while the multitude looked on, — the same multitude, too, that changes the dynasty of the country. They certainly appear happy. Every useful art seems to flourish; but let them be doing what they will of labor, they will always break off for amusement. They certainly do not have that light, jovial air which their proverbial gayety had led me to expect. One would be led to conclude that they had a very extensive female acquaintance, as he walks the streets."

He goes to the Gallery of the Louvre, to see the exhibition of paintings by modern artists: —

"Sixteen hundred paintings were refused admittance; and if they were all worse than those which obtained it, they must have been wretched enough. It being evident that so large a number of men are determined in some way to live by paint, if the Government would employ them in scrubbing up the city and restrict them to real colors, they might be made profitable to the State."

He moralizes over the tomb of La Fayette in the little cemetery of the Rue Picpus, where he is buried. He witnesses the performances of Rachel:—

“Of course there were several half-clad ladies present; but they seemed to behave themselves,—being, at least for once, in some respectable company. There is a seated statue of Voltaire in the hall of the theatre, which comes the nearest to life of any piece of marble work that I have ever seen.”

On the whole, Paris does not delight the purely ethical sense of Mr. Ellis. He is glad to get back to England again, where he feels at home. In the Cathedral of Canterbury he muses, in true New England style, about the Catholic faith and the Gothic architecture. Both alike, he contends, have the same defects of exaggeration.

In London he made a pilgrimage among old bookstores, and remarks: “The Americans have become celebrated here for their zeal in hunting up old books; as a dealer said to me, not knowing who I was, ‘Them Americans are carrying off everything valuable.’ So be it; there are good choices left yet.” He ascended the monument in memory of the great fire of 1666, which desolated four hundred and thirty-six acres, comprehending eighty-nine churches. “It is a stately column,—the highest ever erected,—two hundred and two feet high, fifteen feet in diameter, bearing on its top an immense brazen torch. It is a long pilgrimage up to the top; but then the view of the city from this its ancient landmark will repay the toil.” The tunnel under the river is just begun. He visits the places he had not been to before; hears W. J. Fox preach in the South Street Chapel:—

“He had a large and respectable-looking audience. He himself, though he has a bright eye, is far from looking like a genius,—being short and thick, his neck the same size as his head, and his ungainly form is clothed in a like ungainly and most unclerical costume. He stands upon a small elevated platform railed round with iron. His services are a hymn, prayer, and address,—the last, which was all that I heard, seemed to me mere words, with here and there an exaggerated sentiment.”

He called on old friends, picked up familiar threads, read Boston, New York, and London newspapers, saw Mr. Carlyle again:—

"Found him and his wife at home, — she sewing, he reading, before a comfortable fire. Had a very entertaining mental illumination from him. His conversation is the same as his writings, characterized by strangeness, but more so by sincerity. He spoke of the alleged increase of the Catholics in England, and, from the signs specified, he argues the last rottenness of the system. He has all the extreme Presbyterian antipathy to an organ, — saying that the noblest worship he had ever been present at was at the wild singing of a Psalm in the woods by Presbyterians; spoke highly of Dwight's Translations, who, he said, seemed to understand the matter better than any one else. Talked over the late Emersonian controversy, and spoke of the 'Address' as the most remarkable utterances he had ever heard from that side of the water. It is not unlikely that he may soon make a visit to New England, for it seems to him to be the Paradise of Lecturers. Left him with a pleasant impression of his character and mind. He is certainly original, whether he has become so by affectation or not. He lives in a way humble for this great city, but seems to have all that he wants."

Days are passed at the British Museum, in an examination of the Colonial Records in the State Paper Office, reading and copying for George Bancroft. The last day was spent amidst scenes —

"as familiar as dirty brick walks and busy throngs soon become, but enlivened by constant variety, and continually offering something new. . . . Hats cost much, and wear badly, as of old time; but London wears well: it is, of all the rest of the earth, the gathering-place of the nations, with more humbugs and more excellences than any other. Men here less than in any other place seem to think of change; there is no mark on them of a revolutionary people."

Thus ends the Journal of European Travel. He never went abroad again, being fully occupied at home, and leading the sedentary life of a student. He had fatigues enough and pleasures enough, so that foreign fatigues or pleasures had no attraction for him. He did not need the voyage for health or recreation, and found his life of routine more congenial to him than travel and change. He sailed in the steamship "Liverpool," and reached Boston on Thursday, May 9, 1839.

At once he devoted himself to his clerical office, attended the Ministers' Meetings, preached continuously, supplied vacant pulpits, filled Dr. Barrett's desk in Boston during his temporary absence, gave the Thursday lecture. At this

time again he preached at Dr. Channing's on an engagement to supply for three Sundays. In January of 1840 he received a call from the "Harvard Church" in Charlestown, Mass. For the record of his ministry in Charlestown, I am indebted entirely to the admirable work on the Harvard Church by Mr. Henry H. Edes, whose untiring industry has gathered together every important piece of information, and whose History is indispensable to every person who would study the events of the society or its ministers. The "church," it seems, was formed in March, 1817; the parish had been gathered two years before. The first meeting-house was built in 1816; the present meeting-house in 1819. The name of the society was altered several times. It was first called "The Second Congregational Society"; then, in 1819, the name was changed to that of the "New Church." In 1837, agreeably to a vote of the parish, the Legislature passed an Act that the "New Church Society in Charlestown" shall be known and called the "Harvard Church in Charlestown." "The meeting-house was built," says Mr. Edes, "in the most thorough manner, of brick and stone; and its external appearance to-day is but slightly different from what it was in 1819. The auditorium is seventy-one feet in depth and sixty-seven in width, and is supplied with galleries on three sides. These were, originally, supported by handsome Corinthian columns of wood, for which the present ordinary iron pillars were substituted in 1859. . . . The pulpit as seen to-day is much lower than before the alterations in 1859, when the auditorium, with its stately broad aisle and thoroughly ecclesiastical appearance, was transformed into the present lecture-room." When the call was given to Mr. Ellis, he at first demurred, considering the size of the parish, the amount of service which would be required, the shortness of the term of vacation, and the want of absolute unanimity in the invitation, — some of the pew-holders preferring another man, the Rev. George F. Simmons, a graduate of Harvard College in the Class of 1832, and a friend of Mr. Ellis. But, the society being canvassed again, these objections were removed, and Mr. Ellis accepted, — those who composed the dissentient minority proving afterwards to be among the staunchest of Mr. Ellis's friends. The ordination took place on March 11, 1840. The names of the gentlemen taking part in it suggest the theological attitude of

the candidate, — Rev. Dr. Parkman, Rev. Alexander Young, Rev. N. L. Frothingham, Rev. E. S. Gannett, Rev. Samuel Osgood, Rev. Dr. Walker, Rev. George Putnam, Rev. Caleb Stetson. It is not important to dwell on the details of the Charlestown ministry. They were very much like every other ministry, except that fifty years ago the routine was stiffer, the duties were more imperative, and the theological tests more rigid. Mr. Ellis was most methodical in his method of going to work, — there is a list of people who died, of people who left the city, of people who had gone to other churches. He preached three times on Sundays; and it is said that he made it a principle to be at least two sermons in advance, — an achievement that would be impossible if there was any considerable expenditure of nervous or spiritual force, or if the themes were suggested by immediate interests. Although at that time there were “labors of love” and frequent exchanges, there was still required a vast amount of mental activity. As if this was not enough, Mr. Ellis proposed several extras, — lectures in the chapel, for instance; a preparatory lecture before Communion. There were also secular lectures, the subjects of which were “Rome,” “Switzerland,” “Quakers,” “Inventions,” “Known and Unknown,” “Literature,” “William Penn,” “Italy and the Pope,” “Strength, Wisdom, Love,” “Democritus and Heraclitus.” He edited the “Christian Register” from September, 1842, to February, 1845. He compiled a hymn-book in 1845. He examined the public schools, as well as classes at Harvard College in Greek, Latin, History, Political Economy. He wrote books, was interested in Theological Education. He did an immense amount of work as editor with Dr. Putnam of the “Christian Examiner” from 1849 to 1855, a period of more than six years. “In that time,” says Dr. Hale (an authority in this matter), “by far the larger part of what are called the ‘Literary Notices,’ and of the ‘Intelligence,’ in each number was supplied by his pen. I observe, for instance, in the November number of 1850, his memorandum is, ‘All the Notices by George E. Ellis.’ In March, 1851, ‘Notice of Whipple’s Essays by C. C. Smith’; the other Notices and Intelligence are by George E. Ellis. The range of subjects thus treated is very wide, and the diligence and skill with which he goes over such a field are extraordinary. Of the principal articles in the same time, he

contributes one or two in every volume; and there is not a volume which does not show the energy which he gave to the duty he had in charge. I am certainly justified in saying that there was no other scholarly man in this region at that time who could have undertaken, with such credit to himself, a duty ranging so wide and so far." In addition to this he addressed the Agricultural Society in Concord, October 4, 1854. He attended the American Academy of Arts and Sciences on October 14, 1856. Then there were various speeches between October, 1856, and 1865; there were meetings of the "Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians," addresses, orations; in 1868 an arrangement was made for obtaining possession of the Sewall papers; in 1869 there were the lectures by members of the Historical Society at the Lowell Institute, already referred to; lectures on the "Evidences of Christianity," in 1861, before the Lowell Institute, together with constant work on Sewall.

His connection with Harvard College was close. The first examination of Seniors and Juniors in Greek was made in July, 1840. In 1850 he was chosen Overseer, — an office which he resigned in 1879. He was chosen Secretary of the Overseers in 1853, and kept it for one year. There was a long struggle on the point of the connection of the Theological School with the College, beginning in 1852. He made a report in that year to the Overseers, in which he recommended "that this Board do advise and consent to the adoption of suitable and proper measures on the part of the President and Fellows of Harvard College, to obtain a judicial decision from the proper tribunal, authorizing and directing that all such funds as may have been collected and bestowed for the establishment and maintenance of a Theological School in connection with Harvard College intrusted to the management of the Corporation, and placed in the custody of the College Treasurer, may be transferred to, and vested in, some other Corporation, or other Trustees, in trust, to provide for the promotion of Theological Education by a separate Institution, under a separate government, so that the same shall be hereafter distinct from Harvard College." The Supreme Court decided against the idea, — the Attorney-General being in full accord with the decision. In 1857 Mr. Ellis was appointed Professor of Systematic Theology at the Divinity School.

At a special meeting of the President and Fellows of Harvard College in Boston, March 11, 1857, the President informed the Board that the Overseers had concurred in the vote, passed January 17, for the establishment of two new Professorships in the Divinity School, — provision having been made by the Society for Promoting Theological Education for defraying the whole expenses of the same, as appears from the following communication: —

“To the Honorable and Reverend President and Fellows of Harvard College respectfully represent undersigned officers of the Society for Promoting Theological Education, in obedience to a vote passed at a meeting of the said Society on the 5th of January, 1857, that the need of two new Professorships in the Divinity School at Cambridge — one of Ecclesiastical History, the other of Systematic Divinity — has been so long felt in the University, as that to state at length the reason for such an establishment must be altogether unnecessary; and that the want of adequate funds for support of chairs for such officers is by all the community accepted as a chief, if not the only, cause of delay in creating them; that in the present deficiency of means for permanent foundation, we propose, with sentiments of profoundest respect for the government of the University, the measure of instituting the same offices for a period of six years, as, by a Committee of our Society, appointed in February last, in a Report made and accepted on the said 5th instant, was recommended at length, whereof a certified copy is herewith enclosed, which also we desire may be received as part of this memorial: now, to encourage this purpose, we agree to bind the funds of our Society for Promoting Theological Education to the punctual payment of twelve hundred dollars annually for six years, beginning on the day when the two Professors shall be inaugurated for the duties of their office.”

It was voted at this time that the salary of the Professor of Systematic Theology be six hundred dollars per annum. To this chair of Systematic Theology George E. Ellis was appointed. He freely expressed to President Walker his doubts and misgivings, founded upon these considerations: (1) The amount of labor he already had imposed upon him by his parish; (2) The possible dissent of his Society, and the arrangement of compensation; (3) The question of residence; (4) The matter of personal communication with the students of the Divinity School. “I confess not only to a lack of sympathy, but also to a feeling of antipathy towards some of the

ill-furnished, unsettled, obtrusive, and conceited candidates among us. I am not in the habit of expressing this feeling; but it burdens me, and I keep aloof from what would involve its exposure. As I do not care to overcome it, but rather consider myself at liberty to yield to it, it would make any very familiar relations with all the chance members of the School undesirable to me." But all these objections were overruled. Residence in Cambridge was not required; the congregation freely consented that he should go one day in every week to his duties at the College, and declined to reduce his salary; intercourse with the students was not insisted on. This was Mr. Ellis's idea of Systematic Theology: "Systematic Theology is a taking of the Gospel apart as it comes to us, and putting it together again in a form supposed to be better suited to our understanding and use of it. It attempts to resolve revelation into its elements, and then to set them forth in system." "This institution," he remarks, near the close of his inaugural address, "does not offer its opportunities of retired study to all the miscellaneous medley of dreamers and theorists of our day. It invites pupils who are supposed to be already believers and disciples of Christian truth. And it invites them to come, not for the purpose of experimenting on conceits of fancy, but that they may grow in grace and in the knowledge of Jesus Christ; not to unsettle, but to quicken their faith; to search for the hidden wisdom wrought in with the deeper veins of the Gospel mind; and to fit themselves by thorough culture of the intellect, and by earnest experiences of the heart, to be faithful ministers of our Lord and Saviour." The Inaugural Address was delivered on Tuesday, July 14, 1857, and was immediately followed by the duties imposed on the Professor. Great labor was expended on these lectures, which were usually prefaced by an essay or exposition. They were not popular, and drew no large number either of students or of strangers. They were neglected by many of the students, who did not take kindly to the man, or have any great respect for him as a teacher. Although I cannot speak of his connection with the School as a "melancholy failure," — as one who attended the lectures speaks of them, — still it cannot be considered a brilliant success, and was not continued after the six years had expired. However careful Mr. Ellis's preparation may have been, his talks were discursive, and

were interlarded with a great many stories, — some of them amusing, but some of them, it must be confessed, not altogether pertinent. Here is one, for instance, about Benjamin Franklin *apropos* of his generous scientific expectations. Ellis said that if Franklin should come to life again, and pop up by the side of a railway track just as an express went thundering by, “he would n’t even wink.” His tone concerning immortality is said to have been unspiritual. At the same time he was doctrinally conservative. “I believe,” he said in the Inaugural Address, “the Christian doctrine and Church to be founded on solemn verities of history, date, place, and marvel, and to be inseparably wrought in with astounding and startling miracles at every step and stage, and in every element of it. If I did not firmly believe this, I would not undertake to teach, nor would I come here to open my mind, as I mean it shall be opened, to your questioning.” He speaks of the necessity of putting a wise restraint upon the spirit of scepticism. In connection with this Professorship, he was made a Doctor of Divinity.

“The most important event of Dr. Ellis’s pastorate,” says Mr. Edes, “was the establishment of the Free Ministry and the building of the Harvard Chapel. The Chapel, with its furnishings, cost upwards of ten thousand dollars, and was dedicated February 12, 1856. The first minister engaged was the Rev. N. S. Folsom, D.D., who entered upon his labors October 11, 1846. He was succeeded by the Rev. Oliver C. Everett in 1850, whose ministry continued until August, 1869.” In a letter written from 110 Marlborough Street, Boston, in 1877, Dr. Ellis says:—

“That Free Ministry was intended to be a practical expression of interest and efficient Christian work by the members of the Harvard Church in behalf of those who were not gathered into, or cared for by, any religious Society in the town. . . . Five or six years after my own settlement I addressed the members of my Society to this effect, that there was one special matter as to which I did not feel satisfied in my position. I was spending my whole time and strength in behalf of the most privileged and favored class in the community, writing sermons and lectures, making calls, visiting the sick and afflicted, superintending the Sunday-school, with sole regard to those who, of all the people in the town, could best be deprived of such services, if any of the inhabitants must be deprived of them.”

This was certainly generous, and showed a real humanitarian spirit.

Dr. Ellis left Charlestown February 22, 1869. His reasons for leaving have been much debated, though they are very simple. He himself declares, in a letter resigning his pastoral charge: "Deaths and removals from the city, and the steady changes in the membership of this Society, make me painfully sensible of the fact that, with a very few exceptions, I resign my office to others than those who invited me to assume it." Again, in January, 1875, in a letter to his former parishioners, he says: —

"The sharp bereavements which in a little more than one year took from me in rapid succession all those the dearest to me in life, who had made with me a household and family, leaving with me no one with whom I could recall the experiences of the inner home, induced me to seek a seclusion in which it would have been more than painful to me to have revisited scenes so associated with former companionships and joys. . . . In the last extended conversation which I had with Dr. Walker, he referred with much feeling to the recent experiences of your Society, in that which we both of us had known and long served as a very large, vigorous, and prosperous Parish seemed to be wasting and declining by deaths, by the removal of many of its households, and by marked changes in the elements of your increasing population."

This was his explanation, and it was sufficient; but I cannot help thinking that his retirement was caused partly by the decadence of the type of Unitarianism that he represented. A new enthusiasm, that for antiquarian research, had taken the place of the old one. A new atmosphere began to prevail. He wanted more leisure, more room for intellectual exercise, less constraint of mental activity, less routine of duty. The passion for historical research possessed him. It is quite true that Dr. Ellis was born under the Mosaic dispensation, and died under the Darwinian; but when he was born the Mosaic dispensation was losing its power with Unitarians, and when he died the Darwinian had not entirely prevailed in his mind. He did not really leave the *profession*, but had a continued interest in the ministry. His belief was assured, though it was perhaps becoming dim. He preached often, till near the end, and officiated continually at the funerals of his parishioners, in other places. In an article entitled "Liberalism, its Loss and Gain," in the "Monthly Religious Magazine" for January,

1873, he writes: "And we may be sure that however we may boast, we do not know the truth about anything, unless there comes silently, serenely, solemnly, for all our better hours and all our greater needs, some sacramental influence from the inspirings and visions of a religious faith, which shall exceed in their power all the gatherings of our science and our knowledge and all the gropings of our speculation." In an article entitled "Orthodoxy and the Bible," in the "Christian Register" for November, 1882, a paper in vindication of the aim of an Essay read before the Unitarian Club at the Vendôme, and very much misunderstood, he urges a plea for the rational interpretation of Scripture. It is contended there that the ordinary doctrine of literal inspiration supports Orthodoxy, and that the way to attack the old creed is to undermine the literal authority of the Bible. Thus the essential view entertained by Dr. Ellis was rationalistic. His punctual attendance at the First Church in Boston must not be pressed too hard, for it was the church of his brother, as well as of Cotton. He seems to have applied, moreover, to all religious questions a practical test, considering their bearing on human conduct. More than once he has said to me that the moral level would sink if man disbelieved in immortality, and that for his part, though he could not comprehend it, he was willing to accept the doctrine with all the world, and to take his chance with the rest. The *personal* element, too, in his faith seems to have been large. Then, with him, faith was, in a large degree, a matter of *feeling*. His own creed was probably never carefully defined, even to himself. As to his Darwinism, he says, in an article in the "Monthly Religious Magazine" on Darwin's "Descent of Man" (45, 501), that the doctrine of evolution does not necessarily imply any disbelief in divine Providence. It describes a method of creation rather than disbelief in a living God. He may be called a gentle agnostic, not one who disbelieved in divine things because he could not know them, but one who thought that divine things might exist although he could not know them. The motto of his book-plate, ἀρτι γινώσκω ἐκ μέρους, "Now I know in part," tells the whole story. The truth is, that his thoughts were running in other directions than those of speculation. It is quite possible that his creed was modified incidentally by criticism and philosophy; but that the citadel was ever touched, I do not believe. The fact is that he never grappled with hard problems.

The ministry in Charlestown was happy and useful. His Society was large and devoted, as is attested by the presents he received, and by the resolutions adopted, on his resignation, by the "Society" and the "Church." The former recognizes "during his long ministry his faithful discharge of his pastoral duties among his people, — full of good works, in the love and spirit of the gospel of the blessed Saviour, — imparting consolation to bereaved and sorrowing hearts, and strengthening the hopes and faith of those who were seeking for the truth as it is in Jesus." The "Church" declares: "We are grateful to the Giver of all our blessings that we have been so long permitted to enjoy your companionship, and to profit by your Christian ministrations, the fervor and sincerity of which have quickened our hearts to a more devout and earnest meditation of the Divine Word, exemplified in the life and teachings of the blessed Saviour, and illustrated by you in your ministrations from the altar of our affections and interest." He was popular as a preacher, and often invited to other Societies, for he was dignified, clear, persuasive, and at times eloquent. It must be remembered, too, that in his day the Ministry was pre-eminent among the professions, in fact, it stood at the head of "Liberal Callings," and was held in high honor accordingly. Charlestown, moreover, was a historical place, full of reminiscences of Governor Winthrop and the Revolution. There were Bunker Hill and the United States Navy Yard. A number of distinguished visitors came there; he met eminent men. There were amenities also. He heard, for instance, Webster's great Oration at the completion of Bunker Hill Monument, and walked in the procession as chaplain. There were amusements, too, — fishing, horseback-riding, theatres, Dickens's readings are mentioned; there were celebrations, dinners, teas, pleasant journeys, excursions to the mountains, shows, entertainments. It was while there that he married his two wives. On the 15th of April, 1840, Mr. Ellis was married to Miss Elizabeth Bruce Eager, daughter of Mr. William Eager of Boston. She lived but a short time, and died, much lamented, April 10, 1842. On the 22d of October, 1859, Dr. Ellis married, in Boston, Miss Lucretia Goddard Gould, daughter of Mr. Benjamin Apthorp Gould, who was a classmate of President Walker at Cambridge. She died, July 6, 1869, thirty-eight years old, at Mount Desert, whither she had gone to spend the summer.

His only child, a son by his first wife, John Harvard Ellis, a graduate of Harvard College in the Class of 1862, an author of some repute, and a lawyer at the Suffolk Bar, died in Boston, on May 3, 1870, at the age of twenty-nine. All these losses made a deep and sad impression on his mind, and desolated his life for years, but were associated with delightful scenes.

On leaving Charlestown, he moved at once to Boston, and lived for some time with Mr. James L. Little, on the corner of Commonwealth Avenue and Arlington Street. The house in Marlborough Street (110) was bought in 1870, and there he lived till the time of his death. From that period his life was solitary, devoted to literary and historical work. The Historical Society was his great interest and pride, otherwise his was a buried existence, and would have been lonely, but for the extraordinary activity of his mind, his host of friends, his interest in the passing world, his capacity for enjoyment, and his fund of humor. His summers were passed at Swampscott, Saratoga, and Newport. His range of reading was vast and strangely miscellaneous. Here is a sample: Lathrop's Study of Hawthorne, Middlemarch, Robert Elsmere, David Grieve, Masson's Milton, Bowen's Modern Philosophy, the Life of Charles Sumner, Greg's Creed of Christendom, the Life of Turner (the Artist), the Life of Daniel Webster, the Letters of Chauncey Wright, the Life of Motley, Flipper's Colored Cadet at West Point, the Life of William Lloyd Garrison, Tom Cringle's Log, McAllister's Society as I Found It, Huxley's Hume, Ruskin's *Præterita*, Mrs. Jackson's Century of Dishonor, Froude's Carlyle, Robertson Smith's Old Testament, Parton's Voltaire, Morley's Voltaire, Conway's Life of Paine, Storrs's St. Bernard, James's Hawthorne, Colvin's Life of Landor, Schopenhauer's Essays, Life of Sir Christopher Wren, Irving's Columbus, Cabot's Emerson, John Inglesant, Sir Percival, Tolstoi's Kreutzer Sonata, Bellamy's Looking Backward, Amiel's Journal, Life of Mrs. Shelley, Evolution of a Snob, Ball's Autobiography, Rénan's Recollections, Jane Austen's Novels, Tess of the D'Urbervilles, Caird's Literature and Philosophy, Hawthorne's Scarlet Letter ("a morbid and nightmare creation"), Underwood's Quabbin, Barrie's Little Minister, Typee, Omoo, Lubbock's Beauties of Nature, Royce's Feud of Oakfield Creek, Dickens's Life and Letters, Calmire, Morley's Essay on Compromise, the Nun of Kenmare, the Life of

Sir Moses Montefiori, Clarissa Harlowe, etc. Remember that this is a part only, a fair sample, of his omnivorous reading. There is no poetry, very little comment, no attempt at analysis, or discrimination even, — nothing that indicates genius or intellectual decision. There is no evidence that he had the mental force to break through the crowd of books. As I looked over the list, I was reminded continually of Bacon's saying: "Reading maketh a full man, conference a ready man, and writing an exact man." A full man he certainly was; in conversation the "con" was omitted, his talk being an outpouring, a "versation," a soliloquy; he did not like interruption or criticism; he did not discuss. In writing, exactness was just what he aimed at. His style was cumbrous, clumsy, diffuse, but always in the interest of what he supposed to be exactness. He coined words and heaped up adjectives simply in order to express little shades of meaning, leaving no room for the imagination of the reader to play. On perusing his "Puritan Age," I amused myself in marking the passages that could be left out or more neatly stated.

The truth is that Dr. Ellis was not an historian of the modern philosophical school, not a great writer. One is constantly tempted to contrast him with Erasmus (Luther cannot be thought of; Erasmus was one of his admirations). He was an Erasmus diluted, not so learned, not so much of a thinker, not so earnest or influential. True, as is said in an article on "Erasmus and the Reformation," in "Temple Bar" for February, 1895, "he lived and died in his study, and no promises of honor or office could tempt him to leave it." But it is not quite true that "there were windows all round it, and his keen eye was forever passing through them on its travels over Europe, East and West and North and South." Windows there were, but they looked on back yards. Perhaps we can best estimate the man by comparing his opinion of Samuel Adams with that of George W. Curtis. I have repeatedly heard Dr. Ellis speak of Samuel Adams disparagingly as a demagogue, a scheming and not very high-principled person. Now compare this with what Curtis says in his Oration on the "Centennial Celebration of Concord Fight":—

"With brain and heart and conscience all alive, he opposed every hostile order in council with the British precedent, and arrayed against the government of Great Britain the battle of principles impregnable

with accumulated strength of centuries of conviction. . . . Intrenched in his own honesty, the king's gold could not buy him; enshrined in the love of his fellow-citizens, the king's writ could not take him; and when, on this morning, the king's troops marched to seize him, his sublime faith saw beyond the clouds of the moment the rising sun of the America that we behold."

This fairly illustrates the man. He was acute, but literal and unhopeful; disposed to look on the shady side of character rather than to soar away, as Curtis does, on the wings of future anticipation; a man of strong opinions, but not of ardent convictions. His amusements at Saratoga and Newport also illustrate his character; he went to see in Saratoga, as late as 1892, the St. Bernard kennels, Barnum's procession (1889), "Punch and Judy," Lincoln's "Comicalities" (1886), "The Equine Paradox" (1884), Hermann the Magician (1883). His insensibility to music is curiously exhibited by his characterization as "singers and screamers" certain Italian performers at Saratoga in 1892. He went to the theatre as late as 1892, chiefly with friends; to many theatres, in fact, — the Tremont, the Boston, the Globe. He saw Mr. Willard, the Kendals, Irving's "Faust," Booth's "Hamlet," Salvini's "Othello," Mrs. Langtry, Mary Anderson. He made a point of visiting the Flower Shows in Horticultural Hall as late as 1892, although he himself had no taste for horticulture.

His intellectual activity was incessant. Among other essays, he wrote four articles for the ninth edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica," — one on Boston (1875), one on Cambridge (1875), one on Fillmore (1878), and one on Harvard College (1879). He wrote the article on "Unitarianism" in Appleton's "Encyclopædia," in 1876. In 1880 came the articles for the "Memorial History of Boston"; and in 1889, the papers in the "Narrative and Critical History of the United States," which involved an immense amount of labor. There were notices of books, principally in the "Evening Transcript" and the "Christian Register"; articles in various Reviews, — the "New York Review," "North American Review," and the "Atlantic Monthly," to which he was a frequent contributor, generally on topics of American history. He even completed N. I. Bowditch's "History of the Massachusetts General Hospital," in 1872. He received from Harvard College, in 1883, the degree of LL.D., "in recognition of his valuable contri-

butions to American Biography and History, and of his many public services as an orator, preacher, and pastor."

His historical interest began early. We have already seen him passing day after day in the British Museum reading and copying documents for George Bancroft, — a proof that even then he was engaged in historical pursuits, and had such a reputation for patience and accuracy of research that he was trusted by the most eminent historian of the day. Soon after his return home he lectured on the "Quakers" in Salem, Boston, Charlestown, and other places, — four times in Salem. In 1840 he visited Seneca Falls, in order to see the grave of Red Jacket. In 1843 he lectured in the Gloucester Lyceum on the "Siege of Boston." In 1844 he "visited the graves of Uncas and Miantonomo, walked with an Indian to the site of Uncas' fort; rode to Sassacus' two forts and Porter's Rocks, and inspected the town records in Norwich." The same year he published the Life of Mason, in the "New Series of Sparks's American Biography." In 1845 came the "Life of Anne Hutchinson, with a Sketch of the Antinomian Controversy in Massachusetts." In 1847 he wrote the Life of William Penn, in the same series. The "Half-Century of the Unitarian Controversy" was published in 1857. The Memoir of Luther V Bell has already been mentioned. In 1868 began the work on the Sewall Papers. In that same year he presented a report to the Legislature respecting the possession of three volumes of papers once owned by Governor Thomas Hutchinson. In 1869 the lectures that he prepared for the course before the Lowell Institute on the "Aims and Purposes of the Founders of Massachusetts and their Treatment of Intruders and Dissentients," were reprinted in a volume. In 1871 the volume about Sir Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford, appeared. The same year were delivered Lowell Institute Lectures on the "Provincial History of Massachusetts." In 1875 was written a "History of the Battle of Bunker's Hill, on June 17, 1775, from Authentic Sources in Printing and Manuscript, with a Map of the Battle-Ground and an Account of the Monument on Breed's Hill." In 1875 the chapter on the "College Yard," in Cambridge, was prepared for the "Harvard Book." In 1880 the Memoir of Dr. Jacob Bigelow was printed. A paper on Dean Berkeley, at Newport, was printed in the "Boston Transcript" of August 12.

An Address on the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the First Church in Boston was delivered the same year; in that same year, too, an Address on the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the First Church in Dorchester was delivered. In 1881 he contributed an Introduction to the History of the First Church in Boston (these were largely historical), and an Address at the dinner to Carl Schurz. The volume on the "Red Man and the White Man in North America, from its Discovery to the Present Time," appeared in 1882. In the "Atlantic Monthly" for May and October were written two articles on Governor Thomas Hutchinson; also an Address at the Unveiling of John Harvard's statue in Cambridge. The Two Hundredth Anniversary of King's Chapel in Boston was celebrated by an Address in December, 1886. In 1888 Dr. Ellis made an Address at the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the town of Dedham; in the same year he gave an Address at the Eighty-second Anniversary of the New York Historical Society. In 1888 his book on the "Puritan Age in Massachusetts" was published. In that same year was read an Address at the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Church in Dedham. Several other things were thrown in meanwhile; for instance, an Address, in 1876, on the Evacuation of Boston. In 1867 Dr. Ellis made an examination of the inscription on "Dighton Rock." This certainly fully attests his character as an antiquarian.

Chief among Dr. Ellis's personal traits was an insatiable curiosity, — a curiosity so intense that it revelled in the domain of private gossip, and sometimes came dangerously near the limits of scandal, though usually a high level was maintained. He wanted to see everything and everybody of the least importance. In Boston, Charlestown, Newport, Saratoga, there was scarcely a prominent house that he did not visit. "The Pompeian House" in Saratoga was always an object of interest to him. He attended Forepaugh's Circus; went to see Rarey, Japanese curios, Japanese jugglers; examined the Bell Telephone; saw the elephants bathe in the Frog Pond. His portrait presents this feature prominently; the open, eager, asking eyes strike the notice at once. It was principally this inquisitiveness and openness of mind that attracted children to him, and made society so interesting to him; for he wished to

know all about other people, whether rich or poor, old or young, public or private.

His own way of life was exceedingly simple. He indulged in few luxuries, — books being his only extravagance. Indeed, it may be said that he spent nothing on himself, and yet his generosity was remarkable. He was kind-hearted, humane, charitable. In 1878 he lent two thousand dollars to a nephew; and when they were returned, he gave the sum to a favorite niece. To his less fortunate classmates he was exceedingly kind, and he gave away a great deal of money to indigent people. He was interested in the Kindergarten for the Blind, and had a letter from Helen Keller. In December, 1881, I find this record in his journal: "Attended first and only time the St. Botolph Club, Boylston Street; smoked out before play began." The next day he sent in his resignation of membership; but when his nephew Arthur was in England the next year, and saw at a silversmith's shop a collection of valuable pieces from old Boston in Lincolnshire, he obtained permission to send a goblet to his uncle in Boston, thinking that he might want it. Dr. Ellis gave this cup to the St. Botolph Club in Boston, with the following letter: —

110 MARLBOROUGH STREET, BOSTON, Feb. 22, 1882.

DEAR MR. PARKMAN, — I herewith, through you, as its President, present to the St. Botolph Club of this city a Massive Silver Gilt "Loving Cup," formerly belonging to the Corporation of our Brother Town Boston, Lincolnshire, England. The Cup, with other pieces of Silver-plate belonging to that Corporation, was sold by auction in June, 1837, was purchased by Mr. Daniel Jackson, and by him bequeathed to his son Mr. George Jackson. On his death in May, 1881, it was at the disposal of his widow. My nephew, Mr. Arthur B. Ellis, being in Boston last summer, and having the opportunity, thinking I might wish to possess the Cup, was allowed to bring it to this country, — having purchased and paid for it, as the accompanying document describing the Cup and the receipt will show. It seemed to me that the St. Botolph Club should fitly have the Cup in its possession, and would value it, though it is not requisite that they should put it to its original use. I attach the following conditions to the bestowal and the acceptance of the Cup: That the accompanying documents be copied into the Records of the Club to certify my rightful possession to the Cup, and also that there be entered upon those Records a Covenant, a certified copy of which shall be sent to the Recording Secretary of the Massachusetts

Historical Society, that if ever the Club shall be disbanded or its assets dispersed, the Cup shall revert to that Society.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE E. ELLIS.

He also furnished the cabinet in which the cup is kept now at the Club. He presented his picture to his former Society.

Dr. Ellis was distinguished for honesty, sincerity, personal self-respect. If he could not say the whole truth respecting his neighbor, he said nothing. An unkind word he would not speak; and his regard for truth was so exacting that he had no patience with anything that looked like dissimulation or diplomacy. His respect for *character* was also quite remarkable. The Hon. George S. Hale, the executor of his will, says: "In Dr. Ellis's will, chiefly from his own pen, dated October 15, 1887, he directs: 'After my interment in my lot at the Cemetery at Mount Auburn, I enjoin that my name and year of birth and death be cut, without titles, on the rear of the monument.'" Though he enjoyed consideration and loved personal distinction, he always put merit first. He thought a great deal of old-fashioned gentlemanliness. This possibly colored his opinions. Like Everett, Prescott, Webster, he was conservative; no innovator or reformer or agitator; not enthusiastic in anticipations for humanity. He was not in sympathy with the Abolitionists, thinking that they rather impeded the cause of liberty. He was evidently interested in colonization. At the same time he was cordially a Northern man. When the Civil War broke out, he had not a moment's hesitation in siding heartily with the North. I find this record in his diary for 1861: "The week — after great apprehension — closes more calmly under the assurance that the Government has the mastery over Southern rascals, traitors, and rebels, and will put them down." He took part in the sanitary fairs for the soldiers, celebrated every great victory, and on the death of Abraham Lincoln had his church draped with black. But on "Labor's Holiday" (September, 1887), he writes, "the initiation of mischief"; and in the church of San Marco at Florence he has no mention of Savonarola, only of Poliziano and John Picus.

In late years life was not gay to him, though it was cheerful. He seldom went out in the evening, withdrew from his

Clubs, and but for his friends and books would have been sad and lonely. He lived in his memory, and loved to recall the dear bright scenes of the past. His, in fact, was a life in the past, although its outward motions continued. Yet he lived up to the very last moment, and dropped down dead when he had done his work. In his case death had no shadow. The "dolours of death," as Bacon calls them, he was spared. He died, from apoplexy, on the 20th of December, 1894, in his eighty-first year. There was little or no premonition, — none that attracted observation. His health — thanks to a strong constitution and regular habits — was nearly perfect. There were a few slight ailments, but there was nothing of any duration or severity. He used to say, with a little exaggeration, that he was never ill in his life; and it was substantially true. He enjoyed the good things of the world in moderation, — being "temperate" in the strict sense of the term, — and practised the old motto, "Early to bed and early to rise," though it was not owing to this that he was "healthy, wealthy, and wise," so much as to his constant exercise in the open air and his wholesome sympathies. He was a singularly vigorous man, and would have been so considered had he been much younger.

Dr. Ellis belonged to the ancient order, — the order of privilege, — but was an excellent example of his kind, being destitute of stubborn prejudices, as well as softened by a religious education. A man so fond of service would be valuable anywhere at any time, for this type is rare; but his work was done, his reputation was made, his career had touched its highest mark. His life, had he existed longer, would have been but a trickling streamlet of water at the bottom of a channel that had once been full. An earthly immortality cannot be claimed for him, for he was not one of the commanding persons, but an important one he certainly was; a helper, if not a leader, of his kind; an influence, if not a power; not a *great* man, — not even a great archæologist, like the late Edward A. Freeman, — not a learned man, or accomplished in letters, but sober, peaceable, morally clean; not imaginative, sentimental, enthusiastic, but sensible and dutiful. He had his private feelings, but they were kept subordinate to his judgment. He had his griefs, too, but he held the "climbing sorrow" down. He looked tenderly on the past,

observingly on the present, and indulged moderate expectations of the future. To him may be applied the words of the Emperor Octavius to his sister, in Shakespeare's "Antony and Cleopatra" (act iii. scene vii.):—

"Cheer your heart:

Be you not troubled with the time, which drives
O'er your content these strong necessities;
But let determined things to destiny
Hold unbewail'd their sway."

JUNE MEETING, 1895.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 13th instant, at three o'clock P. M., the President, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting and the list of donors to the Library were read. The most important of the gifts to the Library was a large and valuable collection of books and bound newspapers selected by Mr. Thomas G. Frothingham from the library of his father, the late Hon. Richard Frothingham, Treasurer of the Society for thirty years. Many of the newspapers belong to the Revolutionary period, and were used by Mr. Frothingham in the preparation of his historical writings.

It was announced that the Council had voted to omit the stated meetings for July, August, and September, and had authorized the President and Secretary to call a special meeting if occasion for one should arise.

Rev. Dr. S. E. Herrick was appointed to write a memoir of the late Hamilton A. Hill, and the Hon. Charles R. Codman a memoir of the late Hon. Leverett Saltonstall, for publication in the Proceedings.

Rev. MORTON DEXTER then read the following communication:—

Alleged Facts as to the Pilgrims.

Mr. S. W. Cowles, of Hartford, Connecticut, is the owner of a copy of the "Breeches" Bible, of the edition of 1588, upon some of the margins and blank leaves of which are notes in an old-style handwriting. These indicate that the book once belonged to William White, of the Mayflower company, and also to Elder Brewster. Upon some points they contradict accepted beliefs.

Unfortunately the history of the volume since the times of the Pilgrims cannot be traced. Mr. Cowles bought the book in 1888 for twelve dollars from Mr. Charles M. Taintor, of Manchester, Connecticut. When and from whom Mr. Taintor had obtained it are unknown. Mr. Cowles appears to have

owned it for some five years before appreciating the possible importance of the notes. During this interval Mr. Taintor died, and his family has proved unable to supply any information about the book. Mr. Cowles courteously allows it to be examined by any historical student, and I have lately taken advantage of his kindness.

The binding of the volume seems comparatively modern. The name "Barker" is on its back at the bottom, where that of the publisher commonly appears. A number of rude and clumsy yet sometimes spirited and even amusing illustrations occur. Apparently children have been allowed to scrawl freely upon the pages of the book. The handwriting of the notes varies considerably, sometimes in a single entry. In several cases an attempt plainly has been made to reproduce the original handwriting by tracing with a modern pen, the result of which is greater difficulty in following the earlier words. But most of the notes are fairly readable.

An examination of them with reference to their historic truth and value leaves one unable in many instances to reach satisfactorily positive conclusions. Some possess no historic significance; but most of them are worth study. Those which throw additional light upon the history of the book are the following:—

"William White his Book 1608."

"This book in y^e dauntless ship, and brought back for William Brewster, 1622-3."

"We took this book with our Company on board y^e ship Lion, 18th July, A. D. 1632."

"Robert Burdett was born 25 of March, 1696."

"Fredirick Burdett son of Robert Burdett Citizen and Plaisterer of London, was born March y^e 16th, 1742, in the parish of St. Clement Danes in the county of Middlesex."

"Was Crisened April y^e 19, 1742, in y^e said parish."

The front cover also bears on the inside the inscription, "Thomas Corser, Bridgenorth, 1813."

These entries indicate that the volume came over in the Mayflower, but soon was returned to England and then brought back to America; that it passed into Brewster's possession, and that probably it was carried to England again at some time before 1696, and was there in 1742, and also was either there

or in Canada — there being both an English and a Canadian Bridgenorth — in 1813. But the entries in regard to the two Burdetts and Corser prove nothing as to its whereabouts when they were made. They may have been written from memory or report by immigrants after their arrival here.

The notes which affect historical conclusions hitherto accepted may best be considered separately. One is that already cited: "This book in y^e dauntless ship, and brought back for William Brewster, 1622-3."

Here the word "dauntless" begins with a small letter. So far as that fact goes, a ship by that name may be meant. But there is no record of any ship so called in the early history of the colony. Probably the word is an adjective. The entry may signify that the Bible went back in the Mayflower. At any rate, it raises the query how the volume got back to England in time to be returned to America before the middle or end of 1622, but affords no light in reply.

Another note relates to Governor Carver. It runs thus:

"John Carver. Sonne of James Carver, Lincolnshire Yeoman. Called by y^e grace of God Governor of our Colony Dec y^e 10th 1620 for one year."

Hitherto nothing about Carver's origin has been known. If this statement as to his father be true, it is a distinct addition to our knowledge. Without more evidence it cannot be disputed successfully; yet by itself it hardly has conclusive force, especially as the declaration in the closing sentence of the entry is a mistake. Carver was not chosen governor of the colony on December 10, 1620. He was elected first on November 11 (21), 1620, and re-elected on March 23 (April 2) following.

Several facts are alleged about John Howland, as follows:

"John Howland landed y^t Boston in ye harbor Sept 21st 1627 and joined our company y^t New Plymouth Colony. John Howland married Katharain Tilley granddarter of John Carver governor apointed Anno Domini 1620 of Plymouth now called New Plymouth. Infant Sonne Born to John and Katherain Howland y^t Six o'clock morning Nov. ye 23. Anno Domini 1629."

The only John Howland known to have been at New Plymouth as early as any part of 1627 is John Howland who

came over in the Mayflower. It is quite clear that this note refers to him. But there is neither evidence nor probability that he had gone back to England by 1627. Certainly he did not land in Boston in September of that year, because in the July preceding he was in New Plymouth, and was one of those who then subscribed to the agreement on the part of the colonists to buy their commercial freedom from the merchant adventurers in London.

Furthermore, he did not marry "Katharain," but Elizabeth Tilley, and she, whatever her first name, was not a granddaughter of Governor Carver. Carver possibly buried a child or two while in Leyden, but he had neither child nor grandchild with him at New Plymouth according to the records, which name the members of his household. As for the alleged son of John Howland and his wife, I have thus far discovered no record bearing upon the statement of the note.

Several of the entries naturally relate to William White, — some definitely, others probably. They are these:—

"William White his Book 1608," the same entry occurring again with the date "1619."

"At Amsterdam Holland. April. Anno Domini 1608."

"Leyden Holland March 1609."

"Left Delfthaven in Holland. Sailed for Southampton, August 1620."

"William White Sailed from Plymouth in y^e Ship Mayflower y^e 6th day of September Anno Domini 1620. Nov y^e 9th came to the harbour called Cape Cod."

"Landed y^t Plymouth December y^e 11th 1620."

"William White Married on y^e 3^d day of March 1620. to Susannah Tilly. Peregrine White Born on Board y^e Mayflower in Cape Cod harber. Sonne born to Susanna White December 19th 1620 y^t Six o'clock morning. Next day we meet for prayer and thanksgiving."

White's ownership of the book at the dates mentioned is possible, and in the absence of any evidence to the contrary may be assumed. The same is true of the record which seems to place him in Amsterdam in April, 1608. When he went thither is unknown, and he may have been one of those who went over to Holland in 1607, or early in 1608. Or he may have been one of the English immigrants whom the Pilgrims found residing in Amsterdam.

It is less probable that he was in Leyden in March, 1609, yet it is by no means impossible. Official leave was granted the Pilgrims on February 12 by the authorities of Leyden to remove thither, and although they did not transfer themselves as a body until nearly or quite midsummer, there is no proof that some, including White, may not have preceded the remainder of the company.

The time of departure from Delfthaven for Southampton also may be stated correctly as August, 1620, if White personally is referred to; yet this is improbable. The company sailed for England on July 22. Those who intended to go at all appear to have gone together then. There is no record of any one lingering until August in Holland, and then joining the others at Southampton; and such an addition to their number probably would have been mentioned. Nevertheless, it is not impossible that White did thus remain behind and follow them. John Robinson sent them a letter, dated July 27, which reached them before they left Southampton, and White may have been its bearer. But the probability is against the trustworthiness of this entry.

The three notes naming the dates of the departure from the English Plymouth, the arrival at Cape Cod, and the landing at New Plymouth, are correct, unless it is intended to intimate in the last that White was one of those who landed on December 11 (21) at Plymouth. He was not one of the ten who then first set foot on shore. But the statement is true if it only means that a landing was made upon the date given.

The entry concerning the marriage of William White cannot be accepted. The presumption is that the wedding occurred in Leyden. In the absence of proof to the contrary it is safe to assume this; but there is no record of it as here described. The archives of Leyden contain scores of allusions to the Pilgrims between 1609 and 1630; but although they recently have been examined for evidence afresh and with special care, no trace of this marriage can be found.

There were three Whites in the company at Leyden. One was William White, a tobacco merchant. He remained in Leyden, and apparently never married. Another was the William White of the Mayflower company, to whom the note in the Bible refers. He was a wool carder or comber. He was married, but on February 11, 1612, not March 3, 1620. Nor

did he marry Susannah Tilley, but Susanna — the name also is recorded as Anna and as Ena, from the sound of its familiar abbreviations — Fuller. There is no record of his having married again, or of the loss of his first wife. The third White was Roger, a grocer, and he was married on March 3, but in 1621, not 1620, and, dates apart, he married Elizabeth Wales. Apparently the writer of the notes in the Bible had some knowledge of the facts, either personally or by report, but confused both persons and dates when writing. As for Peregrine White, he was born not on December 19, 1620, but between November 28 and 30, during the absence of the second exploring party on Cape Cod.

Furthermore, there is no record in the histories nor much inherent likelihood that the Pilgrims held a special Thanksgiving service on December 20 in any such sense as to justify calling that day, as it recently has been termed, the first Thanksgiving Day in New England.

December 20 — the date here clearly is given in the Old Style — was the Wednesday on which they finally selected the location of their intended village, and on which some of them went ashore and began active building operations. It is recorded that on that day they offered prayer for divine direction. It was natural that their petitions also should be accompanied by expressions of gratitude to the Almighty, and to this extent the occasion may have been one of thanksgiving. But there is no evidence that anything corresponding to what since has been called Thanksgiving Day can be assumed to have been observed, but ample and positive evidence to the contrary.

They are known to have been in the greatest haste to choose the site of their colony and to begin building their houses. Of course their principles forbade labor on Sunday, so that they must have felt the more eager to make full use of each week day for hastening the work of settlement. Many of them were ill already. Indications abounded that at any day inclement winter weather, such as they already had experienced, might set in again. In fact, it did set in that very afternoon, and the signs of it must have been apparent. It is incredible that they should have devoted any considerable portion of that day to a thanksgiving service.

Another note records the gift of the Bible containing it by Susanna White (Winslow) to William Brewster. After

White's death his widow soon married Edward Winslow. In connection with this note that already quoted, which speaks of the Bible as "brought back for William Brewster, 1622-3," recurs to mind. It is impossible to determine now how a book belonging, or which had belonged, to White came to be brought back from England for Brewster, and to remain after all in White's possession until his death, and to be given later by his widow to Brewster.

Two more notes deserve brief mention. One is this:—

"Y^e ship Mayflower, departed from us in y^e month of—— March y^e 12th 1621."

This refers to the return of the Mayflower to England, and the date probably is wrong. She appears to have remained about a month longer. Bradford's History says that she sailed "aboute this time, or y^e beginning of Aprill," i. e., the last of March or early in April; and Mr. Charles Deane, the editor of Bradford's History, quotes Smith's New England's Trials as saying "about the fifth of April."

The remaining entry, already mentioned once, is in these words:—

"We took this book with our Company on board y^e ship Lion 18th July A. D. 1632."

If this date is given as that of the embarkation of her passengers, as it appears to be, it certainly is open to question. In the archives of this Society is an original bill of lading which she brought over, and which is dated "London this 22d of June." Moreover, the Winthrop Papers (I. 90, quoted in Bradford's History, 304, note) declare that her company had been on board "twelve weeks," and "eight weeks from the Land's End," and include a letter from John Humfrey to John Winthrop dated June 21. She must have sailed about June 24, and she arrived in Boston September 16. In view of the frequent delays at that period before finally leaving the coast, and of the record about the Land's End, it may be that some passengers joined her company and carried the Bible on board with them as late as July 18, more than three weeks after she appears to have set sail. But this does not seem probable.

Examination of these notes suggests the following conclu-

sions. They do not appear to be forgeries or other attempts to deceive, but they abound in manifest errors. Whether their now unknown writer or writers recorded them merely for private purposes or for the benefit of posterity cannot be determined. It is probable that they were written not later than the next generation but one, or even than the next generation, after the landing of the Pilgrims, and they may have been inscribed by an actual Pilgrim hand. But the writer either never had known or had forgotten the exact facts as to most of the matters involved. Perhaps the notes were written in the writer's old age, after the lapse of years had caused the memory to fail.

But for the demonstrable inaccuracy of so many of the notes it would be — and perhaps it nevertheless may be — accepted as probable that the Bible once belonged to William White, and later to William Brewster, and that it was brought over by White in the Mayflower. It certainly is of real and considerable interest to antiquaries, and especially to all students of Pilgrim history. But nothing which the notes declare is sufficiently well established by their statements alone to warrant the rejection of the hitherto accepted authorities when the former and the latter disagree.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN communicated a paper on Benjamin Tompson, the earliest native American poet, with some bibliographical notes on his literary works.

Among the rare books in the library of the late John Carter Brown, Esq., of Providence, is a copy of the poem entitled "New-Englands Tears for her Present Miseries," which was written in Boston during Philip's War. It is a book of extreme rarity, so much so that after many inquiries it is not thought that another copy exists either in this country or in England. By the kindness and courtesy of a son, Mr. John Nicholas Brown, one of our Corresponding Members, who now has control of that famous library, I have been enabled lately to have the use of the volume in these rooms, and to make a careful collation of its pages; and to his liberality in this matter I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness.

The following is a reproduction of the titlepage, as near as modern type will allow: —

New-Englands Tears
FOR HER
Present Miseries :
OR,
A Late and True RELATION of
the CALAMITIES of
NEW-ENGLAND
Since *APRIL* last past.
With an Account of the Battel between the
English and *Indians* upon *Seaconk Plain* :
And of the *Indians* Burning and Destroying of
Marlbury, Rehoboth, Chelmsford, Sudbury,
and *Providence.*

With the Death of *Antonionies* the Grand *Indian* Sachem ;
And a RELATION of a Fortification begun by
Women upon *Boston Neck*. Together with an Elegy on
the Death of *John Winthrop* Esq; late Governour of *Con-*
necticott, and Fellow of the *Royal Society*.

Written by an Inhabitant of Boston in New England
to his Friend in London. With Allowance.

LONDON Printed for N. S. 1676.

A collation of the book, with numerous extracts from the text, — beginning with the half-title on page 1, — is as follows: —

Titlepage, *verso* blank; pages 1-14, “A | Narrative | of | New Englands | present | Calamities,” with the following subheadings and lines: —

Pages 1, 2, six lines on page 2, —

A
NARRATIVE
OF
New Englands
PRESENT
CALAMITIES.

15 *April* 1676.



HAT means this silence of *Harvardine*

Quills

Whilst *Mars* Triumphant thunders on our

(Hills?

Have *Pagan* Priests their Eloquence confin'd

To no mans use but the mysterious Mind?

Have *PAWWS* charm'd that Art which

(was so rife

To crouch to every *DON* that lost his life?

But now whole Towns and Churches fire and die,
Without the pity of an Elegy.

Nay, rather should my Quills, were they all Swords,
 Wear to the Hilts in some lamenting words :
 I dare not stile them Poetry, but Truth,
 The dwindling products of my crazie youth ;
 If these Essays shall rouze some quainter Pens
 'Twill to the Author make a rich amends.

Pages 2-4, in ninety-seven lines, thirty-two on page 4, —

Marlburies Fate.

VV Hen *London's* fatal Bills were blown abroad,
 And few but Specters travel'd on the Road,
 Not Towns, but Men in the black page inroll'd
 Were in Gazets by *Typographers* sold ;

But yet my hopes remain in perfect strength,
New England will be prosperous once at length.

Page 5, in twenty-nine lines, —

Providences Fate.

VV Hy muse we thus, to see the Wheels run cross,
 Since Providence it self, sustains a loss :
 Should Providence, but one day miss its watch,
 I fear the Enemy would all dispatch,

'Tis happy for them, if their filth and dross,
 Be cleansed off, though by a common loss.

Pages 5, 6, in thirty-three lines, five on page 5, —

Seaconk Plain Engagement.

O N our *Pharsalian* Plain, containing space
 For *Caesar's* Armies, *Pompey's* to outface,

When shall this showre of Blood be over? when?
 Quickly we pray (good Lord) say thou *Amen*.

Pages 6, 7, in twenty-one lines, seven on page 6, —

Rehoboth's Fate.

I Once conjectur'd that these Figures hard,
 To reverend *Newman's* Bones would have regard.
 But were all Saints they met, it were all one case,
 They owe no Reverence to an Angels Face.

Out of these Ruins, let a Phaenix rise,
 That may out shine the first, and be more wise.

Pages 7-9, in seventy-six lines, twenty on page 7 and eighteen on page 9, —

Another black Parenthesis of woe,
The Printer wills that all the world should know.

Vpon the setting of that Occidental Star John Winthrop Esq; Governour of Connecticott Colony, Member of the Royal Society; who deceased in his Countreys Service 6 April, 1676.

N Ine Muses, get you all but one to sleep,
But spare *Melpomene*, with me to weep.
From you whose bleared Eyes have Lectures read,
Of many of our English Heroe's dead.

The time he rul'd War never toucht his bound,
When Fire, and Sword, and Death, raged all round.
Above whose reach he reigns in Glories Rays,
Singing with all the Saints his Makers praise.

Followed by five lines on page 9, —

EPITAPHIUM

G Reater Renown than Boston could contain,
Doth underneath this Marble-stone remain:
Which could it feel but half so well as we,
'Twould melt to Tears and let its Prisoner free.

Pages 9, 10, in fifteen lines, six on page 10, —

Chelmsfords Fate.

E Re Famous *Winthrops* Bones are laid to rest,
The Pagans *Chelmsford* with sad Flames arrest;
Making an artificial day of night,
By that Plantations formidable light."
Here's midnight shreekes, and soul amazing groanes,
Enough to melt the very Marble-stones;
Fire-brands, and Bullets, Darts, and Deaths, and Wounds,
Confusive Noyses every where resounds:
The Natives shouting, with the English cries:
With all the Cruelties the Foes devise,
Might fill a Volume: but I leave a space,
For mercies yet successive in their place:
Not doubting but the foes have done their worst,
And shall by Heaven, suddainly be curst.

Pages 10, 11, in forty-four lines, fifteen on page 11, —

Sudburies Fate.

O Nce more run Lacquey Muse the Council tell,
What sad Defeat our hopeful Band befell:
Since Fifty odd of Valours choicest Sons,
Sinke into Deaths retiring Room at once.

From this *Aceldama* they post away,
To the Grand General for their ready pay:
While fellow Sou[l]diers who escape the dint,
Bounce our Exchecquers, but find little in't.

Followed by five lines on page 11, —

CELEUSMA MILITAIRE.

B *Ut know stout hearts that Diadems and Crowns,
Will powre down from Heaven after your wounds;
And you shall find in Honours Lists a place,
Where Dastard Spirits dare not shew their Face.*

Pages 11, 12, fifteen lines, three on page 12, as follows: —

About this time Died Major Willard Esq; who had continued one
of our Senators many years, and Head of the *Massachuset* Bands.
In 23 April 1676.

EPITAPHIUM.

G *Reat, Good, and Just, Valient, and Wise,
New-Englands common Sacrifice:
The Prince of War, the Bond of Love,
A True Herorick Martial Dove:
Pardon I croud his Parts so close,
Which all the World in measure knows.
We envy Death, and well we may,
Who keeps him under Lock and Key.*

His Praises will, or are more largely celebrated; but let this be accepted according to the Nature of my Writings, which are but Brief and General.

Followed by seven lines on page 12, —

The Indians threaten to Dine at Boston on our Election.

T He hungry Dogs, scenting the bay good Cheer,
Give out Bravadoes that they will be here.
But hopes we have of an Election day,
Although their Votes and Proxies keep away.
We think they will our Ammunition smell,
Which from our friends beyond Sea us befell.

matter, including several entire pieces, and by a recasting of some of the lines. Enough, however, remains in common with the two editions to show that "New-Englands Crisis" and "New-Englands Tears" came from the same pen.

According to internal evidence the London edition was printed at some period during the year 1676 subsequent to April 23, as that date appears on page 11; and clearly some months later, as it would have taken several weeks at the shortest to send the "copy" across the ocean, not to mention the time required to write it. If this view be reasonable, it could hardly have been issued from the press in London much before the early autumn.

On the titlepage of the English copy "the Death of *Antonies* the Grand *Indian* Sachem" is mentioned as one of the subjects of the book, but on page 12, where the lines are printed, the name of the Indian is given as "M. J. Antonomies." Doubtless this was intended for the possessive form of Miantonomo, a son of the noted Narragansett chief, who was killed about that time.

The Elegy in memory of Governor Winthrop, also mentioned on the titlepage, was written soon after his death, and printed in a separate form as a broadside, with the appended signature of "B. Thompson" as the writer. If any further proof were needed as to the authorship of "New-Englands Tears," this fact would seem to settle it. The Elegy, as printed in the London copy, has seventy-two lines, not counting the heading; but in the broadside there are eighty-eight, arranged in two columns, — showing that there were additions to the one, or omissions from the other. According to "A New and Further Narrative of the State of New-England . . . from March till August, 1676," in the Carter-Brown library, being a letter written from Boston by N. S., this sheet was printed here before July 22. Without doubt it was issued from the press of John Foster, as he was at that period the only printer in Boston; and the lines are surrounded by a heavy black border. The following is intended to be a reproduction of the heading, as nearly as modern type will allow; and with it are given the first four lines of the Elegy, and the last two: —

A
FUNERAL TRIBUTE

*To the Honourable Dust of the most Charitable Christian, Vnbiased Politician,
And unimitable Pyrotechnist*

John Winthrop esq:

A Member of the Royal Society, & Governour of Conecticut Colony in

NEW-ENGLAND.

who expired in his Countreys Service, *April. 6th. 1676.*

A Nother Black Parenthesis of woe
The *Printer* wills that all the World should know
Sage *Winthrop* prest with publick sorrow Dies
As the Sum total of our Miseries :
.
.
.
.
.
.
His labours cease for ever, but the fruit
He reaps at Fountain head without dispute.

The Boston Athenæum owns a copy of the American edition of the poem, which is supposed to be unique, but unfortunately it lacks the titlepage. Presumably the titlepage was somewhat similar to that of the London edition, though the running headline is "New-Englands Crisis." It is bound up with several other pamphlets ; and near the end of the tract, just before the last poem contained therein, appears the name of " B. Tompson " as the author, which seems to furnish all the proof needed to establish its origin. The book has recently been reprinted by the Club of Odd Volumes, Boston, in a very limited edition, under the editorship of Mr. James F. Hunnewell.

The following is a collation of the Athenæum copy : —

Titlepage and 1 leaf wanting; 5-9, "New Englands Crisis | — | The Prologue"; 10-21, "New-Englands Crisis"; 22, "A Supplement"; 22-26, "Marlburyes Fate"; 26, 27, "The Town called Providence | Its Fate"; 27, 28, "Seaconk Plain Engagement"; 28, 29, "Seaconk or Rehoboths Fate"; 29, "Chelmsfords Fate," signed "B. Tompson"; 30, 31, "On | A Fortification | At Boston begun by Women. | Dux Foemina Facti"; running headline, "New-Englands Crisis"; last page blank.

This edition of the poem was printed either by John Foster, the pioneer printer of Boston, or by Samuel Green, of Cambridge, as at that time they were the only printers in the English Colonies. From the fact that both Foster and Tompson were graduates of Harvard College within five years of each other, and on that account presumably more or less intimate, and from the general appearance of the book, I am inclined to think that it came from the Boston press.

Benjamin Tompson, as he himself wrote the name, was the youngest son of William and Abigail Tompson, and was born, on July 14, 1642, in that part of Braintree which is now Quincy. He graduated at Harvard College in the Class of 1662; and it may be worthy of note that each one of the six members of that Class lived for more than forty-six years after graduation. On leaving Cambridge he began to teach school, and to prepare boys for college; and this calling became his life-work, though, like other men of that period who followed the vocation of teaching or preaching, he combined with it the practice of medicine. For some years he taught school in Boston, where Cotton Mather was probably one of his pupils, and also in Charlestown, Braintree, and Roxbury. Tompson died on April 13, 1714, and lies buried in Roxbury, where on his tombstone he is styled a "learned schoolmaster & physician & y^e renowned poet of N: Engl:" According to the town records of Braintree, he was a "practitioner of physick for above thirty years," and he "left behind him a weary world, eight children and twenty-eight grandchildren."

Samuel Kettell, in his "Specimens of American Poetry" (I. Introduction, xxxviii-xlii), makes copious extracts from "New-Englands Crisis," and says that to the author should "be awarded the distinction of being the first native American

poet." "On the whole, Tompson must be allowed considerable praise; he is exceeded by none of his contemporaries for correct and smooth versification." Kettell speaks of the copy of the book which he followed, as having lately been discovered by him; and as apparently it lacked the titlepage, — certainly nowhere does he give the imprint, — I am inclined to think that it was the one now belonging to the Athenæum library.

The brothers Duyckinck, in their "Cyclopædia of American Literature" (I. 71-73), also quote largely from "New-Englands Crisis," including certain passages not given by Kettell. It is very likely that they, too, used the Athenæum copy, as their description of the book is rather vague, and does not mention the imprint.

Professor Moses Coit Tyler, in his "History of American Literature" (II. 21-23), gives some quotations from such parts of "New-Englands Crisis" as are found in Kettell's work, though he had never seen the original poem. He says of Tompson: "This poet's best vein is satiric, — his favorite organ being the rhymed pentameter couplet, with a flow, a vigor, and an edge obviously caught from the contemporaneous verse of John Dryden." In a note Professor Tyler adds: "My most diligent search for this book through public and private libraries, and even by advertisements in the public journals, has failed to bring it to my view." "I can hear of no one since then who has seen the book. What became of Kettell's copy?"

A biographical sketch of Benjamin Tompson is found in Mr. Sibley's Harvard Graduates (II. 103-111), which gives the main facts of his life and a list of his literary works, so far as they were known to the author. It is by far the fullest account of the poet that has as yet appeared in print, and was prepared with that painstaking accuracy which characterizes all Mr. Sibley's writings.

I have in my possession two Elegies by Tompson, both printed as broadsides, which were unknown to Mr. Sibley, as they are not mentioned by him in his list of that author's works. One copy is entitled: —

The Grammarians Funeral, | OR, | An ELEGY composed upon the Death of Mr. John Woodmancy, | formerly a School-Master in Boston:

But now Published upon | the DEATH of the Venerable | Mr. Ezekiel Chevers, | the late and famous School-Master of *Boston in New-England*; Who Departed this Life the | *Twenty-first of August* 1708. Early in the Morning. In the Ninety-fourth Year of his Age.

This sheet, signed "Benj. Tompson," was the subject of some remarks before the Historical Society, at a meeting held on October 10, 1889; and a reproduction in *fac-simile* is given in the Proceedings (2d series, V. 2) of that date.

The other copy is entitled: —

A Neighbour's TEARS | Sprinkled on the Dust of the Amiable Virgin, | Mrs. *Rebekah Sewall*, | who was born *December 30. 1704.* and dyed | suddenly, *August 3. 1710.* *Ætatis 6.*

The type for the printed heading of this broadside is mortised in a block, which represents many kinds of sepulchral figures and implements, such as skulls and cross-bones, shovels and pickaxes, skeletons and hour-glasses; and near the top are the words "Memento Mori." The Elegy, signed "B. T.," consists of thirty-two lines, and is surrounded by a heavy black border.

There is another copy of this broadside in the library of the Historical Society, which was given by the late Mr. Winthrop more than thirty years ago. At the same time he presented some interesting manuscripts, among which were two elegies composed by Benjamin Tompson, and written on the same piece of paper, but not in Tompson's handwriting. One of these is entitled: "A Neighbours Tears dropt on y^e grave of an Amiable Virgin a pleasant plant cut downe in the blooming of her Spring Viz m^{rs} Rebecka Sewal. Anno *Ætatis 6.* August y^e 4th 1710," and is signed "Ben: Thompson." The other is entitled: "A Clowde of Tears, sprinkled on the Dust of the Amiable Virgin m^{rs} Rebecka Sewel who Suddenly died August. 3 1710. *Ætatis suae,*" and is signed "B: T:." Both these copies are evidently contemporaneous with the events, but the two are quite different from each other. The date of Rebecka's death, according to Sewall's Diary, is August 3, which is probably correct. The first of these manuscripts is printed in the Proceedings (2d series, VIII. 388, 389) of this Society; and the other is nearly identical with "A Neighbour's Tears Sprinkled on the Dust of the Amiable Virgin," etc., which has just been described.

Rebecca Sewall was the eldest daughter of Samuel and Rebecca (Dudley) Sewall, and a granddaughter of the Chief-Justice. In early times it was the custom to address ladies of high position as Mistress or Mrs., whether married or not; but this is the only instance where I have found a little girl six years old so styled.

Since this paper was communicated to the Historical Society, Edward W. E. Tompson, Esq., a member of the Suffolk bar, and a collateral descendant from Benjamin Tompson, has given to the Library an old manuscript which contains in twelve duodecimo pages various elegies, etc., that relate to the family. From all appearances the manuscript was written not long after the death of Benjamin Tompson, which took place on April 13, 1714; and as these several tributes seem to have some local interest, they are here presented, as follows:—

A Character of the most Exemplary
Christian, M^r Samuel Tompson
Deacon of the Church in Braintree
who Deceased June 18. 1695. Ætatis. 64.

'Tis not bare custom which provokes my Pen
To lisp the praises of this Man of men
Nor can it in the least advantage him
Whose Soul in Rivers of Delight doth swim
But such Examples set before this Age
And me in special wel deserv'd a Page
Plainness and Purity were his delight
Least I offend his Ghost, plainly I write
I write no Hero's, or Terrestrial Peers
Let them be flatter'd by more learned t[ears]
But the translation of one to his pl[ace]
Who in Gods fear and favour ran his race
An Entercourse with Heav'n mannag'd by Art
And tedious pains of most he did by heart
The Morning of his Life's aspiring years
Commenc'd in prayers, and Penitential tears
When but a Child and Mates had led to play
His Spirit prompted him to Read and Pray

His Youth so spotless in such Years []
 As rendred him improv'd, belov'd, a []
 Whome fitter for the Church, the Cour[t the] Field
 Of a more upright Life, did Braintree yeild
 It boasted Once of a most worthy Store
 Blest Tompson, Flynt, the rare presiding Hoare
 Rich Jewels: thou of such hast been possest
 Whose weary heads are all layd down to Rest
 Make room Renowned's who our Crowns have been
 In the same Page to let this Christian in
 Whome you all knew, and lov'd, wer't in a fitt
 Of Melancholy when these lines were writt
 Grave Tompson, were clouds ever in that place
 Thy sons arrival sure would clear thy Face
 He liv'd under the Umbrage of a Wing
 Whose great delight to preach, to pray, to sing
 Thousands in Lancashire 'yond Sea did know
 Who in darke times did to such torches flow
 And now the Precious Father, and Blest Son
 Know whither, and for what they fought & run
 Were ever Heav'ns by fair endeavors wan
 If Prayers could storm it, sure 'twas by this man
 But when his hand of Faith those doors had bounc'd
 And wrestled stoutly, yet he all renounc'd
 His house was Morn, Noon, Night perfum'd with Prayers
 [A]nd seconded with Heav'ns Melodious Aires
 [Th]e sacred Text was Read and Opened so
 As sundry stil'd Divines could hardly do
 In conferences with his holy Friends
 Assistance from sweet Manuscripts he lends
 Such as would Old and Modern Preachers hear
 Might find the Kernel and the marrow there
 With [gre]at Affections urged on the hearts
 And Balsom poured in after sharp Darts
 H[is] Charity was General and Vast
 [With] so small a stock how could it last
 B[y] Prayer his secret Key the Heav'ns unlock't
 And when most Empty, seldom better stockt
 Assistances to poor he ne're denie'd
 And few such places where it might be try'd
 His soundness in the Faith Divines did Own
 Who hath abridg'd their labours One by One
 And Ancient Nectarists whose mouths are stopt
 Extending fruitfull boughs by him were cropt

Theyr fruit more choice than Pearls with him even
 His Manuscripts I call their Magazeen
 Where Honey dropt this painfull Bee was found
 Loading his thighs for all his Neighbours round
 How many weekly did with him rejoyce
 Loveing to see his face, and hear his voice
 To Lamentations now our harps are sett
 And chearfull Anthems we almost forgett
 We can as hardly sing with hiarty thanks
 As Israel on the Babilonish Banks
 So much of God is from poor Braintree fled
 As may be sighed for, more free then sed
 His Empty place in Church, in Court, in field
 By many teares have every day been fill'd
 And poor distressed I, O where, O where!
 Shall I find friendly hand, or faithfull Eare
 Whome shall the poor seek to in pinching grief
 Whome the distressed to Obtain reliefe
 Whome shall the Widow make her trusty friend
 And hand a Prayer at a dead lift to lend,
 Here was of Charity a liveing Spring
 Whose motives round the Greater wheels did bring
 His presence, parts, and Prayers are dearly mist
 Who could like Luther have what'ere he list
 How would he screw into each he[ar]ers brest
 When he with fervency Our Sins confest
 What melting streams of Arguments there flew
 From his own heart, as if he others knew
 Such Instruments, so qualifie'd are rare
 And very few fall to one Churches share
 Predictions I affect not, tho I dread
 The places publick peace now he is dead
 Who lov'd and studied Unity so well
 The peace is threatned where this prop is fell
 Lord grant us Succour to our sinking hearts
 Drop in thy Balsom while we feel thy Darts
 Answer the prayers this Blessed Saint hath made
 Our Soules let Rest with his when we are laid.

B. T.

The following Verses were made by

M^r Benjamin Tompson

Roxbury June 20th 1713.

being some of his last lines.

I feel this World too mean, and low.
 Patron's a lie : Friendship a Show
 Preferment trouble : Grandure Vaine
 Law a pretence : a Bubble Gaine
 Merit a flash : a Blaze Esteem
 Promise a Rush : and Hope a Dream
 Faith a Disguise : a Truth Deceit
 Wealth but a Trap : and Health a Cheat
 These dangerous Rocks, Lord help me shun
 Age tells me my Days work is done.

Upon his Grave-stone in Roxbury.
 sub spe immortalis, the Herse of
 M^r Benjamin Tompson
 Learned Schoolmaster, and Physician
 And the Renowned Poet of New-England
 Obiit Aprilis 10. Anno Dom. 1714, Ætatis suæ 72
 mortuus sed immortalis.
 He that would try what is true happiness
 indeed, must Dye.

Hypomnemata
 Schemuelis Tompsoni. or
 A small Testimony of my Great Love
 and Duty to my Deare Father.
 Samuel Tompson
 who left me and mine in this present
 evill World. June 18. 1695. Aged 64.

Nos quoq floruiumus sed flos fuit ille caducus
 Transivere Patres simul hinc transibimus omnes
 In cœlo Patriam qui bene transit habet ¹
 Ad quæ deducat nos loca Christus Amen

Forced by Duty, Natures Law, Love Grief
 I a Great looser, make this moan in brief
 Tears drop down Ink while I my Self bewaile
 With my five Branches for my saddest aile
 Weep you that hear me never poor Son had
 More Blessed Father, nor a loss so sad
 My Fathers Tears are wiped quite away
 But my own Tears increase with fears this day

¹ Our associate, Dr. William Everett, says that this line should precede the one above it.

A Life of my frail Life: Heart of my Heart
Soul of my Soul, could make me joy or smart
Hath Sadly left me, Life is less Life to mee
Heav'n is more Heav'n; And Death less Death shall be
The World less World; and Earth the less I Love }
Relations and Affections are above }
My God, my Christ, my Father are above }
I must, yet cannot drink my bitter cup
Because my Blessed Samuel is fetch't up
He gave himself to God at twelve Years Old
As he himself to me hath sometime told.
Just Enochs path, was just the path he trod
And forty Years Communion with his God
Himself maintain'd this great Sweet word he said
When in his Groans upon his Death-bed laid
The World hath lost a staying praying prop
New-England lost a Samuel from her Gap
Poor Braintree lost a Pattern holy wise
The Church hath lost a Watchman from her Eyes
Saints lost a Mate and Sick have lost a Nurse
Neighbors have lost a friend, poor lost a purse
A faithfull friend in whom they might confide
Widow and Children lost a faithfull Guide
He Serv'd the Court, the Field, the Church, the Town
Serv'd Friends, serv'd foes the greater is his Crown
Poor Widdows, Needy Orphans, Fatherless
Repair'd to him, a Father in Distress
He had his holy Oyle, and Balm for Souls
When fainting in their Spiritual condoles
His lips drop'd Honey-comb, to counsel Youth
To Read, Pray, hear and walk in all Gods Truth
Both Grace and wisdom, did shine in his Face
His mirth was Smiles, Anger could scarce find place
The Scriptures were read in his house each day
Four times a day were his set task to pray
Each night a Sermon in his house was read
And Counsels gave: which speak tho' he be dead
Such holy wholesome things plain solid sweet
Souls of all Sorts and Sizes had their meat
My Body sick in care my Soul to save
Sat up one Night to pray mee from a Grave
The place where he most Good could be, get, do
It was the place where he would alwais go

Sabbaths and Lecture days, of Prayer and praise
Were his delights, his Soul did love them Days
Gods Book, and the Good Bookes that men did write
To Read and meditate were his delight
He holy Davids warbling Notes did Love
The fitter mate for Choristers above
God never Thundred loudly in the Aire
But he would call and Say, let's go to Pray'r
A great peace-maker, and a lump of Love
Self-less for World, Selfish for things above
Calm in his Own cause, Zealous for his God
A gaining Schollar both by word and Rod
Grave in his words, modest in his attire
And in his Spirit none more low, nor higher
His words were few and fast, soft, solid sound
Not one of Samuels words fell to the Ground
One high in Workes cloath'd with humility
By lookeing low, he looked very high
His head and heart were full, yet much did give
And by his giveing made his own Grace thrive
His Soul was rich, and richly did impart
And in his giveing shew'd an holy Art
No Bed nor Body's Ease made him refraine
His fixed turns with Jesus to maintaine
Gods Day he kept so holy Strict and Even
His Sabbath keeping much resembled Heaven
Dead yet alive, now most alive when Dead
Could Glory fly, and yet to Glory fled
Not Dead but lives in Heaven and in Hearts
We have not lost him but hee's got the Start
We 'wail our loss, and yet 'tis not a loss
He finds a Crown while we do feel a cross
Let's spy and try to tread his holy track
We cannot fetch, and must not wish him back
He bad me dread to meet him Christless where
Christ, All, and hee, and I shall soon appear.
Farewell 'till then mean while I'll hope & try
Thro' Gods Assistance for thy Company
This hope comforts my Heart — I am bereft
If God don't take mee, I am sadly left.
Debts to my Father are great, Old and large
That Teares, that lines in Rhymes cannot discharge
My GOD, my 'tother Father's slipt from mee
I'me left alone: but give my Self to thee

I am poorly left if God do not me take
 Friends, Fathers, Mothers all do me forsake
 Care for thine Orphan, Lord sugar my Pill
 Mean well to mee my God who liveth still.
 Hæc gemuit pauperimus Orphanus
 Edvardus Tompsonus.

M^R William Tompson

was Ordained the first Pastor of
 the first Church in Braintree
 Sept^r 24. 1639.

In October 1642. Rev^d M^r Tompson with
 Rev. M^r Knowles of Watertown engaged in a
 Mission to Virginia upon Letters from some
 well disposed People there to the Ministers of
 New-England intreating their compassionate con-
 sideration and reliefe of their destitute circumstances
 for want of Good Ministers to preach the Gospel.
 But the next Year they were driven home again
 by the Government there who made this Order,
 ————— Viz. That such as would not con-
 form to the Ceremonies of the Church of England, should
 by such a day depart the Country. Whence he returned to
 Braintree where he served Christ many years, till melancholy
 distempers prevailed, But at last they were removed, and he
 fell asleep in the Lord, and his body was buried in Braintree.
 [P]sal. 37. 37.

Remarks on the Bright, and
 dark side of that American Pillar

M^R William Tompson.

Pastor of the Church in Braintree.

Who triumphed Decembr 10th 1666 Ætat 68.

But may a Rural Pen try to set forth
 Such a Great Fathers Ancient Grace & worth
 I undertake a no less Arduous Theme
 Then the Old Sages found the Chaldæ Dream
 'Tis more then Tythes of a profound respect
 That must be paid such a Melchizedeck

Oxford this light with tongues & Arts doth trim
And then his Northern Town doth Challenge him
His Time and Strength he Center'd there in this
To do good works, and be what now he is.
His fulgent Virtues there & learned Strains
Tall comely Presence, Life unsoil'd with stains
Things most on WORTHIES in their stories writ
Did him to move in Orbs of Service fitt
Things more peculiar yet, my muse intend
Say stranger things then these, so weep & End
When he forsook first his Oxonian Cell
Some Scores at once from Popish darkness fell
So this Reformer studied! rare first fruits!
Shakeing a *Crab-tree* thus by hot disputes
The acrid juice by miracle turn'd wine
And rais'd the Spirits of our young Divine
Hearers like Doves flock'd with contentios wing
Who should be first, feed most: most homeward bring
Laden with honey like Hyblæan Bees
They knead it into combs upon their knees
Why he from Europes pleasant Garden fled
In the Next Age will be with horroure said
Braintree was of this Jewel then possest
Untill himself he labour'd into Rest
His Inventory then with Johns was took
His rough Coat, Girdle with the Sacred Book
When Reverend *Knowles* & he sail'd hand in hand
To Christ, Espousing the Virginian Land
Upon a ledge of Craggy Rocks near stav'd
His Bible in his bosome thrusting sav'd
The Bible, the best cordial of his Heart
Come floods, come flames (cry'd he) we'l never part
A Constellation of great converts there
Shone round him and his Heav'nly Glory were
With a Rare Skill in hearts, this Doctor cou'd
Steal into them words that should do them good
His Balsom's from the Tree of Life distill'd
Hearts cleans'd and heal'd, & with rich comforts fill'd
But here's the wo! Balsoms which others cur'd
Would in his Own Turn hardly be endur'd
Apollyon Owing him a cursed Spleen
Who an Apollos in the Church had been
Dreading his Traffick here would be undone
By Numerous proselites he daily won

Accus'd him of Imaginary faults
 And push'd him down so into dismal vaults
 Vaults where he kept long Ember weeks of grief
 'Till Heav'n alarm'd sent him in relief
 Then was a Daniel in the Lyons Den
 A man, Oh how belov'd of God and men
 By his beds-side an Hebrew sword there lay
 With which at last he drove the Devil away
 Quaker's too durst not bear his keen replies
 But fearing it half drawn the trembler flies
 Like Lazarus new rais'd from Death appears
 The Saint that had been dead for many years
 Our Nehemiah said, shall such as I
 Desert my flock, and like a Coward fly
 Long had the Churches begg'd the saints release
 Releas'd at last, he dies in Glorious peace
 The Night is not so long, but phosphors ray
 Approaching Glories doth on high display
 Faith's Eye in him discern'd the Morning Star
 His heart leap'd; sure the Sun cannot be far
 In Extasies of Joy, he Ravish'd Cries
 Love, Love the Lamb, the Lamb, in whome he dies.
 Decemb^r 10. 1666.

Gulielmi Tompsoni Braintreensis
 Ecclesiæ Pastoris in Angliâ utraque
 Celeberimi vice [viri?]. Epitaphium

Judicious Zeale: New-Englands Boanerges
 Lies Tombles: not to spare the Churches Charges
 But that the world may know he lacks no Tomb
 Who in Ten thousand hearts commanded room
 While thus the thundring Textman hidden lies
 Some Virgins slumber: Others wantonize.

B. T.

William Tompson

Anagr.

lo now I'm past il.

Why weep ye still for me my Children Dear
 What cause have ye of Sorrow Grief or fear.
 Lo now all Evil things are past and gone
 Terror black Choler and strangulion

My Paines are cur'd no Grief doth me annoy
 My Sorrows all are turned into joy
 No fiend of Hell henceforth shall me assay
 My fears are heal'd, my Teares are wipe'd away
 Gods reconciled face I now behold
 He hath dispers'd my darkness manifold
 In Abrams bosom now I sweetly Rest
 Of perfect Joy and Happyness possess.

William Tompson

.....

Anagr.

Now I am slipt home

Four Years twice told I dwelt in darkest Cell
 In cruel Bonds of Melancholy bound
 I surely thought I was in lowest Hell
 Much paine and Griefe, but no relief I found
 But now thrô Grace my weighty chain is loos'd
 God hath return'd my long Captivity
 My weary Soul which comfort oft refus'd
 This day is set at perfect Liberty
 And now I dwell at home with Christ my Lord
 With Robes of Righteousness most richly Clad
 With rarest pleasures the highest Heav'ns affo[rd]
 Feasted refresh'd beyond Expression Glad.

S. Danforth.

Scriptum P̄ Dom. S. T. Nepotem

William Tompson, the father of Benjamin, and the subject of the last elegy, died on December 10, 1666. He fell into the Devil's bath, — "*Balneum Diaboli*, a black *Melancholy*, which for divers Years almost wholly disabled him for the Exercise of his Ministry," as Cotton Mather says in his *Magnalia* (Book III. p. 119). The writer of the piece was probably Samuel Danforth, a graduate of Harvard College in the Class of 1643.

The Latin line at the end undoubtedly refers to the person who copied the various elegies into the little book. The initial letters are those of Samuel Tompson, of Newbury, a graduate in the Class of 1710, who was the eldest son of Edward (H. C. 1684), and a nephew of Benjamin (H. C. 1662); and there is reason to think that the line was written by his younger brother William (H. C. 1718).

Mr. GAMALIEL BRADFORD spoke briefly of the conflict between the royal governors of Massachusetts and the provincial legislatures, especially with reference to financial questions.

Mr. A. C. GOODELL, Jr., communicated a complete list of the attorneys-general and solicitors-general of Massachusetts from the time of Sir Edmund Andros down to the Revolution, as follows:—

The following is an attempt to give a clear and succinct statement in chronological order of the several attorneys-general and solicitors-general of Massachusetts down to the time of the adoption of the Constitution of the Commonwealth. The subject is involved in so many intricacies that it is not surprising that the official list prepared and annually issued by the clerks of the Senate and House of Representatives is not only so incomplete as to be practically worthless, but is positively misleading.

The chief source of error in compiling these lists has been an imperfect understanding of the changes made in the manner of constituting these officers. Before the presidency of Dudley there had been no such officer as attorney-general in the colony. Under Dudley and his successor, Andros, the attorney-general was, of course, appointed, there being no assembly.

During the inter-charter period the office was continued, and was filled by election; since, however, there is no record of more than one election during that period, it must be assumed that the official tenure of Attorney-General Checkley was during the pleasure of the General Court, or until the choice of a successor.

By the general proclamation for the continuance in place of persons in office, issued by Sir William Phips, the first governor under the province charter, Checkley remained in office according to his former holding, until October 28, 1692, when he received a commission from the Governor, with the advice and consent of the Council, to hold during the pleasure of the crown.¹ This precedent was followed by Governor Dudley in 1702, in the appointment of his son Paul to this office.

¹ This, though not expressed in the commissions of the provincial judges, was the tenure by which they held, and not *quamdiu se bene gesserint*, as the commissions now run. See Life and Works of John Adams, III. 511 *et seq.* By the seventeenth article of Phips's instructions, he was required "to nominate a fit person for Attorney-General." The same instruction became the twenty-first of Bellomont's, the thirty-fifth of Dudley's, and the fortieth of Burges's and Shute's.

In 1715, however, a report having gained credence that a new attorney-general, bearing a commission directly from the crown, was coming over to take the office, the House of Representatives raised the question of the right of the Governor and Council to appoint. Their claim was that the authority conferred upon the Assembly, by the charter, to name and settle, annually,¹ all civil officers excepting those whose election and constitution had been previously reserved, in the same instrument, to the crown, or to the Governor of the province, included the attorney-general. On the other hand, the practice which had prevailed from the beginning of the first administration was founded upon a previous clause in the charter granting and ordaining that it should be lawful for the Governor, by and with the advice and consent of the Council, to nominate and appoint, besides the judges and certain other enumerated officers, other officers "to our Council and Courts of Justice belonging." The received opinion was that the attorney-general was within this exception, — he being, as was alleged, an officer of the courts.

The Council, though at first disputing the claim of the representatives, eventually conceded it, probably upon the strength of the support it received in the opinion of that eminent lawyer Sir Edward Northey, Attorney-General of England. The result of this controversy was the election of Paul Dudley in 1716, and of his successors in office down to and including Joseph Hiller.

In 1729 the old dispute was renewed in the Legislature upon the authority of Sir Robert Raymond,² son-in-law of Northey, and his successor in the office of attorney-general, who, jointly with the solicitor-general, Sir Philip York,³ officially gave an opinion directly opposite to that expressed by Northey. This opinion was in a report to the Lords of Trade upon the memorial of Governor Shute, in which they certified that they were of opinion that the House of Representatives had made great encroachments on his Majesty's prerogative in joining in the election of the attorney-general, and had "assumed to

¹ Hence the term expired upon the election of a successor the next year, or, failing such election, upon the dissolution of the General Assembly convened next after the end of the political year in which the incumbent had been chosen.

² Afterwards Lord Raymond.

³ Afterwards Lord Hardwicke.

themselves the exercise of powers neither warranted by this charter nor given them by law." It would seem that the fact that Sir Robert had given his opinion, with his reasons, at length, the year before, and that it had been thus reaffirmed and corroborated, was known to Lieutenant-Governor Dummer¹ in 1724; since, upon the election of John Read, that year, he submitted to the Council the question of the legality of the proceeding; and notwithstanding they advised that the election was in accordance with the charter, and though Read was pre-eminently fitted for the office, Dummer withheld his consent² to the election. In 1729, however, upon the question of proceeding to choose an attorney-general, the Council at first refused to join with the House. This refusal was repeated the next year; but in 1731, and thereafter, until 1749, both branches annually joined in the election, — the governor or lieutenant-governor for the time being withholding his consent, by excepting from the list of officers elected the person chosen attorney-general, and adding to the usual form of his certificate of approval a negative, concluding with the words, "there being an attorney-general already duly appointed."

In 1749 the Council decided to put an end to this farcical annual performance, by persisting in their refusal to join in the election of attorney-general. This led to a lively controversy, in which the whole dispute was reviewed, and discussed with great acuteness and ability. The result, however, was the abandonment, until the Revolution, of the election of attorney-general.

¹ And see Sewall's Letter-Book, vol. ii. p. 164.

² From what I knew of the legislative practice, and the occasional slips and omissions of the Secretary, I had supposed that the Lieutenant-Governor's consent was actually given, though not expressly so stated in the record; but recently, with the efficient aid of our accomplished associate Rev. Dr. Slafter, I have been put in possession of facts which seem to show conclusively that Read was not in office this year. The most important fact is that he appeared this year in the Superior Court of Judicature, and moved in arrest of judgment for John Checkley, a person convicted upon indictment. The "attorney-general" had been specially charged to prosecute this case, and at that time Read held the office; but his term expired before the indictment was tried. A close examination and comparison of the records and files of the court, in which I had the intelligent assistance of Dr. Slafter, disclosed nothing that would throw a doubt upon the conclusion we arrived at, that it was owing to no peculiarity of our local practice, and was not in violation of his official obligations, that Read appeared for the defence, since the fact that his election had not been consented to left him free to choose his clients.

In 1775 the subject was again seriously and deliberately considered, and, after two years, a choice by the whole Assembly was decided to be conformable to the requirement of the charter; and this continued to be the rule until the power was revested in the Governor and Council by the ninth article of the first section of the second chapter of the Constitution.

The preceding sketch affords an explanation of the record in the legislative journals of numerous elections, seemingly regular, and yet conflicting with other entries, of appointments by the executive. These apparent inconsistencies have led to many gross errors in the attempt to get at the real facts without exhaustive research.

In the case of the absence of the attorney-general, or of a vacancy in the office, the courts assumed authority to appoint an attorney for the crown, or for the State, *pro hac vice*. Hence such names as George Farwell or Farewell, William Brattle, James Otis, Robert Auchmuty, etc., have improperly crept into the list of attorneys-general; and others, who at some time actually held the office, are not mentioned, or recorded as serving at times when they were not in office.

The commissions of oyer and terminer, as I have formerly¹ had occasion to show at considerable length, were not of that class of established judicatories which, by the charter, were to be created by the Legislature, and they were not tribunals in which the attorneys-general appeared by virtue of their office. An attorney was usually specially appointed to conduct proceedings for the crown in these courts. Such was the case in the court which tried the Salem witches, when Thomas Newton appeared for the crown while Checkley was attorney-general. Newton, however, was superseded by Checkley² after the latter had received a special commission to conduct those prosecutions.

By the following tables it appears that from 1686 to 1780 the office of attorney-general was filled seventeen times by election of the General Court (with the consent of the chief executive for the time being), and nine times during the same period the office was filled by executive appointment. The solicitors-general, as also the "special attorney-general,"—a solitary

¹ See the paper on "Witch Trials in Massachusetts," in *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, vol. xx. p. 297 *et seq.*

² July 27, 1692.

instance, and under a commission in force only about three months, — were appointed. The sum of the years of service of the appointed attorneys, however, exceeds that of those holding by election about fifty-five years. The years in which there was no attorney-general regularly constituted are 1721 and 1724, and from September, 1774, to June 12, 1777, besides other shorter periods between successive terms.

TABLE OF ATTORNEYS-GENERAL BEFORE THE CONSTITUTION.

CHOSEN.

APPOINTED.

Under the Presidency of Joseph Dudley :

BENJAMIN BULLIVANT

Date uncertain, but before
July 1, 1686; sworn in,
July 26.

Under Sir Edmund Andros :

JAMES GRAHAM

Date uncertain, but as early
as Aug. 25, 1687, he was
"settled in Boston and made
attorney-general."

During the inter-charter period :

ANTHONY CHECKLEY June 14, 1689

Under the Province Charter :

ANTHONY CHECKLEY

Oct. 28, 1692

PAUL DUDLEY

July 6, 1702

PAUL DUDLEY

June 8, 1716

PAUL DUDLEY

June 19, 1717

PAUL DUDLEY

June 25, 1718

Resigned Nov. 22, 1718.

JOHN VALENTINE

Nov. 22, 1718

JOHN VALENTINE

June 24, 1719

THOMAS NEWTON

June 19, 1720

Died May 28, 1721.

(*Vacancy*; John Read chosen, but negated by Governor Shute.)

JOHN OVERING

June 29, 1722

JOHN READ

June 20, 1723

(*Vacancy*; John Read chosen, but not consented to.)

JOHN READ

June 28, 1725

JOHN READ

June 21, 1726

JOHN READ

June 28, 1727

JOSEPH HILLER

June 19, 1728

(Addington Davenport, Jr., chosen June 12, but declined.)

	CHOSEN.	APPOINTED.
JOHN OVERING		June 26, 1729
EDMUND TROWBRIDGE		June 29, 1749
EDMUND TROWBRIDGE		May 14, 1762 ¹
(Made Justice of the Superior Court of Judicature, March 25, 1767.)		
JEREMIAH GRIDLEY		March 25, 1767
	(Died Sept. 7, 1767.)	
JONATHAN SEWALL		Nov. 18, 1767
(Vacancy from September, 1774, to June 12, 1777.) ²		

¹ Reappointment after demise of the Crown.

² Benjamin Kent was appointed for seven successive terms, beginning April term, 1776, by the Court of General Sessions of the Peace for Suffolk County, "to act as attorney-general" for the term. This covered a part of the term of Attorney-General Paine; and though Kent continued to be appointed until as late as January term, 1779, in the later appointments he is recorded as serving "in the absence of the Attorney-General."

By a resolve which is numbered CXXIII. in the printed resolves of the year 1777, thirty pounds were allowed to Kent, upon his petition for compensation "for his service as attorney-general for this State, from April 1776 to July 1777, inclusive." The date of this resolve is the eleventh of October, and on the fourteenth a warrant for paying to Kent the amount of this allowance was signed. In the House journals, under date of September 22, 1777, there is the minute of a vote referring a petition, similarly described, to a committee, consisting of Messrs. Gray, Mills, and Grout; and, under date of the tenth of October, there is a minute of the vote of acceptance of a report of the Committee "on the petition of Benjamin Kent, Esq^r," and of its being "sent up for Concurrence."

No petition precisely of the same purport as the above has been discovered; but an original petition signed by Kent, still remaining in the State Archives, and dated the eleventh of October, alleges "That on his late memorial for an allowance for his late service as attorney-general of sd State, in the County of Suffolk," from April, 1776, "to October, 1777, inclusively," the House determined that the County ought to pay him, but that many of the justices of the Court of Sessions apprehended "that, as the law and practice now is and has been," their allowance for any pay to the attorney-general "is unprecedented," and that they could not order it. The petitioner therefore prayed the Legislature to order and empower the Court of Sessions for Suffolk to allow him such compensation as to them should appear reasonable. On the same day this petition was "read, and committed to Mr. Niles, Captain Wales, and Mr. Greenleaf, who were directed to consider the matter at large." No formal report by this Committee has been discovered; but it is to be noticed that the printed resolve above referred to was passed the same day.

The inference from the record, therefore, is, that Kent sought compensation for services rendered as prosecuting attorney in Suffolk County during the period named in his petition, and that the Legislature chose to reward him, by an allowance from the State treasury, for services rendered by him as "attorney-general," *pro hac vice*, during the period of the vacancy in that office, from the beginning of the State government to the date of Paine's acceptance of the office.

Soon after the passage of the above-named resolve a bill entitled "An Act to impower the Courts of General Sessions of the Peace in the several Counties in this State to appoint an Attorney General," was introduced in the House, but was defeated, October 15, 1777, on a motion for a third reading.

	CHOSEN.	APPOINTED.
ROBERT TREAT PAINE	June 12, 1777	Accepted Aug. 26. ¹
ROBERT TREAT PAINE	June 19, 1778 (sworn)	
ROBERT TREAT PAINE	Feb. 5, 1779	
ROBERT TREAT PAINE	Jan. 4, 1780	

SPECIAL ATTORNEY-GENERAL,² ETC.

JONATHAN SEWALL March 25, 1767

SOLICITOR-GENERAL,³ ETC.

JONATHAN SEWALL June 24, 1767
 (Vacancy from Nov. 18, 1767, to March 14, 1771.)
 SAMUEL QUINCY⁴ March 14, 1771
 (A refugee, 1774-1775.)

Incidental remarks were made during the meeting by the PRESIDENT, the Hon. WILLIAM EVERETT, and Messrs. JUSTIN WINSOR, GAMALIEL BRADFORD, and WILLIAM W. GOODWIN.

A new volume of the Proceedings, comprising the record of eight stated meetings, from April, 1894, to February, 1895, both inclusive, was on the table for distribution.

¹ To the honorable the Council & House of Representatives of the State of Massachusetts Bay, —

GENTLEMEN, — I consider my self much honored by your appointment of me to the office of Attorney General for this State.

I hope the importance of my political Engagements will be considered as an Excuse for my not giving an answer sooner.

I accept of the Office, and hope whilst I am in it I shall answer the reasonable expectations of my Constituents.

With the greatest Esteem I am

Yr obedient hble

Sert R T PAINE.

August 26. 1777. — *Mass. Archives*, vol. 198, p. 104.

² “. . . to be Special Attorney General in all matters and causes whereto Jeremiah Gridley, Esq^r shall be prevented attending . . .” — *Executive Records of the Council*, vol. xvi. p. 212. This appointment was superseded upon his appointment as Solicitor-General.

³ “. . . to be Sollicitor General, Council at Law, and Special Attorney in all causes and cases to which the Attorney General shall not attend, in as full a manner as the Attorney General could act if he was present and acted therein . . .” — *Ibid.*, p. 235.

⁴ “Samuel Quincy Esq^r to be Solicitor General, for the Province.” — *Ibid.*, p. 536.

OCTOBER MEETING, 1895.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 10th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the President, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D., in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved. The Librarian, Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN, read the list of donors to the Library since the June meeting. Among the gifts were fifty-two volumes from the library of the late Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, given by his son, Mr. R. C. Winthrop, Jr. The Librarian also reported that the portraits of Samuel Quincy and his wife, which were deposited with the Society in February, 1891, had been returned to a representative of Mr. Quincy Phillips, their owner, on his written order. The Cabinet-Keeper, Mr. SAMUEL F. McCLEARY, reported that during the recess such articles found in the bequest of Rev. Dr. George E. Ellis to the Society as possessed historic value had been added to its Cabinet. Among the most important of these were:—

An oil portrait of Dr. Ellis, by Frederic P. Vinton.

A section of a large bough of the Old Elm formerly on Boston Common.

A framed etching of the early home of John Harvard at Stratford-Avon.

A framed photograph of the original sketch of Margaret Shippen, wife of Benedict Arnold, made by Major John André.

Engravings of Rev. Dr. John S. Popkin and of Rev. Dr. Jonathan Mayhew.

Three sets of plaster medallions representing over one hundred subjects, with descriptive catalogue.

A portfolio containing a large number of engravings and photographs of eminent personages and interesting places.

A plaster cast of the original marble bust of Jared Sparks, by Hiram Powers.

A statuette of a design by Daniel C. French for a standing figure of John Harvard. This design was not adopted, a sitting figure being preferred.

A collection of over four hundred patriotic, humorous, and political envelopes issued during the Civil War.

The following contributions to the Cabinet have also been received:—

From the Massachusetts Society of Colonial Wars, a bronze medal struck to commemorate the capture of Louisburg on June 17, 1745, made from a French cannon taken on that occasion.

From Dr. S. A. Green, engravings of Amos Lawrence and of his birthplace at Groton, Mass.

From Adjutant-General Dalton, a bronze medal struck to commemorate the dedication of the Chattanooga and Chickamauga battle-fields for a national park, September, 1895.

From the estate of Mrs. Buckminster Brown, a fine engraving of Trumbull's painting of the Declaration of American Independence. This engraving was copyrighted in 1820.

From Eliza Arrowsmith Waters, of Somerville, a framed reproduction in colors on satin of the shields of the original thirteen States of America. This reproduction was published for the Colonial Festival, instituted February 18–23, 1895, in aid of the Somerville Hospital.

From Rev. Dr. Samuel E. Herrick, a cane made from the wood of the house occupied by Rev. Jonathan Edwards at Stockbridge, while he was missionary to the Indians.

From R. C. Winthrop, Jr., ten engravings and four photographs of eminent men and interesting localities.

The PRESIDENT then said:—

At the meeting of the Society in March last, while referring to the constant and regular mortality among its members which had marked the progress of the immediately preceding half-year, I called attention to the noticeable difference in this respect which had, in the experience of the Society, always existed between the summer and the winter months. A review of what may be called our bills of mortality during the last twenty years developed the somewhat curious fact that, while during these years but two members of the Society had died in July, fifteen deaths, or nearly one-fifth of the whole number, had occurred in the one winter month of January. The statistics show that in our case the average summer mortality is but a third of that of the winter. In view of the losses we had then recently sustained,—losses even more noticeable for the memorable character of the names which disappeared from our roll than for number,—in view of these losses still fresh in memory, I ventured at the March meeting, while announcing yet another vacancy in our number, to con-

gratulate the Society that we were then at last close upon a season of the year more congenial to longevity.

Although two more deaths among our Resident Members, those of Mr. Saltonstall and of Mr. Hill, were destined to occur before that season arrived, I am glad to be able to say that, since the June meeting of the Society, the last held, no vacancy has occurred in the Resident list. Upon it we now have, as we then had, ninety-three names. As compared with June, therefore, our somewhat depleted ranks are in October not further reduced.

Until within the last few days I had also confidently expected that it would be my good fortune to make the same report of our Honorary and our Corresponding lists; but, Tuesday last, the Atlantic cable informed us of the death at Vallombrosa in Italy of William Wetmore Story, — one of the oldest and most widely known of all our Corresponding Members, the number of whom is by his going reduced to forty-seven. Chosen at the meeting held in January, 1869, in company with Dean Stanley and Thiers, not yet President of the French Republic, Mr. Story's name had been on our list for more than a quarter of a century. His connection with us by descent and early association had also been so close, he had been so long eminent both in literature and in art, and his studio had for such a length of time been the familiar and interesting resort of all Americans, and especially all Massachusetts people, visiting Rome, — and who during the last forty years has not visited Rome? — that it would seem unbecoming that his death should pass unnoticed in our Proceedings. I have, therefore, asked our associate, Professor Norton, to come here to-day prepared to pay final tribute on behalf of this Society to one who has probably, first or last and in some way, contributed to the enjoyment of nearly every member of it.

MR. CHARLES ELIOT NORTON then spoke extemporaneously at some length, paying a beautiful and discriminating tribute to the memory of his life-long friend.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN announced the death of a Corresponding Member, M. Pierre Margry, of Paris, which took place on May 27, 1894. He was a native of that city, where he was born on December 9, 1818. For many years M.

Margry was connected with the Bureau du Ministère de la Marine et des Colonies; and he had made some valuable historical collections relating to Western discoveries. This Society once recommended that Congress should take such steps as would insure their speedy publication. He was chosen a member on October 15, 1869.

The PRESIDENT said:—

The Society will remember that, at its March meeting, a vote was passed accepting the bequests made to the Society in the will of Dr. Ellis, and a Committee consisting of the Council and three members at large was appointed to consider any questions of general policy which might arise in connection with those bequests. Subsequently, at the meeting of May last, a report was presented, on behalf of this Committee, in which the financial situation of the Society was set forth in detail, and the policy to be pursued in connection with the Ellis, Sibley, and Waterston bequests was considered. After listening to this report, the Society, in accordance with the recommendations therein made, passed a series of votes authorizing the Committee in question (1) to purchase a tract of land for a future building-site; (2) to effect a sale of the Ellis house in Marlborough Street; and (3) to cause the library, papers, and effects of Dr. Ellis to be packed and either stored for future use or disposed of. As the votes in question are printed in full (pp. 158, 159) in the serial number of the Proceedings of the Society now on the table for distribution, it is unnecessary to recite them here, as members desiring so to do can there consult them.

On behalf of the Joint Committee having the matter in charge, I am now instructed to report progress made since the May meeting:—

1. A site has been purchased for a new Society building to be hereafter erected. The lot secured is on the extension of Boylston Street west of Massachusetts Avenue, and faces on the Fenway, so called. Including 10,605 square feet of land, it fronts to the west and overlooks the park known as the Fens. Its cost was \$53,500. In view of the importance of this purchase, it is hoped that the individual members of the Society will examine the locality and reach their own conclusions in regard to it. In the judgment of those composing

the Committee, the site has advantages for the future needs of the Society, as respects location, convenience of access, light, air, outlook, and quiet, which can hardly fail to be at once apparent.

2. The large accumulation of books, papers, furniture, and miscellaneous articles devised by Dr. Ellis to the Society has been carefully gone over and disposed of in accordance with the provisions of the will. Such papers as were of a private character have been separated from the rest, and put in the hands of his representatives; others of no value have been destroyed; and the remainder have been packed and stored. This work has been most tedious and irksome. Performed under the supervision of Dr. Green, so far as the Library was concerned, and of Mr. McCleary as respects other articles, the Committee wish to express their sense of the obligation they and the Society are under to both, but to Mr. McCleary in particular, for the constant personal assistance rendered throughout the summer in a labor of very considerable magnitude, in no way either agreeable or interesting.

3. A cash sale on terms satisfactory to the Society has been effected of the Ellis house; a conveyance of it has been executed, and the purchase money applied, in strict accordance with the terms of Dr. Ellis's will, in part payment of the Boylston Street building-site.

4. An arrangement has been effected with Mr. G. S. Hale, the executor of the will of Dr. Ellis, under which the money bequest of \$30,000 made to the Society by Dr. Ellis will be paid over to the Treasurer at an early day.

The Committee have, therefore, to report that all the duties intrusted to them have been performed, and that nothing further remains at this time to be done in connection with the Ellis bequests. They would, therefore, respectfully ask that their report be accepted, and that they as a committee be discharged.

On motion of Rev. Dr. ALEXANDER MCKENZIE, it was unanimously

Voted, That the Joint Committee on the Ellis bequests appointed at the March meeting be discharged, and that the Society tenders its thanks to the members thereof for the successful discharge of the work intrusted to them.

The PRESIDENT further said:—

There is, however, another subject of great importance to the Society, closely connected with the Ellis bequests, which the Council deem necessary now to bring up for consideration. The present Society building was, it will be remembered, built in 1872–1873, immediately after the great Boston fire, and now nearly twenty-three years ago. Constructed with a special view to the requirements of the Society, the two lower stories of the edifice were leased in advance for the use of the Probate Court; and during twenty-two years of occupancy the Society has been so fortunate as to have had but one tenant for those premises, the County of Suffolk. A year ago at this time the County, on the completion of the new Court House in Pemberton Square, vacated these premises, the lease of which had expired some time before, and they have not since then been occupied. The rental paid under the lease was \$9,000 per annum.

It is needless to say that this rent constituted a very considerable portion of the Society's annual income, and a portion which it could not afford to lose. After the county vacated the premises, it was for a time believed that the city would find it required them for municipal work, situated as they are in a fire-proof building and in close communication with the City Hall. There seems, however, to be no immediate prospect of their being thus utilized. When this became apparent, real-estate brokers were consulted, and efforts made to negotiate a lease with other parties for business purposes. At the same time the Mayor of the City of Boston was called upon to ascertain whether, in certain contingencies, the city would not wish to purchase the property with a view to connecting it with the City Building, so called, and the City Hall, thus securing to both an independent ingress and egress to and from Tremont Street. The advantages to the city of such a purchase, in connection with the other real estate now owned by it, were so obvious that they hardly needed to be pointed out; but no definite assurances, much less action, could be obtained. On the other hand, it was soon found that it would be difficult, if not impracticable, to effect a new lease of the premises for general business purposes on any satisfactory terms. The rooms on the ground floor have merely an entrance from Tremont Street, and no outlook upon it; they are dark, ill-ventilated, and built and arranged in a way now no longer in vogue.

The Council thus found itself confronted with a very serious question. An issue which it had not been supposed would present itself for possibly ten years to come was suddenly precipitated. A year's rent of the two lower floors of the building, a sum large in itself, has already been lost, and no satisfactory lease of the premises either has been or apparently can be effected. The Society cannot afford to occupy the entire building for its own purposes; for it is neither well adapted for such use, nor would the resources of the Society justify it in so doing. Its income is, by the loss of rent, too much curtailed. The only alternative is to sell the building, leasing for a term of years, if possible, from the purchaser the premises the Society now occupies, and with the proceeds of the sale either at once proceed to build on the Ellis site on Boylston Street, or, if that should not seem advisable, to draw an income from an investment of the proceeds of the sale until a time to build shall come, which will be whenever the Sibley and Waterston bequests fall in.

The matter is one of such moment, and involves such serious questions of policy, that it has seemed proper to lay it at once and in full before the Society. As the matter now stands, while it is not safe to do nothing, no one has authority to act. The Council could, of course, execute a lease of the premises now vacant, could a satisfactory lease of them be negotiated; but they have no authority to sell. The property meanwhile is lying idle, and the Society is sustaining and must continue to sustain a serious loss of income.

Under these circumstances, I am instructed, on behalf of the Council, to submit the whole subject to the Society and ask for instructions.

On motion of the Hon. MELLE CHAMBERLAIN, seconded by Mr. GAMALIEL BRADFORD, the four following votes were passed unanimously:—

Voted, That so much of the communication of the President of the Society as relates to the possible sale of the present building of the Society, and the course thereafter to be pursued as respects the construction of a new building on the Boylston Street site, be referred to a special committee, to consist of the members of the Council and three additional members from the Society at large.

Voted, That the special committee thus organized have full power to negotiate for and effect a sale of the Society's present building and site thereof, and the President and Treasurer be authorized to execute a conveyance of the same in the name and on behalf of the Society, if a price therefor satisfactory to said committee can be obtained.

Voted, That the special committee aforesaid be authorized, in case of a sale of the present building, to execute a lease on behalf of the Society of the premises now occupied by it for such a period of time and on such terms as may seem to the committee advantageous or as can be obtained.

Voted, That the committee aforesaid be further authorized and instructed to cause preliminary plans to be prepared and to obtain specifications for the early construction of a Society building on the Ellis site on Boylston Street, together with an approximate estimate of the cost of such building and the time required for its construction; and that such plans and estimates be submitted to the Society at a future meeting, accompanied by a financial statement of the resources of the Society now or hereafter applicable to the construction and subsequent maintenance of such proposed building.

The President appointed as members of the Committee, from the Society at large, Messrs. Henry W. Haynes, Henry P. Walcott, and Thornton K. Lothrop.

On motion of the TREASURER it was

Voted, That the Society hereby ratifies and approves the mortgage deed executed in its behalf to the Suffolk Savings Bank for Seamen and Others, of date September 6, 1895, recorded L. 2303, p. 329, of Suffolk Deeds, to secure the payment of the note of said Society to said Savings Bank for the sum of thirty thousand dollars referred to in said mortgage, which note is also hereby ratified and confirmed.

Rev. HENRY F. JENKS said that he had found among the papers of Rev. Dr. Benjamin Colman preserved in the box which contained the records of Brattle Street Church three letters from Rev. George Whitefield. They are as follows:—

LONDON Nov^{br} 18th 1742.

REVRD & D^R S^R,— Glad was I to receive another letter from you before I sent off my packets. I thank our Loving Lord for granting me the continuance of his minister's affections. I hope this as well as all his other mercies will lead me nearer & nearer to Himself the Foun-

tain of all mercies. Surely the Friends of Jesus do pray in my behalf, for I am still strengthened rather more than ever, & enabled to rejoice in his goodness all the day long. The confusions at New-England have given me concern, but our Lord will overrule all for good. I was sorry to hear of M^r Davenport's imprisonment, but glad that the ministers had no hand in it. At such a distance it w^d be rash in me to judge one way or the other. I fear the dear man has been too imprudent, but to be imprisoned for some unguarded expressions I think is a little severe & not for the honour of Boston at all. Had I been in his place I would have accepted bail. When I shall come to Boston the Lord Jesus only knows, I believe it will not be long first. I find I shall come in perilous times, but that all gracious Saviour who has helped me hitherto, will guide me by his council and give me a *true Scriptural Zeal*. This is what I desire all my d^r friends to beg in my behalf. I am sorry to say that I fear d^r M^r Tennent's spirit is too much embittered against the Moravian brethren. Surely they are not so bad as they are represented. Some passages in his letter to M^r Dickenson I cannot approve of. Oh, how hard is it to keep in the true narrow path when speaking for the Lord Jesus. God preserve me & all his ministers from defending his truth & cause in our own spirits. It destroys that very cause we would defend. As yet in Scotland there are but few of those disorders which have been complained of amongst you, but as the work encreases, I suppose the Enemy's stratagems will encrease also. This is my comfort; Jesus reigns; The Gates of Hell shall never be able to prevail against his Church. I think I have had a late instance of his power & goodness in driving the Spaniards from Georgia, for I hear they are gone. I hope the orphans are now at Bethesda in peace. The continuation of my account I have sent with this & a parcel of sermons. I desire you & d^r M^r Cooper, Revnd S^r, to put them into the hands of M^r Kneland & Green & dispose of them as you shall think proper. Why does not d^r M^r Cooper write to me? I salute him & all my Revnd Brethren that preach Jesus in sincerity. I wish them prosperity with all my heart & pray for them every day. Revnd S^r my soul is now filled with a sense of Redeeming love; Oh, why me Lord, why me? Even so, O Saviour, for so it seemed good in thy sight. But I can no more, having much busyness upon my hands. We go on sweetly here. Our Lord blesses [us] much. My d^r wife is at present very weak. She has been [late]ly tossed exceedingly in coming from Scotland, but I trust will soon be ready for a voyage to America. We are both happy in Jesus & thro' Him in one another. She heartily joins in sending kindest salutations to you & all the lovers of Jesus. I am with much affection, Revnd S^r,

Your most unworthy & younger brother in the Gospel of the once despised but now exalted Galilean. G. W.

To The Rev^d D^r Benja^a Colman, Minister of the Gospel in Boston.

LONDON Feb: 22nd 1743/4

REVRD & D^R S^R, — As Providence for wise reasons is pleased still to detain me in England, I think it high time to send you a line, especially as I have lately heard of the death of your dear & worthy Colleague, a great loss to the Church in general, & a great affliction no doubt, Revrd S^r, to yourself in particular. I heartily condole with you and the dear New-England Churches on this account, & have not failed praying to Him in whose hands the residue of the spirit is abundantly to supply his place. Blessed be free grace, I find the fountain full when the streams fail. I have been lately call'd to give up my only son, a lovely boy about four months old. I and my d^r wife were enabled to make him a free-will offering, & have found the Glorious Emanuel to be better to us than seven sons. Indeed Revrd S^r I know not where to begin or where to end when speaking or writing of the Redeemer's loving kindness to me ward. It is unspeakable. Vile, ill and hell deserving as I am, He is pleased to let his work prosper in my hands & cause his word to run & be glorified very much. The papers sent with this will give you some hints; but not a hundredth part can be told you. The work is every where upon the advance notwithstanding the opposition it has met with in some places. There is a pamphlet coming out against us countenanced by several of the bishops. Our Lord I believe will enable me to answer it. There has been also grievous mobbing against one of our brethren; but we find all things turn out for the furtherance of the Gospel. Our Saviour keeps us quite happy & carries us on Eagle's wings. I long to see dear New-England again & am waiting for my Master's orders. He is pleased much to employ me (Oh infinitely condescending Grace!) and I am now so full of busyness that I have wrote this at three times & can not write as I proposed to many Honrd Friends. However I hope my most humble & hearty respects will find acceptance with them all & as soon as possible they shall hear from Revrd & D^r S^r

Your most affect. younger Brother & ser^{vt}. in the Everlasting Gospel.

G. W.

To the Revrd Doctor Coleman, in Boston, in New-England.

CHARLESTOWN Jan: 27th 1746/7

REVRD & VERY DEAR S^R, — Your last kind letter which I received a few days agoe quite surprized me, & made me lie prostrate before Him who alone is worthy to receive all honour and riches & power & glory & blessing. When I consider how good the Lord Jesus continues to be to me, how He stops & shuts up one door of utterance only to prepare me for & open another, how He makes many of my Enemies to be at peace with me, & owns my poor administrations in various places I can not help saying from my inmost soul, why me, Lord, why me? Honrd S^r be pleased to all your other favours to add yet one more, viz. to pray

that Jesus may keep me at his feet & shew me at all times what He w^d have me to do. At present I can with comfort set up my Ebenezer & say hitherto hath the Lord helped me. We came very comfortably thro' the wilderness leaning on our Beloved. Every where God gave us favour in the sight of many; & the prospect of doing good in Virginia, Maryland and North-Carolina is more promising than ever. At Charlestown my ministrations seem to be very acceptable. The lectures are dayly crowded & the Glorious Emanuel is pleased to assist me in opening his word, & delivering his Eternal truths. Jesus has been wth us of a truth at Bethesda. We have had sweet seasons indeed, & I hope one (if not two) of my servants that I took in when here last, is savingly converted to the dear Lord Jesus. As travelling so far every year is quite ill convenient, I intend ordering my affairs so as not to be obliged to come hither so frequently. I shall then have more time to attend the work in the adjacent Provinces & I trust thereby be of more service to the Church of X^t. I am ashamed to think how little I have done for so dear a Master in the year past; & at the same time rejoice at the Redeemer's goodness to you, in causing you to bring forth such fruit in old age. I thank you Honrd S^r for your kind present & letter to me & my wife. They were very grateful to us. As opportunity offers you shall not fail of hearing how we do, & how the work of the Lord prospers in our hands. The news of the dispersion of the French Fleet filled our hearts with joy & made us say, who is like unto our God, glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders! Yes, the Lord will have respect to his dear New-England, & will not let her Enemies triumph over her. May his mercies lead her to repentance, & God, even her own God, give her his blessing! I hope it bodes well for religion that Governour Belcher is once more to fill the chair. Glad shall I be to wish him joy of his deserved promotion, & pray the Lord to give Him grace to behave steadily in his high station — doubtless you will be pleased if I tell you that one of the most intimate friends I have in the world is chosen Prebend of Bristol, & Chaplain to Princesses Caroline & Hesse during their residence in Bath. He has preached with power to thousands, & preferment as yet seems not to hurt him. He loves Jesus in sincerity. I have good news also from Wales. The word runs & is glorified. Mr. Cennick & others that favoured the Moravians are quite gone over to them, & the Tabernacle put under the care of M^r Howel Harris & some others who are sound in the faith. But whither am I running? Pardon D^r S^r this long letter I think I am in your little study as it were conversing with you. Be pleased to give my dutiful & cordial respects to all my worthy friends, & accept of the same from Honrd S^r

Your most affec: tho' unworthy Younger Brother & willing serv^t

G. W.

Mr. JOHN T. HASSAM said : —

I have here two manuscripts which are of interest to us, as they belonged to the Rev. Henry Dunster, the first President of Harvard College. The Dunster Papers published more than forty years ago in our Collections (4 Mass. Hist. Coll., II. 190) had been in the possession of that branch of the Dunster family of Pembroke, Massachusetts, which had then recently become extinct. The papers now under consideration came from the same branch of the Dunster family. They are now the property of Miss Susan A. Smith, of Pembroke, a lineal descendant of the Rev. Thomas Smith (H. C. 1725), whose daughter Mary married the Rev. Isaiah Dunster (H. C. 1741), a great-grandson of President Dunster.

The first of these papers is a letter — or rather a fragment of a letter — written from London, May 20, 1641, just before the outbreak of the Civil War. Although it treats of private matters, there are some allusions in it to events of public importance, such as the Long Parliament, the Scottish army, the beheading of the Earl of Strafford, Lord Deputy of Ireland, and the fate which was then thought to await Archbishop Laud, — a fate which actually overtook him three years later.

A word of explanation as to the persons mentioned in this letter may not be out of place.

In the first volume of the Winthrop Papers (4 Mass. Hist. Coll., VI. 459) there is a letter from Henry Jacie to John Winthrop, Jr., giving an account of the trial of the Rev. Henry Burton, Dr. John Bastwick, and William Prynne. They were convicted by the Court of Star Chamber, were set in the pillory in Westminster Palace Yard, where their ears were cut off, and they were banished to remote places in the kingdom, and there kept in close and solitary confinement. On the meeting of the Long Parliament they were brought back to London with great public acclamation. The House of Commons voted that they should be restored to their callings, and should receive damages for their great sufferings, to be paid by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the High Commissioners, and those Lords who had voted against them in the Star Chamber, — Burton to receive £6,000, Prynne and Dr. Bastwick £5,000 each. In the second volume of the Winthrop Papers (4 Mass. Hist. Coll., VII. 251) there is a letter

from Richard Saltonstall to John Winthrop, Jr., containing a copy of an inscription in Latin written by Prynne on the wall of the room in the Tower where he was imprisoned.

John Lilburne was at one time law clerk to Prynne. He was ordered to be publicly whipped all the way from the Fleet Prison to the Palace Yard, Westminster, there to stand two hours in the pillory, and to be kept in jail until £500 had been paid. When the Long Parliament met, he petitioned for relief. One of the earliest recorded speeches of Oliver Cromwell was made in support of this petition. He received an indemnity of £3,000.

Dr. Alexander Leighton, who was the author of "Zion's Plea against the Prelacie," and who suffered under the persecution of Laud, was the father of the Archbishop of Glasgow.

The Rev. Peter Smart was chaplain to the Bishop of Durham. His sermons being deemed seditious, he was degraded from his ministry, fined £500, and imprisoned. When the Long Parliament began, he was released from the King's Bench Prison, where he had been confined for more than eleven years. What he had lost was restored to him, and he became a witness against Archbishop Laud.

This accounts for every one whose name appears in the letter but "bro: Turner," who will be mentioned later.

The writer of this letter was Joseph Davyes. President Dunster married, June 22, 1641, Elizabeth, the widow of the Rev. Jose Glover, formerly Rector of Sutton, Co. Surrey, England, who intended to emigrate to New England, but after the preparations for the voyage were all made, "fell sick of a feaver and dyed." His widow and children, however, came here and settled in Cambridge. The will of the Rev. Jose Glover, dated May 16, 1638, was probated December 22, 1638, in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, London. An abstract of it may be found in Waters's "Genealogical Gleanings in England," I. 33; and there is a copy of it in the Court files of the County of Middlesex, Massachusetts. In this will the testator leaves a small legacy to "my loving and dear friends, Mr. Joseph Davyes and his wife"; and Joseph Davyes was one of the witnesses to it. There is a strong probability that this Joseph Davyes was the writer of this letter; but Mr. Henry F. Waters, now in London, who has examined the original will at the request of Mr. John Ward Dean, pronounces

the signatures so unlike that he thinks they must have been written by different persons.

Now as to "yo^r bro: Turner." After the death of Mrs. Dunster, John Glover (H. C. 1650), her son by her first husband, brought an action against President Dunster, his step-father, to recover certain property which he alleged belonged to him by the last will and testament of his father, the Rev. Jose Glover, or by inheritance from him, the said Rev. Jose Glover, or Elizabeth Glover, his wife, both deceased or either of them, or by the last will of Mr. Richard Harris deceased, but which was withheld by Dunster. The writ was returnable at the County Court held at Cambridge, April Term, 1656. Among the papers on file in the case is one indorsed "B^r Turners reckonings. for y^e su^m of 143-5^s-4." It is a list of goods "Shipped y^e 4th of March 1638 per me Exuperins Turner in the good ship called the Endimion of London, for Mrs Elizabeth Glover of Newtowne in New England by order of her servant John Stedman (as appeareth by his letter)." He adds:

"I was appointed by Mr. Joseph Davis to send these goods, and I should have my ready mony and wⁿ I had shipped y^m and one hundred pounds more ready to be shipped, then Sir Henry Martin judge of y^e praerogative [Court of Canterbury] told M^r Davis w^t moneyes he p[aid] without y^e consent of the executors for M^{ris} Glover he was liable to pay it agayne, so that then M^r Davis did refuse to pay mee therefore I conceyve that y^e interest of my mony caⁿot bee denied, w^{ch} will amount to 24^{li} for I have lost in the putting of of them goods w^{ch} shee did write for w^{ch} were provided & packed up and had beene sent had M^r davis made his promise good to me by M^{ris} grovers appointment. So that if I have fayre and honest dealing there is due to mee from my sister Glover three score sixteene pounds and twelve shillings."

The following paper is also on file in this case: —

"At a Quarter Court at Boston the 4th ^{4.}/_{mo.} 1644. M^r Henry Dunster m^r W^m Hibbines, Increase Nowell, & Captaine George Cooke, being co^mittees of the Court, Agst the estate of m^r Joseph Davis: for the p^t 1018^{li} 10. 2^d & Judgement for what is in the Country for m^r Dunster to be disposed as the Court shall direct."

As the records of the County Court for the County of Suffolk for this period are lost, it is perhaps well, by putting this paper in print, to preserve it from the destruction which seems to have been the fate of the rest of the papers in this case.

The following is what remains of this letter. The super-
scription is lost, but the letter is supposed to have been written
to President Dunster.

.
suffer by it at p̄sent but I am in hopes shortly to
and my content w^{ch} I beliefe must be by a bill in chancery, my . . .
and others heare ar much bound to yoⁿ and o^r new England frinds for
y^{or} and compassionating[e] of vs. I hope the Lord wilbe
intreated at^t last to a sauoure of rest vnto vs when o^r acans
are executed and the a[b]omina[ble] thinge put from vs. The deputie
was latly beheaded, and C[a]nterbury whoe hath benne an enymie to
god and good men is likly to suffer next weeke, I heare y^e ministers
shalbe noe more subiect to y^e bushoppes and that o^r parlam^t will take
away such things as haue troubled good men as y^e cerimonies and the
like the Lord p̄sper his owne worke in their hand that we may once see
christ set vp as lord and King of his church, and enioye his ordinances
in greater purity then o^r eies ever sawe or beheld. I expected home my
servant Longe since and am now greifed to heare that he should goe
w^{thout} a call to quinepi[a]ke I should be glade to heare of his well
doeing and to vnderstand from yoⁿ wth home he left my estat[e] and
what order he hath taken for the retourninge of it to me, I did much
depend on yoⁿ for Counselling and directinge of him I hope he hath
impted and that yoⁿ will take care that I suffer not
by that he hath
. but if he be well I doubt not but in due tyme I shall
receaue it, our ffrinds m^r Burton docter Baskwicke m^r Pryne Doctor
Leyton m^r Lilborne & others that were censured and suffered are all
discharged by the parlam^t and shall haue satisfaction for their dam-
adge. m^r Smart is discharged of his imprisom^t @ hath giuen him for
damages 14000. The scotts are not yet gone but it is hoped all things
wilbee concluded very shortly praye Remember me Kindly to yo^r
brothers and sister wth the Rest of o^r frinds there soe wth my true
loue to yoⁿ Remembered I rest

London the 20th may. 1641

Yo^r affectionat & truely loving
ffrind JOSEPH DAVYES

I thanke yoⁿ for the sturginge sent
but yo^r bro : Turner had it wholly
to himselfe befor I came to Towne
I p̄ceiue yoⁿ haue now sent some-
thing but I Know not what to make
of it soe wth @ many other Curtezies
to me @ Nan[]e I Kindly thanke
y^o . . .

The second of these two papers is a funeral sermon, in manuscript, preached at Exton, March 31, 1614, at the funeral of John, Lord Harington, Baron of Exton, by Richard Stocke, pastor of Allhallows, in Bread Street, London.

Bread Street is one of the tributaries of Cheapside. It was in Bread Street that John Milton was born in 1608, and in the church of Allhallows he was baptized. The old church was destroyed in the Great Fire, but was rebuilt in 1680 by Sir Christopher Wren.

The Rev. Richard Stocke, Master of Arts of Cambridge, was educated in St. John's College, Cambridge, and became Rector of Allhallows in Bread Street, March 8, 1610. He was a zealous Puritan and Reformer. He died April 20, 1626, and was buried in the Parish Church, where his parishioners erected in his memory a monument with this quaint epitaph:—

“To the sacred Memory of that worthy and faithfull Minister of Christ, Master Richard Stocke; who after 32 Yeeres spent in the Ministry, wherein by his learned Labours, joined with Wisedome and a most holy Life, God's Glory was much advanced, his Church edified, Piety increased, and the true Honour of a Pastor's Place maintained; deceased April 20, 1626. Some of his loving Parishioners have consecrated this Monument of their never-dying Love, Jan. 28, 1628.

*“Hic situs exanimis STOCKE
sub pulvere Truncus,
Quem quondam agnovit
Pastorem Ecclesia fidum:
Ista suum nunc Sancta tenent
Habitacula sanctum,
Quo MagnVs PanDVCit oVes
oViVmque magIstros.*

“Thy livelesse Trunke
(O Reverend Stocke),
Like Aaron's Rod
Sprouts out againe,
And after two
full Winters past,
Yeelds Blossomes
And ripe Fruit amaine.

“For why, this Worke of Piety,
Performed by some of thy Flocke,
To thy dead Corps and sacred Urne,
Is but the Fruit of this old Stocke.”

A monument was also erected, at the cost of the Parish, in the south aisle of the church, on the wall, "in memoriall of Master John Dunster Citizen and Clothworker of London," a liberal giver to the church, who died October 14, 1625, at the age of fifty-eight years.

The Baron Harington whose virtues are here recorded was the son of Sir John Harington, Knight, who belonged to a branch of the ancient family of Harington, barons by writ, and who was elevated to the peerage by letters patent dated 21 July, 1603, as Baron Harington of Exton. "His lordship was tutor to the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of King James I., until her marriage with the Elector Palatine, when he attended her royal highness into Germany." He died in 1613, and was succeeded by his son John Harington, the second Baron, whose "Remarkeable life & death" are here commemorated. However meritorious and commendable in the eyes of the preacher was the conduct of this young nobleman — he was only twenty-three years old when he died — who "shunned y^e Company of Ladies & avoyded y^e behouldinge of beuties," the unfortunate result of it was that he died without issue and the title became extinct. He was the last of the Barons Harington of Exton.

The Remarkeable life & death of y^t Truly honourable Lord John L. Harrington Baron of Exton Kni of y^e Bath Levtenañ of y^e coũty of Rutland, as it was delivered at his funeral in a ser. at Exton 1614 march vlt. By Richard Stocke pastor of Alhallows in Breadstreate in London.

The foresayd gentleman was borne of honorable pareñs (about y^e 27 of Aprill 1591) And by his virtues truely honored his anchestors, He was excellent in nr̄l pts of wit memory sweetnes of n̄r ability of body, wel educated in childehood, In Greke able to reed & vse such authors. hee spake lattin wel writ a pure & grave stile. He could wel confer wth any in Italian & french & vnderstood & read Spanish authors. In Philosophy & Mathem. so exceld̄ hee both in y^e practicke & contēplative pt, as y^t hee might bee paraleld̄ wth the pfessors of y^m. In art Military & Navigation for speculation hee attained to a certaine pfec̄tion. In y^e Mysteries of hevenly knowledge such his succesful growth y^t hee could both suddenly & vnderstandingly speake to any question ppounded. wch his Knowledge was not to know, nor bee knowne, nor to get gaine, but to Edify & bee Edified. wch appeared in y^t this his hevenly Knowledge taught him. as Tit. 2-11-12.

Sober & chast hee was wonderfully albeit in youth, nay in Court, nay even in those clymes of impurity through w^{ch} hee traveld; The causes He shunned y^e Company of Ladies & avoyded y^e behouldinge of beuties, delighted in studies & in men of Armes & Arts. Further he was abstinent y^t hee might bee cotinēt, rare in feastinge frequet in fastinge in much imploymet sleepinge little.

Justice was not so eluceēt seeinge he was but comeinge on y^e stage of publicke office. as for his private. such his care to discharge his fathers very greate debts (through his place) y^t hee conveyed all his lands (if need should require) to that end thei should bee pay^d . . . My honor & my honesty are my nearest heires.

Gly. truely hee was & truely noble in y^e faith, y^t there is none could have a [more] ferved desire of savige knowl. nor a more cōstañ resolution of practisinge good duties nor a more tender Conscience of displeasinge G. by y^e least sin. y^{is} appeared both by his private & publicke exercises of piety.

His Private course was such. He vsually rose about 4 or 5 of clocke not sleepinge aboue 6. houres. And havinge tuned & turned his C to God by prayer, read yⁿ a chap. yⁿ weē to prayer wth his servaſ in his chamber, after read some divine treatis as Calvins Insti . . . & in his signes M^r Rogers: Then in family hee read y^e . . . a chap. & prayer after y^s vse of . . . Xt before dinner & supp & sunge a y. & had prayer after supp. Before dinner he retired into his study where after prayer hee studied 3 or 4 houres. & yⁿ came downe to dispatch busines, to confer wth others to walke or ride abroad. Soone after dinner he would vsually retire hims. to meditate of some sermonds. hee had 5 or 6 in his minde ever & if hee yⁿ could not yet hee would before he weē to bed yea wⁿ hee travailed hee would bid others forbear talke they might thinke awhile. The rest of y^e afternoone hee spent in Hystor. Martial discip. Mathem. Navigation. After y^e prayer wth his servaſ after supp hee revāld his thoughts of Good or Evil his words his actions hee writ y^m in a diary of his life & humbled hims. as y^e passages requi . . . peculiar things y^t were not fit that hee alone should know hee writ in a peculiar x^{ter} As hee was a layinge downe to rest one of his serv. read a chap. or two. y^{us} hee did fr 5 Jan . . . 1609 to 15 of Feb. 1613.

His Publicke practis such. Hee was a careful sabbath keep & affected Publike before private meanes. twice a day hee heard. 4 miles hee was observed to haue rid to y^e publicke meanes wⁿ it was no nearer, y^t a beeinge a courtier: before dinner hee meditated halfe an houre before supp repeated both sermonds by memory w^{ch} tw 2 of his servaſ ordinarily did gather not so wel. after hee writ y^m in his night booke each Saturday night hee examinde hims. of y^e foregoinge weeks worke & on y^e month Got how hee had spent y^e month. on Sunday

mor hee repeatd. y^e 2 serm. to his serva^ts hee had heard y^e ☉ day before. In hearinge y^e word reverend and attentive as in Gs p^rsence

Sacrā. hee receivd each 1st sunday in y^e month. fastinge y^e Saturd. before, & prayinge & examininge hims. on ☉ day mor. read 1 Cor. 11. & for an hour p^t of a treatis of worthy receivinge Thus livd this g^t in y^s age so ful of ill as they Phil. 2, 15. 16. Shewinge forth charity in y^t besides al occasional guifts hee bestowed 100^{li} p an. y^e 10th of his meanes on charitab. vses. In al wch his virtues hee was marvelous meeke humble & louely.

Thus his life til Feb. 15, 1613 wn first visited & hee app^rhended strongly his death & hee p^rpared often meditated oft cald on others to pray oft himselfe prayd confest his sins and his faith & vndoubted hope of salv. by X. not fearinge death in any shape as he sayd. Oft hee expst his desire to be dissolved to bee at home wth his G. & father. pfessinge not 2 hou[rs] before his death y^t hee felt y^e assured cōforts of his salvation by X. Vtteringe nere his d . . . death these words O that joy! O my G. wⁿ shal I bee wth thee. Thus finishing his life in peace & joy of y^e H Ghost. enjoyinge his G. in joy & Hapines. To w^{ch} bringe in wth al y^{ne} elect O my God amen.

Ipsū cernere desideras? eandē cū eo vitā vive, et sacram ocyus illā accipies p^rsentiam. Xstomi Hom. 69. ad pop. Ant.

The Hon. JOHN LOWELL communicated the memoir of the late Edward Bangs, which he had been appointed to write for the Proceedings.

The PRESIDENT said that at some future meeting he should communicate a collection of letters written by John Quincy Adams, while minister to Russia, to his brother Thomas Boylston Adams.

A new serial, comprising the proceedings at the March, April, May, and June meetings, was ready for delivery at this meeting.



Edward Bangs

MEMOIR

OF

EDWARD BANGS, LL.B.

BY JOHN LOWELL.

OUR associate Edward Bangs was seventh in descent from Edward who came to Plymouth in the "Ann," the last of the three ships of the Pilgrims, in 1623. He married Lydia Hicks, who was a passenger by the same vessel. She was the daughter of Robert Hicks, of London, a leather-dresser, and niece of Sir Baptist Hicks, afterwards Viscount Camden. The line of descent was, — Edward Bangs, born 1591; Jonathan, 1640; Edward, 1665; Edward, 1694; Benjamin, 1721; Benjamin, 1758; Isaac, 1787.

The descendants of the first Edward intermarried with many of the Pilgrim and Puritan families, and appear to have always maintained an honorable position and to have been useful citizens in their day and generation. A great-uncle of our associate was an officer in the Revolutionary Army. In 1890 a fragment of his diary, long owned by the family, was privately printed by his great-nephew, who gave a copy to this Society. The journal contains a vivid and interesting account of the author's acts and observations during the siege of Boston; and a gossiping account of his life in New York soon after this city was evacuated. The journal unfortunately ends before the battle of Long Island. Edward D. Bangs, our associate's father's cousin, was for many years the faithful and honored Secretary of this Commonwealth.

Our Edward was the son of Isaac Bangs and Alicia LeCain, and was born in Boston, July 16, 1825. He died in the same city February 16, 1894. For several years after his marriage, he lived on his estate at Watertown; afterwards in Boston in winter, and at Wareham in summer.

When a boy, he formed an acquaintance with Ralph Waldo Emerson which became a friendship, filial on one side, paternal on the other, affectionate on both, and was continued without interruption until death adjourned it.

Edward entered Harvard College in 1842, and was graduated in due course in 1846. He was very fond of the classics. At one of the exhibitions he was assigned a Latin dialogue with his classmate Lane, afterwards the distinguished professor and author. His correspondence shows that he kept up his knowledge of Latin, and to some extent of Greek, long after he left college, and, no doubt, to the end. He made many intimate friendships in college, and had his fair share of the honors which classmates and associates bestow, — such as the grand-marshalship of the Porcellian Club, which he held for four years.

Soon after leaving college, several members of the Class of 1846 formed a little social club, into which some older and some younger members were afterwards admitted, and which has survived to this day, unbroken except by death. Of two of its members, Francis Edward Parker and Henry Austin Whitney, our friend furnished memoirs for this Society: that of the former is published with our Proceedings, 2d series, vol. iii. p. 247; and the latter in the same series, vol. v. p. 424.

On leaving college, he took time to decide upon his profession. His natural inclination, I think, was to a literary life; but at that time he was not so independent in fortune as he afterwards became, and, some remunerative profession being needed, he became a lawyer.

His literary tastes were always strong, and he was a wide reader in many departments. He was a student of philosophy, especially of the works of Plato, probably at Mr. Emerson's recommendation. He could always enliven and enrich his conversation with anecdotes and illustrations drawn from sources which few had explored. It may be mentioned in this connection that he brought to the notice of Mr. Emerson those remarkable tales, "Peg Woffington" and "Christie Johnstone," by an author not then much known, and through him induced their publication in the United States.

As a lawyer, his great modesty and a certain shrinking from the rough work of jury trials prevented him from obtaining a

large court practice ; to which reasons may be added that his physical powers would hardly have sustained the strain of that exhausting service. He did, however, argue some important cases, among others a celebrated prize cause at Washington ; and it is known that he was in more than one instance spoken of by the judges before whom he had appeared, with high praise for the clearness and cogency of his arguments.

He was associated for some years with E. R. Hoar and Horace Gray ; and when that partnership was dissolved by the appointment of his partner Mr. Hoar to the bench, he drifted, as so many lawyers do, into trusts and employments of a less conspicuous nature than are those of a lawyer trying cases in the courts, but equally important and useful. As was truly said by our late President, Dr. Ellis, speaking to this Society : " He turned his legal training to professional uses in the administration of affairs committed to him because of his ability and his high reputation, which won for him the esteem, regard, and confidence of intimate friends and of our community."

Some of the more public or *quasi*-public trusts may be mentioned : he was a trustee of the oldest Savings Bank of Boston ; of the Central Wharf Corporation ; director of the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad Company ; a member of the Somerset and Country clubs and of the early Adirondack club, — having as associates Professor Agassiz, J. R. Lowell, Jeffries Wyman, Judges Hoar and Gray, O. W. Holmes, and others.

In comparatively early life he served in the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, and as a selectman and one of the School Committee of Watertown ; but his experience in these offices did not tempt him to follow a public career. As our President said : " He might have served in many public offices, had his tastes allowed him to seek or fill them."

Though shunning public life, he was warmly interested in public questions, and formed his independent judgment, often in opposition to the opinion of the hour. Thus he was firmly convinced that the policy of issuing irredeemable paper money was unnecessary, foolish, and wasteful, and that even in time of war millions would have been saved by a more conservative financial course. He was convinced that Mr. Tilden was duly elected President in 1876. His opinions on

these and other subjects of general interest, he freely and forcibly expressed. If he wrote upon these subjects to the newspapers or periodicals, which is probable, his articles have not been preserved.

He was an enthusiastic sportsman, but he enjoyed the walks and drives in the country, as sufficient in themselves to reward him for the scarcity of game birds in our unpreserved country. He often imported these birds, and planted food for them on his farm, hoping to restore them as far as possible to something like their former abundance; and in this attempt he had much success.

Our friend was married to Anne Outram, daughter of William G. Hodgkinson, at Thurgarton Priory, Notts, England, September 25, 1856. Mrs. Bangs and five children — two daughters and three sons — survive him. His married life was most happy, and in fulfilling the duties of a husband and father he found his chief enjoyment. Into this region we do not venture far.

One feature of his social life ought to be remembered. He was quietly and effectively generous to the poor, and courteous and genial with all his neighbors of whatever social standing. After his death one of his country neighbors at Wareham said: "Mr. Bangs came here only eleven or twelve years ago. I have lived here forty years, and know every one in the place; and the day the news of his death came was the greatest blow that ever came to Wareham. Every one in the town loved him. It was a pleasure to see him drive into the town, with his kind looks and words for all, and his courteous manner. Such a gentleman!" Another said: "He gave away so much it puzzles me to know how he had anything left for himself."

Who could ask for a better eulogy than these spontaneous tributes?

NOVEMBER MEETING, 1895.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 14th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the President, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D., in the chair.

After the reading of the record of the last meeting and the list of donors to the Library, the PRESIDENT said:—

At the last meeting of the Society I had occasion to mention the fact that the published record of its Proceedings in no way includes, nor is intended to include, a report of all action taken at its meetings. In so doing, I alluded to what I then spoke of as the most interesting and important meeting of the Society which had taken place since I became a member of it,—now over twenty years ago,—the entire record of which in our published Proceedings is included in ten printed lines. I referred to the special meeting of January 18, 1877, the record of which is in the following words:—

“A Special Meeting of the Society, called to consider the second recommendation of the committee in relation to applying to the Legislature,—viz. That it is expedient to ask permission of the Legislature to remove all limitations, except such as the Society may fix by its by-laws as to the number of its Resident Members,—was held this day, January 18, at eleven o'clock A. M., the President in the chair. The proposition was debated at length, when, on motion of Mr. Whitmore, the subject was, by a large majority, indefinitely postponed.”

This is, as I have said, the only reference in our printed Proceedings to what may be considered a turning-point in the history of the Society; for it was the final action taken by it on a proposition which looked to a complete change of policy in regard to its membership.

Doubtless it was intentional that this record was made thus brief. It set forth all that was necessary to be set forth of the action of the Society on a matter in regard to which there had been a difference of opinion among its members which in no way concerned the public. Nevertheless, the reasons which dictated this silence and abbreviated record having, through

the lapse of time, passed away, there seems no longer to be any objection to a more detailed reference to what then took place. Such a reference, moreover, especially at this time, may not only be of interest to that great majority of our members who have been since elected, but it may also have a bearing upon the policy as to membership hereafter to be pursued.

In 1877 Mr. Winthrop had for twenty-two years been the President of the Society. During that long period he had infused a new life into it, largely outlining the policy under which it had received development; and his opinion carried, and most properly carried, great weight in the minds of its members, especially those composing the Council. As respects membership, our number in 1877, as now, limited to one hundred, was, under the original charter of 1794, limited to sixty, exclusive of Honorary Members. There is in the third volume of our Proceedings an interesting statement of President Quincy bearing on the reason of this limitation and its subsequent history. Though the statement was made in 1858, Mr. Quincy was chosen a member of the Society in 1796, and was thus practically among its founders. Mr. Quincy said:—

“In the original draught [of a proposed Act of Incorporation made by] the Association before its incorporation, its resident members were restricted to *thirty*; not from any desire of exclusiveness, but as I have heard, if I mistake not, Dr. Belknap, the real founder of the Society, himself say, to compel the Society to choose only men adapted and disposed to become active workers in that field; in order that it should not be tempted to elect members for the sake of bestowing upon them a *feather*, and become puffy and heavy by numbers, without proportionate activity, and power of progress. The number was raised to *sixty* by the Legislature, without, if not contrary to, the wishes of the original associates; at least, so I have always understood. With the number of sixty, the Society labored during more than fifty years, published about thirty volumes, and obtained a character and celebrity which rendered admission into it a subject of desire, especially by those who had congenial historical sympathies. In process of time, men of this class arose in Massachusetts, adapted and disposed to unite in the same labors, extremely desirous to become members of the Society, but into which they could not enter on account of the restriction contained in the Act of Incorporation. Men of this description gradually multiplied. Some of these, who hoped for admission, were disappointed when vacancies occasionally happened, and which were filled by others.

Some of these were said to have had the mortification of being rejected when others were elected."

It was doubtless in recognition of the outside sentiment here alluded to that, on motion of Mr. Savage, the Society had voted, at its March meeting of the previous year (1857), that a committee of three be appointed to apply to the Legislature for such amendment to the charter "as shall permit us to enlarge the number of our resident members, not to exceed one hundred; and to make election of such associate members living without the limits of this State, or of honorary members residing without or within the limits of the Commonwealth, as the Society, in its discretion, may determine."¹

An Act was passed by the Legislature in conformity with this application, and accepted by the Society in amendment of its charter at its next meeting.² Mr. Savage made his motion at the suggestion of Mr. Winthrop, who, then recently made President of the Society, was beginning to shape a policy for it; and Mr. Winthrop was at the head of the Committee which procured the passage of the amendment by the Legislature.

This amendment of its charter, and the consequent increase in the membership of the Society, indicated, therefore, a policy to which Mr. Winthrop inclined. He was disposed to make the Society stronger and more popular—to liberalize, as he probably would have expressed it—through an enlargement from time to time of its membership. In adopting this course, too, the Society would have pursued the policy generally pursued by similar societies throughout the United States. The argument in favor of it was obvious: by pursuing such a policy a certain degree of invidiousness would be removed which necessarily attached, especially in this country, to all societies limited in membership; and, moreover, it would have a tendency to discourage the formation of other societies of like character, which, in matters of collection, etc., would naturally come somewhat in conflict with the original Society. For nearly twenty years the Society moved along under the Act of 1857; but Mr. Winthrop then thought the time had come for yet another step in the direction of a larger membership.

¹ Proceedings, Vol. III. pp. 154, 155.

² Twenty-eight new names were added to the Resident roll from May, 1857, to March, 1859, inclusive.

The matter was discussed, *pro* and *con*, in the Council; and at the Annual (April) Meeting of 1876 Mr. Robert M. Mason, in his report on behalf of the Council, introduced a paragraph to the effect that it might be "worthy of inquiry, whether, to promote the prosperity and increase the usefulness and reputation of this Society in the special branch of investigation in which it is engaged, an addition of members would not be an efficient means to that desirable end. The claims of a growing and educated community call on us not jealously to limit the advantages we enjoy, but rather to extend our privileges by a judicious selection of new members." This question was referred to a special committee of three to consider and report. The Committee consisted of Governor Emory Washburn, Judge E. R. Hoar, and Mr. Ellis Ames. It reported at the December meeting of the Society; and the second clause in its report was in the following words: "Voted, That it is expedient to ask permission of the Legislature to remove all limitation, except such as the Society may fix by its By-Laws as to the number of its Resident Members."

The meeting at which the matter was thus brought to the attention of the Society was of the usual character, and the attendance was limited. I was not among those present, and can therefore give no recollections of it; but doubtless several of those here this afternoon were also at that meeting, and remember more or less distinctly what took place. The printed Proceedings merely state that, on the question relative to the increase of the Resident Members, "there seemed to be a difference of opinion." So action was postponed to the next stated meeting of the Society, and the Secretary was ordered to notify the members that the question would then be acted on. At the stated meeting, that of January 11, 1877, our associate John T. Morse, Jr., was chosen into the Society. His name now stands twenty-seventh on our roll. It would accordingly appear that of our present membership of 93, no less than 66 have been chosen since the events of which I am speaking took place.

At this meeting the attendance was comparatively large, numbering forty; and among those who did attend was James Russell Lowell, who took a decided stand against the proposed change. I was again absent, and of this meeting also must depend upon others to speak. The printed report in our Pro-

ceedings simply tells us that the subject was debated at length. Finally, on the motion, I think, of Mr. Lowell, further consideration of the matter was postponed to a special meeting, to be called one week later; and in the notices of it the Secretary was instructed to designate the object for which the meeting was called. This special meeting of January 18, 1877, was, as I have already said, the largest and most interesting meeting the Society has held since I have been a member; and I think also it was the largest and most interesting meeting which has been held within the memory of any living member. The printed Proceedings do not give the names of those present, but they are recorded in the manuscript minutes of the Secretary to the number of forty-eight. I remember well that they filled this room, and overflowed into the library outside. All the more prominent members seemed to be on hand. Mr. Winthrop occupied the chair. The debate opened with a motion, by Mr. Whitmore, that the further consideration of the proposition be indefinitely postponed. On this the discussion took place. Remarks in opposition to the proposed change were made by James Russell Lowell, who dwelt upon the exceptional position occupied by this Society, and upon the extreme inadvisability of breaking down the barriers and entering it among all similar organizations in the race for popularity. He believed in holding it high. Dr. Ellis spoke to the same effect; while our associate Mr. C. C. Smith followed in a carefully prepared paper. The spirit of the meeting was unmistakable; and it was also apparent not only that the Council was divided, but that a very considerable portion of those who gave their assent to the proposed change did so out of deference to Mr. Winthrop, and an unwillingness to oppose any policy in regard to the Society which met his approval.

The report and recommendation of the Committee were vigorously supported by Judge Hoar. Governor Washburn was not present. He died only a little more than two months later, and was already in failing health. In his absence, Judge Hoar took the broad ground, in opposition to Mr. Lowell, that an Historical Society was but the association of a number of persons interested in a common pursuit, and that, to further its purpose, it should be made as open to all as conditions permitted. His remarks bore that stamp of shrewd, aggres-

sive sense and humor which characterized them always, whether delivered from the bench, at the bar, or from the floor. Mr. Winthrop closed the discussion with a carefully prepared paper, which he read from the chair. In it he argued the whole question, strongly advocating the proposed change on grounds of expediency, the allaying of invidious feelings and the removal of hostilities, the difficulties attending a limited selection, and, finally, financial exigencies. The vote was then taken, and was decisive of the feelings of the members of the Society. A number, out of deference to Mr. Winthrop, abstained from voting. Of those who did vote on the show of hands, thirty-one voted for indefinite postponement to eleven against it. The matter was thus finally disposed of. Since that time no proposition for a change in the membership of the Society has been considered.

There was one incident in the proceedings of that day which impressed itself much upon me at the time, and in a most pleasant way. In the Council and among those most deeply concerned in the welfare of the Society, there had, apparently, been a wide divergence of opinion. On this point I cannot speak from personal knowledge; but of those now living and present to-day, Dr. Green and Mr. Appleton were of the Council, and Mr. C. C. Smith stood that year third on the Standing Committee. They, therefore, can set me right if I have indulged in any unwarranted surmises. My impression, however, — derived, I will add, largely from my father, who was then the first Vice-President of the Society and concurred in the views of its President, — my impression, I say, is that with Mr. Winthrop an increase in the membership — the liberalization of the Society, so to speak — had been almost fundamental; and I think I do not go too far in saying that at the time he considered that the lines of development which, as President, he had laid down for the Society, had by this action been interfered with at a vital point. Dr. Ellis — the successor of Mr. Winthrop as President, and then one of the Standing Committee — had taken a wholly different view of the matter, which, I presume, he had expressed in the discussions which had taken place both in the Council and in private. In any event, I remember, when the meeting broke up and the members were departing from the room, Dr. Ellis approached Mr. Winthrop as he left the chair, and, in a man-

ner almost deprecatory, expressed the earnest hope that whatever difference of opinion had taken place on this subject might leave no trace of bitterness behind. I well remember it, because of the gracious manner in which Mr. Winthrop received his advances. He bore his defeat in a thoroughly characteristic and high-toned manner; immediately accepting Dr. Ellis's proffered hand, he put aside the suggestion he had made as something not for a moment to be considered. There was a graceful courtesy in his action which strongly impressed me; for I was one of those who had come there that day, contrary to my usual custom, in order to oppose the change of policy he had so strongly advocated.

This action was had January 18, 1877. Curiously enough, it was almost an exact repetition of the similar action of the Society on the same subject on two previous occasions, — the first precisely thirty-one years before, on the 29th of January, 1846. Mr. Savage was then President; and at the December meeting of 1845, on his motion, the Standing Committee was instructed to report on "the expediency of applying to the Legislature for an alteration of the charter, so as to allow an increase in the number of members," at that time limited to sixty. Mr. Francis C. Gray was chairman of the Standing Committee as then organized, and accordingly, at the next meeting of the Society (January 1, 1846), a report signed by him was submitted, to the effect that the Committee were "of opinion that it is expedient to apply to the Legislature for an act repealing" so much of the charter as limited the membership, "and authorizing the Society to regulate, from time to time, the number of its members by its own By-Laws." This report, apparently, was submitted through the President, as the name of Mr. Gray does not appear among those of the thirteen members recorded as present. Mr. Ticknor, another member of the Committee, was likewise absent. The consideration of the report was referred to the next meeting, and the Recording Secretary was directed to give notice that the subject would then be considered. At this next meeting (January 29, 1846) twenty-five members were present, including both Mr. Gray and Mr. Ticknor. Dr. Paige alone of our associates now living attended that day, and he is not here to give us his recollections of the discussion which took place; but I have understood that Mr. Ticknor was very adverse to

the proposed change. If such was the case, considering the characteristics of the two men, the discussion between him and Mr. Savage, who now apparently advocated the increase, was not improbably marked with animation. On this point, however, the record, like that of the meeting of 1877, is discreetly silent; it simply states that the report "was taken up, and, after discussion, was rejected."

The other occasion was on the 10th of May, 1855. It was at this meeting that Mr. Winthrop took the chair for the first time after his election to the Presidency of the Society. The record is again brief; in my judgment much too brief, for it fails to inform us of what actually took place, — presumably the object of a record. It merely says that a committee was appointed to make application to the Legislature for an amendment to the charter to admit of holding property to an increased amount. In the diary of my father, however, I have come across the following passage relating to this occasion: —

"*Thursday, 10 May, 1855.* The monthly meeting of the Historical Society. Mr. Winthrop, elected to the President's place at the last meeting, in the chair, which he fills very well. A discussion took place upon a report of the Standing Committee in regard to printing interesting proceedings. . . . Another matter created a little more feeling. The Standing Committee, finding that the Appleton Fund exceeded in nominal amount the limit of personal property which the Society is allowed by its charter to hold, proposed an application to the Legislature for an amendment enlarging the sum to one hundred thousand dollars. At the same time, they joined with it a proposal to increase the number of members from sixty to a hundred. This raised quite a breeze and brought out Mr. Savage, Mr. Ticknor, and others, deprecating haste in this enlargement. . . . It was evident that Mr. Winthrop himself had favored the amendment, but he could not stem the tide. So by a large majority they struck out the second clause, postponing the consideration of it until next year. I sat a silent and not unamused witness of all this commotion."

I am unable to account for the action of Mr. Savage at this meeting, in view of the fact that he had himself moved a vote looking to a similar increase nine years before. Under Mr. Winthrop's skilful handling he seems, however, now to have undergone a rapid change of heart, as it was he who ten months later, as we have seen, moved the vote of March, 1857,

which led to the change of that year. In my father's diary I find two rather amusing entries bearing on this point, which I insert: —

"*Thursday, 12 March, 1857.* Attended an evening meeting of the Historical Society at Mr. Winthrop's house. A large number attended. . . . A resolution offered by Mr. Savage to apply to the General Court for an enlargement of the number of members so as to have an hundred. This coming from him was strange, as he had been the one who showed himself most vehemently opposed to it not long ago. It passed with only a few dissenting votes."

"*Thursday, 9 April, 1857.* Attended the annual meeting of the Historical Society for the election of officers. A very large attendance, and it was quite evident that we were to have another show day. The rooms were now in order. After the usual and regular order of business Dr. Robbins on the part of the Standing Committee made a report of his doings in regard to the fitting up of the Dowse Library under the provision made for it by the executors of Mr. Dowse. He then surrendered the key to the Executors, Mr. Livermore and Mr. Dale, who were both present, and the former then presented it to the President. He proceeded to open the door and we walked in and took possession of the room, very handsomely fitted up. Mr. Winthrop then delivered an oration reviewing the progress of the Society. . . . But under Mr. Winthrop it has certainly assumed an entirely new phase. Nobody would recognize, in this Dowse library, the dirty, ordinary, ill-kept and poor provisioned room in which it used to hold very small and very dull monthly meetings. It is now rich, comparatively, and a great deal more active, at least in appearance. The last provision of an increase of members to the number of forty more will probably contribute further to change its character."

But, returning to the course of events which preceded the 1857 alteration of the original charter, and the consequent increase in membership from sixty to one hundred here referred to, it appears that this change was effected only in face of decided opposition, and that both in January, 1846, and in May, 1855, movements of a similar character, which had originated with the Presidents at those respective times and been favorably reported by the Standing Committees, failed decisively to obtain the approval of the Society at large. Finally, the increase of 1857 was carried through the influence of Mr. Winthrop at the time of the opening of the Dowse Library, in recognition of the increased life and activity he had then already infused into the organization.

But the question of enlarged or limited membership, though thus, so far as our Society is concerned, decisively, and, it may be assumed, finally disposed of through the action of the meeting of January 18, 1877, is one still not without interest, and much, it must be admitted, may be said on both sides. On the side of popular membership it was then argued by Mr. Winthrop, as it might now be argued, that freely to increase the numbers of the Society tended to prevent an always undesirable waste of force; that is, with a society of the nature of ours, strictly limited in number, it is inevitable that other, and to a certain extent competing, societies will from time to time spring up. Such, indeed, has been the case; for here in Boston we now have no less than four societies, the basis of all of which is historical research and the accumulation of historical material; and the four might well be concentrated in one. First came the New England Historic-Genealogical Society; then, later, the Bostonian Society; and finally, only a few years ago, the Colonial Society. It might well be argued that, if the membership of these societies had been concentrated in one, there would have been a great economy of financial strength, and collections now scattered would be brought under one roof. All this is true. It constituted the basis of Mr. Winthrop's argument, and it also represents the policy which has been successfully pursued by similar societies in other parts of the Union.

On the other hand, the feeling among the members then was, as I presume it still is, that the advantages and prestige derived from the limited membership of this Society far exceeded any injury it caused. In the first place, it must be admitted that the tendency to popularize, or, it might even be said, to democratize learned societies, has not been without its disadvantages. Altogether too frequently have we seen, of late years, societies which ought to convey a distinction through election into them degraded into organizations actually drumming, so to speak, for members; while yet others, with sounding names, have made the selling of their diplomas a source of revenue. To such an extent has this been carried that I think I am speaking within bounds when I say there is hardly to-day, with the exception of this and a few others which might possibly be named, a learned Society in the United States an election to which is regarded as a distinc-

tion. We have, for instance, nothing in America at all corresponding to the Royal Society, and much less to the French Academy. Under such circumstances, that one organization should distinctly move counter to the stream may be far from an undesirable thing. Such has always been the case with the Massachusetts Historical Society. Its theatre has been limited, but it has held itself high.

But if this is the course and policy which the Society has definitely assumed,—if this is the standard it sets before itself,—perhaps it might be well to suggest that it should be so recognized, and logically carried out to its definite results. If the membership of our Society is to be limited, the candidacy of any one whose name is presented for membership should be carefully scrutinized.

* * * * *

For myself, accordingly, I frankly admit that I welcome every instance where a member rises and questions the propriety of electing any person proposed by the Council as a candidate. * * * On the other hand, I see no reason why, in filling our membership, we should strictly limit ourselves to those who are interested, and much less to those who are directly engaged in, pursuits of an historical nature. On the contrary, I see every reason why our ranks should be strengthened by the admission of any person in the Commonwealth who has attained eminence in any literary or associated field. In this respect my sympathies are entirely with the views which I remember were expressed by Mr. Winthrop, who wished to have the Society include in its membership all men of mark within the Commonwealth who have attained distinction in letters, as investigators, as scientific men, as professional men, or even who, through wealth and standing and inclination, occupy the position of a patron, or, as he expressed it, of a Mæcenas. In my judgment the only thing we should distinctly avoid is degenerating into a mutual admiration society, or a mere coterie of antiquarians.

Nor, it will be remembered, are these principles of selection peculiar to me or now first enunciated. They are, on the contrary, those upon which the Society has practically acted for nearly fifty years, and they were not long since (1892) formulated as follows,¹ and adopted by the Council as rules for guidance:—

¹ See 2 Proceedings, vol. vii. pp. 332-335.

"1. That in the election of Resident Members in future, regard be first paid to the matter of proper geographical representation to the extent [indicated in the report then made];

"2. That the eminence of candidates, either as historical students and writers, or as authorities in matters connected with history, be next considered; while, finally,

"3. The list should be filled by a careful selection from those who on general grounds, whether of high public office or of professional or social eminence, merit recognition, and in return would add value and dignity to membership in the Society."

The principle of limitation which by law exists in respect to our Resident Membership has been extended by the voluntary action of the Society to our Honorary and Corresponding lists; for by the amended By-Laws adopted in December, 1888,¹ it is provided that the number of Corresponding Members shall never exceed the number of Resident Members; and the number of Honorary Members shall never exceed twenty, of whom at least one half shall be citizens of foreign countries. Even the limitations thus fixed have been practically still further contracted; for it has of late years been the established practice of the Council to make no nominations for Corresponding Membership in excess of fifty, or for Honorary Membership in excess of ten. This rule, also, was agreed upon after full consideration, and in pursuance of a policy recommended in a formal report which is upon the files of the Council. Nearly thirty-seven years ago, in April, 1859, the Standing Committee reported that the whole number of Honorary, Corresponding, and Resident Members was one hundred and ninety-one; it is now one hundred and forty-nine.

The policy of the Society as respects its membership has, therefore, especially of late, been distinctly conservative, and even reactionary. And the reason is obvious. It has been more and more felt that an election to either the Corresponding or the Honorary list, and much more to the Resident list, should signify something,—it should be in the nature of a diploma or decoration. That it should be such,—and so held,—it must be jealously guarded. It should not be conferred freely, or without careful consideration. * * * And now it might still further be matter for consideration, whether our Corresponding list of fifty should not, as matter of usage,

¹ 2 Proceedings, vol. iv. p. 222.

include the names of all citizens of the United States placed upon our rolls; while the Honorary list of ten should be devoted exclusively to foreigners.

In our Resident roll there are now seven vacancies. * * * Each name on our roll should carry with it at once to the minds of all of us, or at least to the better informed amongst us, the reason why it is there. That our charter number should be full is of little consequence. It might without injury be allowed to drop to seventy-five, or even to the former limit of sixty. That this should happen would be to us of little importance compared with the prestige which would inure to the Society should it be generally recognized that election to it carried in the public estimation a consideration at least equal to that which is conferred by Harvard University when it bestows its honorary degrees.¹

MR. JUSTIN WINSOR communicated the following paper on the earliest printed books (English and Indian) connected with the aborigines of New England, 1630-1700:—

In a paper on "The Earliest Printed Sources of New England History, 1602-1629," printed in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for November, 1894, and also separately, I enumerated ten writers of that interval who published fourteen books or tracts which, to a greater or less degree, constitute sources of Indian history for this region anterior to those I now intend to consider. After the coming of Winthrop in 1630 and the founding of a larger Commonwealth, wars on the borders and missions became important means by which Indian life and character affected the existence of the settlers in New England. It is the purpose of this paper to survey the publications of the remaining years of the seventeenth century, and to indicate the extent to which their contemporary issues are available to the student of Indian history and character, while at the same time I mark their rarity and the consequent competition of collectors for them. This is a study which makes no note of contemporary manuscript sources, nor of later issues in print, except

¹ Certain portions of this paper, as originally prepared and read by him to the Society, were, by direction of Mr. Adams, omitted in printing. The omissions are indicated by asterisks. The complete paper is preserved, and can be consulted, in the files of the Society.

reprints, nor of those in other languages than English and Indian, nor indeed of most of those contemporary publications in which the references to the natives are trivial and of no use to the historian.

We are met at the start by a little group of tracts, which are of the first importance in the study of the early settlers about Boston Bay, portraying their movements and purposes, and conducing by their exposition of the character of the country to help on the colonization of it. They naturally throw more or less light upon the condition of the Indians, as these pioneers learned to know them.

The "New Englands Plantation, or a short and true description of the Commodities and discommodities of that Country" (July-September, 1629), of Francis Higginson (or Higgeson, as the second edition calls him) went through three distinct editions in 1630 at London. This little tract has risen in value from eighteen shillings, as priced by Rich sixty years ago, to \$195, which was obtained at the Ives sale. A not very good copy of the third edition was priced not long since at £12. All three editions are in the Lenox Library, and two are in the Harvard and Carter-Brown libraries. Two were sold in the Crowninshield Collection (Nos. 524, 525, — one of them having been used by Dr. Young), and two in the Barlow Collection (Nos. 1147, 1148), — being the first and third editions, one of which passed to the Boston Public Library. There were single editions in the Menzies (No. 927), Murphy (No. 1230), and Brinley (No. 312) collections; and there is one in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Quaritch offered a copy in his American Exhibit in 1890 (No. 401), but put no price upon it. It is reprinted in Force's "Tracts"; in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, vol. i.; and in Young's "Chronicles of Massachusetts Bay."

While Winthrop and his friends were at Southampton, taking their farewell, John Cotton preached a sermon to them, which was printed as "God's Promise to his Plantation" (London, 1630), in which some advice was given to the settlers respecting their treatment of the Indians. This first edition is in the Lenox Library, and was in the Brinley sale (Nos. 542, 2634), and is worth about £7 or £8. A London reprint in 1634 is in the Prince Collection (Boston Public Library), and another

copy was sold at the Barlow sale (No. 650). The Boston reprint of 1686 is in the Prince Library, and there were two copies in the Brinley sale (Nos. 744, 1686).

John White's "Planter's Plea" was printed in London in 1630, shortly after the sailing of Winthrop. It portrays the preparation which had been made by the pioneers for the new emigration. It seems to have escaped the attention of New England writers till Dr. Young, in 1846, made citations from it in his "Chronicles of Massachusetts," using for this purpose a copy which had belonged to Increase Mather. It has proved, however, a book much easier to find than Higginson's "Plantation," though copies which have since come to light have brought such prices as £13 10s., £17 10s., \$115, and \$120. These last two sums were obtained for the Ives and Barlow copies, the latter passing to the Boston Public Library. I know two other copies in public collections, — the Massachusetts Historical Society's Library and the Lenox Library, — and there is another in the British Museum. It is in the private Carter-Brown and Charles Deane collections, and has been sold since Dr. Young's time in the Crowninshield (No. 744), Murphy (No. 2718), and Brinley (Nos. 373, 2704) sales. Dodd, Mead, & Co. have offered a copy recently at \$150. It is reprinted in Force's Tracts, vol. ii.

John Smith, in his "Advertisements for the unexperienced planters of New England," London, 1631, professed to give "the yearly proceedings of this Country in fishing and planting since the yeare 1614 to the yeare 1630 and their present estate." The book is so rare that Brinley and Cooke contented themselves with the Boston reprint of 1865; but copies were sold in the Barlow (No. 324) and Murphy sales (No. 2313), and Quaritch offered one in his American Exhibit. There are two copies in the British Museum. Other copies are in the Harvard, Charles Deane, and Carter-Brown collections.

The last of this little group is William Wood's "New Englands Prospect," which includes a short list (5 pp.) of Indian names of sachems, months, days, rivers, etc. The book is described in the full title as "discovering the state of that Countrey, both as it stands to our new-come English planters and to the old native inhabitants." It is found in three editions, — 1634, 1635, and 1639. In one or another of these issues it

is not a very rare book. The British Museum has three copies of the first edition, two of the second, and one of the third. In Rich's day it ranged in price from a pound to twenty-eight shillings; but in recent years it has brought, in some one of the editions, any sum from \$100 to \$375. That of 1634 is surer to bring the highest price. It has been sold in the Griswold (No. 970), Brinley (three copies of the second edition, Nos. 377-381, and 2713), Murphy (the first edition, No. 2760), Menzies (the second edition, No. 2187), and Barlow (first and second editions) sales. The Lenox and Carter-Brown libraries have all three editions; the Boston Public Library has the first and second (Prince and Barlow copies). The folding wood-cut map of "the south part of New England," which is dated 1634 in the first edition, and 1635 in the second, has the date 1639 in the third. The Congressional, Massachusetts Historical Society, and Harvard libraries have each the second edition; and the Boston Athenæum has the third. Mr. Deane used his own copy in the Prince Society reprint of the book. It has lately been priced by Muller of Amsterdam at 300 florins; and a copy of the 1635 edition, with some defects supplied in fac-simile, has recently been offered in New York for \$60.

The Pequot War, which came two or three years later, gave the London printers occasion to put their imprint upon two interesting little tracts. One of them, Philip Vincent's "True Relation of the late Battell fought in New England," was printed in 1637, though some copies have the date 1638; and one of these last is in the Boston Public Library. The only copies of the original date, which I have noted, are in the Lenox and Carter-Brown libraries; but of the reissue of the next year (1638) there are copies in the Lenox, Carter-Brown, and Boston public libraries. There was a second edition in 1638, and of this the Prince copy is in the Boston Public Library, but it is not quite perfect; a better copy is that belonging to Harvard College. A third copy is in the Carter-Brown Collection. It has been sold in the last thirty-five years in the Crowninshield (No. 766), Murphy (No. 2622), and Barlow (No. 2574) sales, and perhaps in others. Vincent probably got his information from an actor in the scenes. His account is reprinted in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, vol. xxvi.

The companion tract, by Captain John Underhill, "Newes from America, or a new and experimentall discoverie of New England; containing a true relation of their warlike proceedings these two yeares last past, with a figure of the indian fort or Palisado," 1638, is nearly as rare; and the engraved plan of the fight is sometimes lacking in the few copies which are known. It early attracted the attention of Rich, and there is a copy in the British Museum. There is an uncut copy with the original plan in the Lenox Library. Later sales are in the Crowninshield (No. 1064), where the map was given in a pen fac-simile; and the Barlow copy (No. 2507) was supplied with a modern reproduction of the plan, when it passed into the Boston Public Library, which has also the Lewis copy. There are copies in the Harvard, Carter-Brown, and Deane collections; and it was sold in the Brinley sale (No. 416). It has been recently priced, with the plate in fac-simile, at £26 5s.

Underhill commanded the Massachusetts forces, and was an eyewitness of much which he describes. His tract is reprinted in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, vol. xxvi. A photo-reprint by Hyatt was issued in London in 1891, in 200 copies.

Another contemporary account by Captain Mason — the best of all the narratives — was not printed separately till 1736, by Thomas Prince (who used Gardiner's manuscript), though Increase Mather, in his "Relation of the Troubles," etc., 1677, later to be mentioned, had printed it, thinking it to be the composition of Secretary Allyn of Connecticut. At the same time Mather printed another narrative by an actor in the scenes, Lyon Gardiner, which has been reproduced in Curtiss C. Gardiner's "Papers and Biography of Lion Gardiner" (St. Louis, 1883); in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, vol. xxiii., and in Dodge's edition of Penhallow's "Indian Wars," Cincinnati, 1859. Mason's account has been also reprinted in "The Mohegan Case," 1769; in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, vol. xviii.; and separately by Sabin of New York, in 1869.

The "Plain Dealing or Nevves from New-England," of Thomas Lechford, London, 1642, was the work of an English lawyer for some years resident in Boston. It is a book of peculiar value, and of a character not usual among the early

chroniclers. It is the work of a looker-on, who did not indeed sympathize with the puritan spirit, but who saw with both eyes, and was not over-prone to see more than could be seen, in the comparisons which he makes of old-country ways with those of the new colony. He says of his book that it is "A short view of New England's present government, both Ecclesiasticall and Civil, compared with the anciently-received and established Government of England, in some materiall points; fit for the gravest consideration in these times." He gives a chapter to the Indians. The book is one not difficult to find upon persistent search; but from a variety of condition, binding, and competition, it is apt to bring prices that are somewhat capricious. The usual quotations range from five to eighteen guineas; but exceptional copies of late years have gone as high as £35, and even higher. Recent prices in America have been \$60, \$75, \$90, and \$110; but three copies in the Aspinwall sale in 1879 fell to \$41, and lower. There were two copies in the Murphy sale (Nos. 1453, 2974, — one imperfect); a fine one in the Barlow (No. 1453); and another in the Menzies (No. 1202) sale. The copy in the Brinley (No. 322) was the one used by Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull in making his reprint, Boston, 1867. There are accessible copies in the Harvard (the Ebeling copy — at one time considered unique), Lenox, and New York Historical Society libraries. It is also in the Carter-Brown and Charles Deane collections. There are two copies in the British Museum. The first edition was reprinted in the Massachusetts Historical Collections, vol. xxiii., and separately at Boston in 1867, edited by J. H. Trumbull.

A reissue in 1644, with a new title, "New England's Advice to Old England," is much more rare. Trumbull in 1867 had never seen a copy, and he was forced to take the authority of Watt and Lowndes for its existence. It is in the Carter-Brown Collection, and in the Lenox Library, the latter being the copy that was sold in the Barlow sale (No. 1435). Besides the copy in the British Museum, I know of no other. Lechford's "Note-Book kept in Boston, 1638-1641," and first printed by the American Antiquarian Society in 1885, has some references to transactions with the natives for lands.

The Brinley Catalogue (No. 754) shows one of five hundred impressions of a paper signed by Governor Winthrop, on behalf

of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, printed at Cambridge in 1645, and called "A Declaration of former passages and proceedings betwixt the English and Narrowgansets." This copy, now in the Lenox Library, was found by Henry Stevens and offered to Mr. Lenox and to Mr. Carter-Brown, before Brinley accepted it. Hutchinson reprints it, but from manuscript, never having seen the print. Drake, with all his interest and assiduity in Indian researches, never saw a copy. It sold in the Brinley sale for \$218, more than four times as much as that collector gave for it. Another copy is in the Kalbfleisch Collection. The only other copy, which I have noted, is that given in Dr. S. A. Green's "Early American Imprints," being the copy belonging to the Massachusetts Historical Society, which is indorsed in Winthrop's handwriting, "Relation about Narogansets & Miantinomo, and the discovery of their plott agt. the English." Dr. Green makes reference to more or less accurate reprints.

There were two general histories printed after the middle of the century, which throw light upon the Indians and their wars with the whites. Edward Johnson's "History of New England," or, as it is usually cited from its running-title, "The Wonder working Providence of Zion's Saviour in New England, 1628-1652," was printed in London in 1654. I have rarely found good copies of late years priced in England at less than fourteen guineas, and sometimes they are quoted at £20. Quaritch has priced White-Kennett's copy at £25. Prices in this country have been of late at \$110 in the Ives sale, \$115 in the Barlow (No. 1331), \$150 in the Brinley (Nos. 314, 314*) for two copies with small defects. There were two copies in the Crowninshield sale (Nos. 573, 574) in 1859, and one in the Murphy (No. 1356) in 1883. Good copies are usually priced by dealers nowadays at from \$100 to \$125; one was lately held by a New York dealer at the latter price.

Accessible copies are in the Boston Public, Harvard, American Antiquarian Society, Brown University, and Lenox libraries; and in the private collections of Charles Deane, Edward J. Young, and in the Carter-Brown Library.

Johnson's work was reprinted as "A True history of the Originall Undertakings," etc., and ascribed to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, in making Part III. of the collection known as the

younger Gorges' "America Painted to the Life," issued in London in 1658-1659. Ferdinando Gorges, however, disclaimed the authorship of it, by public advertisement, charging the responsibility of its insertion in the series on its publisher. This work commands higher prices than the earlier separate issue. I have seen English citations of late years at £60, £63, and £72. Quaritch had a copy in his American exhibit priced at \$300. The Ives copy (No. 373) brought \$310 in 1890; the Menzies (No. 816), \$200. One of the Brinley copies (No. 308) fetched \$225, having once belonged to Thomas Prince; and another copy (No. 2640) was slightly defective. There were copies in the Murphy (No. 1072) and Cooke (No. 1040) sales; and that in the Barlow Collection (No. 1028) passed to the Boston Public Library. There are other accessible copies in the Harvard, American Antiquarian Society, and Lenox libraries, and still others in the Charles Deane and Carter-Brown collections.

The other general narrative was Nathaniel Morton's "New England's Memoriall," printed at Cambridge in 1669,—the earliest strictly historical publication of the New England press. It was founded largely upon Governor Bradford's history of Plymouth Colony, and since that manuscript was discovered and printed forty years ago, Morton's book has lost much of its importance to the scholar; but it still maintains a high price. The English citations of late are from £24 to £55. Quaritch priced a copy sent to this country at \$150; the Ives copy brought \$205, and it has been held by Dodd, Mead, & Co. at \$275. In the Crowninshield (No. 723) sale was the copy which had been used by Judge John Davis, the modern editor of the book. There were copies in the Brinley (No. 827), Murphy (Nos. 1728, 1729), Cooke (No. 1761), and Barlow (No. 1719) sales. The Prince copy is in the Boston Public Library; that of Henry M. Dexter is in the Yale Library, and copies are also in the Lenox and Harvard libraries. There are other copies belonging to the collections of Charles Deane and Carter-Brown; and one belongs to Mr. Edward J. Young, which was used by his father, Alexander Young, in his "Chronicles of the Pilgrims." Later editions of Morton were issued at Boston in 1721, at Newport in 1772, at Plymouth in 1826 (Judge Davis, editor), and again at Boston in 1855.

Wood, in his "New Englands Prospect," in 1634, had printed "a small nomenclator," or vocabulary, of some words of the Indian tongue; but no serious attempt was made to give the native language shape, till Roger Williams published his "Key into the Language of America" in 1643, to save what he had acquired of the native vocabulary, while he added some account of the natives and their surroundings. We find the volume priced as early as 1783 at four shillings and sixpence, and in 1813 at four shillings. When the Rhode Island Historical Society in 1827 reprinted the "Key," they did so from a manuscript copy of the book owned by the Bodleian Library; but they were enabled to correct the proofs by a copy in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Library, then and for a long time considered unique in this country. An increased interest in the book has brought perhaps a score of copies to notice. The price has risen, and we now find it quoted anywhere from £40 to £50 in England, and in this country the quotations have ranged from \$50 to \$150, as paid at the Ives sale; while Quaritch offered a copy here in 1891 at \$225. I have further noted it in the following sales: Field (No. 2560), Murphy (No. 2736), Brinley (Nos. 2380, 5679), and Barlow (No. 2674). This last copy passed to the Boston Public Library; and there are other accessible copies in the Harvard, Boston Athenæum, Massachusetts Historical Society, American Antiquarian Society, Brown University, and Congressional libraries. There are two copies in the Lenox; and it is also in the Bodleian and British Museum libraries, as well as in the private collections of Dr. Trumbull and Carter-Brown.

Lechford in 1641 had complained that "there had not been any sent forth by any church to learne the natives' language or to instruct them in religion," — a confession that Baylie the Presbyterian cites, in his "Dissuasive from the Errours of the Time" (London, 1645), to show how the Independents were "neglectful of the work of conversion." Baylie was answered on this point by John Cotton, in his "Way of the Congregational Churches cleared." The movement of evangelizing the Indians had however begun, and record was first made of it in the "New England's First Fruits," London, 1643, which was the precursor of the series of narratives, issued in small quarto shape, known as the "Eliot Tracts." This contemporary col-

lection is devoted to chronicling the progress of missionary work among the Indians. The series has long been recognized as of importance to a New England library, and early attracted the attention of collectors. Rich in 1832 collected and priced a large part of them. They fill their place in the bibliographies of Sabin, Dexter, and Field, and they are found in the collections of Brinley, Menzies, and Carter-Brown. We now consider them in the order of publication, — seven of the series are reprinted in the Collections (vol. xxiv.) of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

I. "New England's First Fruits," 1643, which is of particular interest as giving the first glimpse which we have of the infant College at Cambridge. This tract is usually priced at from £8 to £15, and if in good condition has brought in this country \$120 (Ives sale), \$130, and even \$180. It has appeared in all the leading sales of the last forty years, — Crowninshield (No. 768); Brinley (Nos. 343, 459, one of them Cotton Mather's copy); Murphy (No. 1772); Menzies (No. 1475); Cooke, (Nos. 1802, 1803, — one of which went to Harvard College); Barlow (No. 1761); Ives; and Livermore (No. 1801). It belongs to the Carter-Brown Collection, and is found in the libraries of Charles Deane of Cambridge, Professor F. G. Peabody of Harvard University, and Alfred T. White of Brooklyn. The Prince copy is in the Boston Public Library; and there are other accessible copies in the Harvard and Lenox libraries. A reprint (250 copies) was published by Joseph Sabin in New York in 1865.

II. The apostle Eliot began to preach in the native tongue in 1646; and a record of this is made, very likely by John Wilson, in "The Day breaking," etc., 1647. This tract has not reached so high a price as the first of the series, and sells in these days for £8 or £10 or \$40 or \$50. I find it in the Crowninshield (No. 769), Griswold (No. 764), Brinley (No. 445), Murphy (No. 2273), Menzies (No. 1815), and Ives sales. The Cooke copy and another are in the Harvard Library; the Barlow in the Boston Public Library; and there are copies in the American Antiquarian Society and Lenox libraries. It is in the Carter-Brown and Charles Deane collections.

III. In Thomas Shepard's "Clear Sunshine," etc., 1648, there is an account of the way in which Eliot extended his

missionary journeys. This tract has been of late priced at from £10 to £20, or their equivalents, and is found in the leading sales, — Crowninshield (No. 770); Griswold (No. 766); Brinley (Nos. 461, 462); O'Callaghan (No. 2105); Murphy (No. 2274); Menzies (No. 1816); Cooke (Nos. 2256, 2257); Barlow (No. 2253); and George Livermore (No. 2147). It is in the Carter-Brown and Charles Deane collections; and accessible copies are found in the Boston Public Library, Boston Athenæum, Harvard College, and Lenox libraries.

While Edward Winslow was in England in 1649, he was instrumental in furthering the incorporation of the "Society for the propagation of the Gospel among the Indians of New England," to meet the interest which the labors of Eliot had created. There are copies of this Act in its original form in the Harvard and Lenox libraries. In the same year Winslow prepared some letters of Eliot relating to his inland journeys to meet the Indians, and, dedicating them to the Parliament, he published these latest advices from the mission field as

IV. "The Glorious Progress of the Gospel," etc., 1649. I find fewer citations of this tract than of its forerunners. It was in the Crowninshield (No. 771), Brinley (No. 452), Murphy (No. 2749), and Cooke (No. 2766) sales. The Carter-Brown and Charles Deane collections have it; and there are copies in the Boston Public (the Barlow copy, No. 847), Lenox, and American Antiquarian Society libraries.

V. Eliot having laid out his Indian town at Natick in 1650, and sent accounts of it to England, the Rev. Henry Whitefield, a New England pastor, then in the old country, prepared the next record, which was published in 1651, as "The Light appearing more and more towards the perfect day." I have not found sales of this exceeding £10 or £12. It is shown in the Crowninshield (No. 772), Brinley (No. 468), Murphy (No. 2720), Menzies (No. 2124), Cooke (No. 2721), and Barlow (No. 2659) sales. It is in the Carter-Brown and Charles Deane collections, and in the American Antiquarian Society, Boston Athenæum, and Harvard and Lenox libraries.

VI. In 1652 appeared "Strength out of Weaknesse, or a Glorious manifestation of the further progresse of the Gospel amongst the Indians of New England," which was published by the Society incorporated in 1649. It is perhaps the commonest of the Eliot Tracts, and covers the apostle's labors

in 1651. There are three varieties of titlepages, and the Carter-Brown, Boston Public, and Lenox libraries have all three; and there was possibly a fourth variety. I find it priced from \$30 to \$105, though the English citations usually run from £6 to £9.

It was in the Crowninshield (No. 773), Brinley (Nos. 464, 465, 466, the three varieties), Murphy (No. 2719), Menzies (No. 2125), Cooke (No. 2722), Barlow (2404, 2405, first and third varieties), and Ives sales. It is in the Charles Deane Collection, and in the following libraries: Harvard College, Massachusetts Historical Society, and Yale College.

There is a very rare reprint under the title, "Banners of Grace and Love," 1657, which is in the Library of Harvard College.

VII. The story of Eliot's efforts to make the Indians "confess before the lord" is in "Tears of Repentence," 1653, in which Mayhew joined to complete the record. I find it priced at £9 and \$80. It appears in the Brinley (No. 446), Murphy (No. 882), Barlow (No. 848), and Ives sales. It is in the Carter-Brown and Charles Deane collections; and accessible to the public in the American Antiquarian Society, Boston Public (Barlow copy), and Lenox libraries.

VIII. Eliot himself now related his recent experiences in "Late and Further Manifestations of the progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England," London, 1655. This tract seems to be worth about £10 or £12, and is not so often found as the earlier ones. I have noted it only in the Brinley (No. 447), Murphy (No. 881), and Barlow (No. 847) sales. The Charles Deane and Carter-Brown collections have it; and it can be found in the American Antiquarian Society, the Lenox, and Harvard libraries.

IX. Eliot's next tract, "A further Accompt of the progresse of the Gospel," etc., 1659, is one of the rarest of the series, and there is no copy in the Carter-Brown Collection; but Charles Deane had one. It was sold in the Brinley (No. 448), Murphy (No. 1771), and Barlow (No. 849) sales, and is accessible in the Boston Public (Barlow copy), Congressional, Harvard, and Lenox libraries. I note it priced at £24.

It contained a reprint of the first sheet of Abraham Pierson's "Some Help for the Indians," which was at this time in the press in the New England Cambridge. The completed book

by Pierson was published in 1658, by order of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, and in its original form it is thought that only a single copy is known, being in the Lenox Library, and costing Mr. Lenox £12 12s. The British Museum copy has a different titlepage, as shown in Pilling's "Bibliography of the Algonquian Language," p. 396; but the text is the same. No other copies are known. It was reprinted by J. H. Trumbull, with an introduction, in the Connecticut Historical Society's Collections, vol. iii.

X. The next tract, varying slightly in the leading words of the title, "A farther Account of the progresse," etc., was issued in 1660. It gave a narrative of the earliest movement for admitting Indians to church membership. It is one of the rarest of the series, and I think is generally accessible only in the Lenox Library; though it is in the Charles Deane and Carter-Brown collections. It was sold in the Brinley (No. 449), Murphy (No. 880), and Barlow (No. 851) sales.

XI. The last of the series is "A briefe narrative of the progress of the Gospel among the Indians in New England," 1671, — being devoted to the state of the missions and the condition of the praying towns. It is classed among the rarest of the series. Marvin reprinted it in 1868 from a transcript of a copy in the British Museum, and it sold in the Field sale for \$72.50. It was also in the Brinley (No. 450), Murphy (No. 883), and Barlow (No. 853) sales, — the last copy going to the Boston Public Library. There are also copies in the Lenox Library, and in the Carter-Brown and Charles Deane collections. Some of these Eliot Tracts were used in compiling an appendix on the "Gospel's Good Successe in New England," attached to "Of the Conversion of . . . Indians," London, 1650. This is in the Lenox Library.

It was ten years after the earliest record had been made of missions among the Indians in the "First Fruits" (1643), when, under the influence of Eliot, and at the charge of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Indians, a series of publications in the native tongue was begun. In the study which I am to give to this part of my subject, I find little to add to the material which Mr. Wilberforce Eames of the Lenox Library has given in J. C. Pilling's "Bibliography of the Algonquian Languages" (Washington, 1891).

The earliest of these publications was "A Primer or Catechism in the Indian language," prepared by Eliot, and printed in 1653-1654. There is not a copy of it known; nor of the reissue of 1662, though the edition was a thousand copies. Of the edition of 1669, the only copy known belongs to the University of Glasgow. Eliot is also supposed to have translated the "Assembly's Shorter Catechism"; but no scholar in our time has ever seen it. It is not indeed certain that his version of Perkins' "Six Principles of Religion" was ever printed; but if it was, it is equally unknown to-day. Eliot was at this time at work translating the Bible into Indian, and there is reason to believe that some portions of it, as they were finished and put in type, like the "Book of Genesis" and the "Gospel of Matthew," were issued separately; but no copy of such parts is known. The translator also turned some of the "Psalms" into metre in the native tongue, as he himself mentions; and the Treasurer's account of the Society shows the charges for printing the book; but no copy is now known.

The earliest bit of Indian printing which has been preserved is a broadside, "A Christian Covenanting Confession," in which the English and Indian are given in parallel columns. Its date is not quite certain; but probably, as Dr. Trumbull thinks, it was printed in 1660 or before. The only copy known is in the library of the University of Edinburgh. It was reissued a few years later; and of this the only copy known is in the Congregational Library in Boston.

Eliot's completed translation of the "New Testament" was published in 1661, in a thousand or fifteen hundred copies, as is thought. Forty of these were sent to England, for presentation, with English titles and a dedication to Charles II. in addition to the Indian title; and these are the most difficult copies to find. In any form this New Testament separate from the Bible of 1663, of which it later formed a part, is a rarer book than the latter. The appreciation of price has been very great in seventy-five years. In 1820 the same copy which in the Barlow sale brought \$610 was sold for three shillings and sixpence. Rich priced it in 1832 at two guineas. Ten years later it was sold at three guineas. Quaritch in 1884 found it difficult to sell a copy at £105, and reduced it later to £95 and then to £90; but good copies like those in the Barlow (No. 852)

and Brinley (No. 786) sales have brought \$610 and \$700. It was sold recently in the Livermore sale (No. 196).

Mr. Eames counts seven copies in English libraries, and eight in this country. These latter ones are in the following libraries: Boston Athenæum, Harvard College, Astor, and Lenox (two copies); while there are two in the Carter-Brown Collection, and another copy is in private hands in New York. Dr. Green records one, with the Indian title only, in the Massachusetts Historical Society Library. Mr. Wright, in his "Early Bibles of America" (New York, 1894), has been able to trace nineteen copies in all.

In 1663, after having been three years in the press, the entire Bible in Indian, as translated by Eliot, was completed; and, the New Testament of 1661 being included, the whole was published in an edition of one or perhaps two thousand copies. A small part of the edition had the dedication to King Charles II., which was first brought to modern notice when the Rev. T. M. Harris discovered it in a copy used for shaving-papers in a barber's shop, which dedication he reprinted in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The earliest list of known copies of this complete Bible in this country is, I think, one made by the late John R. Bartlett in 1859; and he had discovered thirteen. In 1861 the late Dr. E. B. O'Callaghan found fifteen, besides two others, of which he was not sure that they were of this first edition. When writing the preface of the Prince Catalogue in 1870, I had increased the count to twenty. Mr. T. W. Field in 1873 enumerated twenty-three, and Mr. Nathaniel Paine, of Worcester, in the same year made the number twenty-six. Mr. Eames in 1891, discarding some copies hitherto counted as of the first edition and adding others, made the number twenty-eight. To this last enumeration may be added two copies of the Old Testament not joined to the New,—namely, one, Lord Kingsborough's copy, now in the Carter-Brown Collection; and the other made of passable completeness by uniting fragments of other copies. Mr. Gunther, of Chicago, gave \$250 in 1886 for this made-up copy.

The highest price yet attained in this country for a complete entire Bible belongs, I think, to a duplicate from the Bodleian, which was brought to the United States in 1862 and sold in the Bruce sale in 1868 for \$1130 to John A. Rice, of Chicago, and was again sold for \$1050 at the Rice sale (No. 662) in

1870 to Bouton, the dealer of New York, from whom it passed to Menzies, who substituted a genuine leaf for one in it which had been taken from the second edition. At the Menzies sale (No. 665) it was sold for \$900 to J. J. Cooke, and at his sale in 1883 (No. 789) it was sold to Mr. Brayton Ives for \$1250, and in 1891, when the Ives books were sold, it brought \$1650. This price had been exceeded in 1888, when Quaritch gave £580 for the Hardwicke copy.

The earliest prices which are known for this Bible of 1663 are nineteen shillings in 1676 and three shillings in 1677. By 1840 or later we find Mr. Lenox giving £21 for one of his copies. By 1853 we find £100 paid. In 1861 we note £63. The upward tendency was now accelerated. In 1864 the Allan copy (No. 1013) went to Brinley for \$825. In 1869 Quaritch sold a copy to Brinley for £200. In 1870 a duplicate from Trinity College, Dublin, was held by Quaritch at £250, but, purchasers failing, he had to lower the price in 1873 to £225 and in 1875 to £200, when M. Pinart, of Paris, bought it; and in 1883 at his sale (No. 113) Quaritch bought it back for 2700 francs, and resold it to the Astor Library for £225. The Brinley copies in 1879–1881 brought, respectively, \$550, \$1000, and \$1200, — one of them had the added interest of having belonged to Mayhew, Eliot's associate in the mission work. A copy belonging to Mr. Theodore Irwin, of Oswego, being "Ye gift of ye Rev^d Translator" to Thomas Shepard, is the only one known to have passed the hands of Eliot himself.

As Mr. Eames counted them three years ago, there were fourteen copies, perfect and more or less imperfect, in private hands in this country, three of which at least — those belonging to Ives, Kalbfleisch, and Livermore — have since changed hands. Of the others, besides that of the Carter-Brown Collection, there were thirteen copies accessible in public collections, three of them being in the Lenox Library. The other ten are placed as follows: Boston Athenæum, Boston Public Library (the Prince copy), Massachusetts Historical Society (see Dr. Green's "Early American Imprints"), Harvard College, Andover Theological Seminary, American Antiquarian Society (the Isaiah Thomas copy), Bowdoin College, Astor Library, Library of Congress, and the Philadelphia Library (Loganian Collection). There are eleven copies known in Europe, of which three are in the British Museum and two in the library of the

University of Glasgow. The only copy out of England, so far as known, is in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. That once in the Zealand Academy of Science is now offered for sale by Quaritch.

The metrical version of the Psalms which made a part of this Bible was probably based on the English metrical version of the "Bay Psalm Book"; and if any issue of it separate from the whole Bible, as is supposed was the case, was made, no copy is known, nor is any known of the prose version, also a part of the Bible, and likewise supposed to have been issued independently.

The "Massachusee Psalter" of 1709 is a version based on Eliot's, but a good deal modified by Experience Mayhew, in accordance with the dialect of the Indians of Martha's Vineyard. A translation of the Gospel of John was appended to it. There are copies in the American Antiquarian Society, Boston Athenæum, Lenox, and Yale libraries, and also in the Carter-Brown and Trumbull collections. A copy in the Barlow sale (No. 1595) passed to the Boston Public Library. There were three copies in the Brinley sale (Nos. 798, 799, 800), the best of which brought \$135. The Murphy copy (No. 1615) brought only \$27. There was a copy in the Livermore sale (No. 594).

Eliot next made a translation into Indian of Baxter's "Call to the Unconverted" (1664); and though a thousand copies were distributed to the Indians, not one is now known. It was reprinted twenty-four years later (1688), and there are copies in the following libraries: Harvard College, American Antiquarian Society, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston Public Library (Prince copy), and Yale College. The last copy was bought for \$135 from the Brinley catalogue (No. 782), and is conjectured to be the copy which belonged to the Rev. William Jenks, D.D., of Boston, and was sold in 1867 for \$27.

At the instance of the London Society, Eliot now began work on a version of Bishop Bayly's "Practice of Piety," a very popular religious handbook at this time, which he abridged somewhat in his translation. It was published in 1665. It is rare. There are copies in the Bodleian and in the Library of the American Antiquarian Society. The only sale I have noted is that of a copy sold by Quaritch in 1873 for £90 to Brinley, and bought at the latter's sale (No. 795) in 1879 for \$205 by Yale College. A second edition (1685) is in the British

Museum, Lenox, Boston Public (Prince copy), and Carter-Brown libraries. There was a copy in Dr. Jenks' sale in 1867 which brought \$61. Quaritch in 1873 sold a copy for £50 to Brinley (No. 795). At the latter's sale in 1879 there were two other copies; one (No. 797, the Nodier copy) went to the Lenox Library for \$50, and the other, imperfect (No. 796), was bought by Trumbull for \$42.50.

Eliot in 1666 published his "Indian Grammar," — an attempt "to bring the Indian language into rules," in which he had the help of his sons, colaborers with him in his missionary work. He had been prompted to this task by Robert Boyle. It is thought that the edition was five hundred copies, and that a few of them may have been bound up with copies of the Bible of 1663. There are four copies known abroad, — British Museum, Bodleian, and Universities of Edinburgh and Göttingen. In 1859 a copy brought £45 10s., which is supposed to be the present Lenox copy. The Brinley copy (No. 791) was bought by Trumbull for \$57.50. There are other copies in the American Philosophical Society and Carter-Brown libraries. An imperfect copy was in the George H. Moore sale (No. 701).

In 1671 Eliot printed at Cambridge his "Indian Dialogues," entirely in English, and intended for the use of the native teachers; of this there is a copy in the Lenox Library.

In 1672 there were printed for the use of the Indian seminary at Natick a thousand copies of Eliot's "Logick Primer: Some logical notions to initiate the Indians in the Knowledge of the Rule of Reason." It is given in Indian with an interlinear translation. The only known copy is in the British Museum; but Mr. Pilling had a few photo-facsimiles made of this copy, and these are owned by Mr. Eames, Major Powell of the Bureau of Ethnology, and J. C. Pilling, the compiler of the "Algonquian Bibliography." A copy was given to Dr. George H. Moore, and was in Part II. of his library, No. 614, sold in 1894.

There were two books of "John Josselyn, Gent.," which were published in the year just preceding the outbreak of 1675, which give us the observations of an intelligent sojourner in New England, — first in 1638, and later in 1663. In his "New England's Rarities discovered" (London, 1672), he enlarges upon "the physical and Chyrurgical Remedies, where-

with the natives constantly use to cure their distempers, wounds and sores; also a perfect description of an Indian Squa in all her bravery." The book has of late been priced at seven or eight guineas, and at the Ives sale brought \$42.50; and there was a second edition in 1675. Both editions were in the Brinley sale (Nos. 315, 316), and are in the Carter-Brown Collection. The New York Historical Society and the Lenox Library have the first, and Harvard College the second. It has been sold in the following sales: Crowninshield (No. 584), Griswold (No. 386), Murphy (No. 1381), and Barlow (No. 1351). It was reprinted with notes by Edward Tuckerman in the American Antiquarian Society Transactions, vol. iv., and again separately with Tuckerman's notes revised and an introduction, in Boston, by Veazie, in 1865.

Josselyn's second book, "An account of two Voyages to New England" (London, 1674), gives a description of the "countrey, natives, and creatures." Recent prices range from four to ten guineas. I note in France a sale at 200 francs, and in this country at \$32.50 and \$55, or between those sums, for either the first or second edition. This last was simply a title edition, the old sheets being used. There are copies in the New York Historical Society and Lenox Library (first issue), and in the private collections of Carter-Brown, Charles Deane, and Edward J. Young. The Harvard College copy is of the second issue, and was used in making Veazie's reprint in 1865. There have been sales of one date or the other in the Crowninshield (No. 583), Aspinwall, Menzies (No. 1105), Brinley (No. 315), Barlow (No. 1352), and Ives collections.

There is another reprint in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, vol. xxiii.

The war with King Philip, breaking out in 1675, led to a series of narratives upon its progress, five of which have been reprinted by S. G. Drake in his "Old Indian Chronicle" in 1836 and 1867. In the opening year of the conflict we find, covering the period from June 20 to November 10, and written "by a merchant of Boston," a London imprint upon (1) "The Present State of New England with respect to the Indian War." Two editions were printed with the date 1675; but the later of these is sometimes found with the date altered by a

pen to 1676. It was thought rare in Rich's time (1832), and priced then at from twelve to thirty shillings. It was in the Stevens of 1881 (No. 152), Brinley (No. 417), and Murphy sales (No. 1769). There are copies of different varieties of the book in the following libraries: Boston Athenæum, Harvard College, Lenox (2 editions), Library of Congress (2 editions), and in the Charles Deane and Carter-Brown collections.

This was the precursor of various folio and quarto tracts, published in London and continuing the record, thus: (2) "A Continuation of the State of New England," 1676, covering the interval November 10, 1675, to February 8, 1676. It is in the Lenox and Carter-Brown collections, and has been sold in the Crowninshield (No. 767), Stevens of 1881 (No. 1524), Brinley (Nos. 418, 430), and Murphy (No. 1770) sales.

(3) E. Wharton's "New England's present Sufferings." 1675. I find it priced of late at 150 francs and £7 10s. It is in the Lenox Library and Carter-Brown Collection.

(4) "A brief and True narrative," etc., 1675. In the Lenox (Barlow copy, \$140) and Carter-Brown collections.

(5) "A farther brief and true narration," 1676. It was in the Barlow sale (No. 1234), and was bought by the Lenox Library for \$205.

(6) "A New and further narrative of the State of New England," covering March to August, 1676. There are copies in the Lenox Library, in the Boston Public Library, and in the Carter-Brown Collection. It was in the Brinley (No. 430) and Barlow (No. 1765) sales. I have found it priced at ten guineas.

(7) "A true account of the most Considerable occurrences," etc. (May 5 to August 4), 1676. It was intended to correct some of the earlier statements. It is in the Lenox Library and in the Carter-Brown Collection, and was sold in the Barlow (No. 1765) sale.

(8) "News from New England by a factor in New England," etc., 1676. The first edition is in the Lenox Library (Barlow copy, \$210), and Sabin reported one in the C. H. Kalbfleisch Collection. There was a second edition, of which there are copies in the British Museum and in the Carter-Brown Collection. It was reprinted by S. G. Drake, with notes at Boston in 1850, and again in Drake's "Old Indian Chronicle" (1867). It was also reprinted at Albany in 1865.

The war was commemorated by Benjamin Tompson — “a learned schoolmaster & physician & y^e renound poet of N: Engl.,” as his tombstone in Roxbury calls him — in a poem which he sent to England to be published ; and the only copy of it known is in the Carter-Brown Library at Providence, and is called “New England’s Tears for her present myseries, or a late and true relation of the Calamities of New England, since April last past . . . by an inhabitant of Boston.” London, 1676. This earliest New England epic, if it may be so called, was reprinted in Boston, 1676, with changes, and with Tompson’s name, but under the title of “New England’s Crisis.” The only copy known is in the Boston Athenæum, but it lacks the title. From this copy it was edited by J. F. Hunnewell for “The Club of Odd Volumes,” and published in fac-simile in Boston, in 1894. The two editions have been described by Dr. S. A. Green in the Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, June, 1895.

One of the rarest of the tracts on Philip’s War, printed at “Cambridge, N. E.,” in two forms, was the account by Thomas Wheeler of the attack by the Indians on Hutchinson’s command near Brookfield. The Carter-Brown Catalogue shows the two varieties: under 1675 is “A True narrative of the Lords Providences in various dispensations towards Capt. Edward Hutchinson of Boston and myself,” etc., which is without place or date ; and under 1676 is “A Thankful Remembrance of God’s Mercy,” etc., by Edward Bulkley, of Concord, printed at Cambridge, 1676. There were two copies of this last variety in the Brinley sale (Nos. 884 and 885), the last having the title in fac-simile. Another copy was in the W. E. Woodward sale, bringing \$72, which in 1870 appeared in the Boon sale (No. 2994), and was sold for \$175. There are accessible copies in the Lenox and Yale libraries.

Wheeler’s narrative has been reprinted in Joseph I. Foot’s “Historical Discourse” (Brookfield, 1843), and in Temple’s “North Brookfield.”

What has been called the earliest Thanksgiving broadside known (Love’s “Fast and Thanksgiving days of New England”) is one probably printed at Cambridge, being a proclamation “at a Council, held at Charlestown, June the 20th, 1676,” appointing June 29 as a thanksgiving after “long and

Continued Series of [God's] Afflictive dispensations in & by the present Warr with the Heathen Natives of this Land," and His "reserving many of our Towns from Desolation Threatned, and attempted by the Enemy, and giving us especially of late with our Confederates many Signal Advantages against them." Dr. Green's list shows there is a copy in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society; and it is reproduced in fac-simile in Love's "Fast and Thanksgiving Days," p. 200. Mr. Love could not find an original copy of the broadside proclamation for a Thanksgiving, November 9, 1676, though a reprint of it is in the "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," II. 201.

Perhaps the earliest of a class of books which collectors know as "Captivities" was one detailing the experience of eleven weeks "amongst the heathens" during this war. The narrator was the wife of a minister in Lancaster, Massachusetts; and her account is "The Sovereignty and Goodness of God; a narrative of the Captivity and Restauration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson," Cambridge, 1682. No copy is known of the first edition, the date given being that of the second edition, of which there are copies in the Prince Collection in the Boston Public Library and in the British Museum. It was reprinted the same year in London, as a "True History of the Captivity," etc.; and this edition is easier to find. It is in the Lenox Library and in the Carter-Brown Collection, and was sold in the Crowninshield (No. 938), O'Callaghan (No. 2031), Brinley (Nos. 484, 2701), and Cooke (No. 2205) sales. I have seen it priced recently at £3 5s. There are copies in the Watkinson (Hartford) and Yale libraries.

The story of Quintin Stockwell, of Deerfield, who suffered captivity among the Indians in 1677, and whose narrative is another of the earliest books of this class, is given in Increase Mather's "Essay for the recording of illustrious providences," (Boston, 1684). There are at least two varieties of the title-page. It is in the Prince Collection (Boston Public Library), in the Lenox Library; and three copies were sold in the Brinley Library (Nos. 983, 984, 7616). It is priced nowadays at about £12.

The best-known contemporary narratives of the war were the rival ones of Increase Mather and William Hubbard. Mather,

beginning the story June 24, 1675, "when the first Englishman was murdered by the Indians," continued it to the death of Philip, August 12, 1676, in what he calls "A brief history of the war with the Indians in New England," Boston, 1676. This original edition was long almost unknown. Drake in 1862 thought that an offer of fifty dollars even could not produce a copy. Sabin in 1883 had never seen one, and reported that a copy had been held in England at £300. In 1889 the compiler of the Barlow Catalogue had heard of only three perfect copies. The bookseller, William George, of Bristol, England, in 1876 held a copy of this edition "revised and corrected by ye author" in manuscript and given to his son Samuel in 1682. There are at this day copies in the American Antiquarian Society, Massachusetts Historical Society, Lenox Library, and in the Boston Public Library. The last is the Lewis copy, said to have been used by S. G. Drake in 1862 in making his reprint, in a book called "The History of King Philip's War." The Brinley and Barlow sales disclosed two copies of the original issue in each. No. 948 of the Brinley sale was in the publisher's wrapper, and No. 5531 was a lot of two imperfect copies, fit to make one complete. Brinley obtained a large part of his Mather Collection from Henry Stevens, after his offer of them to Mr. Lenox and Mr. Carter Brown had been declined. Both of the Barlow copies (Nos. 1606, 1608) were slightly imperfect. I find quotations of the Boston edition at £20, \$60, and \$150.

The London edition of the same year (1676) is not so rare. There are copies in the Boston Public Library, Harvard College, the Lenox Library, the Library of Congress, and in the Carter-Brown Collection. It was in the Crowninshield Catalogue (No. 680). Barlow had one copy (No. 1607), and Brinley three (Nos. 409, 410, 949). I find American prices running up to \$125, and English to £20. The Menzies copy brought \$79, and again in the Ives sale \$95, and was (1895) offered by a later owner for \$85.

Some, if not all, of the copies of the London edition lack Mather's "Earnest Exhortation to the Inhabitants of New England," which is appended to the Boston print.

It is supposed that Mather had hastened his book in order to anticipate the appearance of the Rev. William Hubbard's "Narrative of the troubles with the Indians in New England,

1607-1677. But chiefly of the Troubles in the last two years, 1675 and 1676. To which is added a Discourse about the Warre with the Pequods in the year 1637." This was printed by Foster at Boston in 1677. The map which accompanies both the Boston and the later London edition was probably cut by Foster, the printer, and recut for the London edition, of a slightly different size and with some corrections. It was cut on wood, and is the earliest instance of such work in the English Colonies. The maps of the two issues are distinguishable by having the mountains in New Hampshire called on one the "Wine Hills" and on the other, correctly, the "White Hills," the last being the later cut, and it consequently properly belongs to the London edition, though it is possible that Foster may have substituted it for the earlier imperfect map in some remainder copies of the Boston edition. The later map is found in the Lewis copy of the Boston edition now in the Boston Public Library.

The Boston edition of the book was licensed March 29, 1677, but was perhaps partly in type at that time; and there are two varieties of this edition, signature M having been cancelled in some copies. The Lewis copy has both signatures, the original and the substitute. Copies of this edition are almost always in bad order and not in the original binding, so that the proper map of any particular copy is not easily determined. Rich in 1832 held a copy at £1 10s. Copies with no map or with the map in fac-simile are cited of late years at from \$75 to \$200, but, if otherwise imperfect, at lower cost. The Ives copy brought \$225. Quaritch in 1885 held a copy with the "White Hills" map at £70. Dodd, Mead, & Co. a few years ago priced a copy in Bedford's binding and with an original "White Hills" map at \$400. The copies in recent sales have been nearly all imperfect. Brinley had three copies (Nos. 393, 780, 8397), but neither of them had a genuine map. The two Cooke copies (Nos. 1230, 1231) were supplied with fac-simile maps. One of the copies bought by Harvard College, was thought at the time to be genuine; but the map proved to be one of Harris's hand-made fac-similes made in 1872 for Henry Stevens. The Murphy (No. 1276) and Barlow (No. 1181) copies were both similarly imperfect. A copy in the Menzies sale (No. 990) brought \$200. The Prince copy in the Boston Public Library has manuscript notes

by Prince; but lacks the map, as does the copy belonging to the Massachusetts Historical Society. The Carter-Brown copy has the map. There are copies in the Lenox Library (both issues, with both maps) and in the Charles Deane Collection. The initials "J. S." are appended to an epistle addressed to Hubbard and printed in the book; and Dr. Green says that a copy belonging to Mr. Sumner Hollingsworth, of Boston, has a manuscript note assigning this epistle to "John Sherman," though Sibley and others have interpreted the initials as standing for Jeremiah Shepard.

Hubbard's book reprinted in London the same year, 1677, was improved and corrected, and the title was changed to "The Present State of New England, being a Narrative," etc. There was also a slight change made in the phraseology of the dedication. There are copies in Harvard College, Lenox, Carter-Brown, and Charles Deane libraries. Brinley (No. 394) had Southey's copy, and another (No. 395) in the original binding, both with the genuine map; so had Murphy's copy (No. 1275). Quaritch in 1885, in offering a copy without a map for £15, contended that no map belonged to the London edition. The Barlow copy (No. 1182, \$100) had Stevens' fac-simile of the map, as did one which belonged to Stevens himself, and was offered later at £12 10s. Two copies of this London edition belonging to Mr. Hollingsworth, differ, according to Dr. Green, slightly. The highest quotation for a good copy with the map, which I have seen, is £25. Of late years copies with no map or with one in fac-simile have brought £12 or £15, and £25 or more with the genuine map.

Hubbard's book, which had covered the Indian wars from the first settlement, prompted Increase Mather to supply deficiencies in its story, by preparing his "Relation of the troubles which have hapned in New England, 1614-1675," which was published in Boston in 1677. There are copies in the Boston Public, Massachusetts Historical Society, and Lenox libraries; and copies were sold in the Brinley (No. 1019) and Murphy (No. 1634) sales. It was reprinted by Drake in 1864, as "The Early History of New England."

Mather further celebrated the end of the war in an "Historical discourse . . . wherein is shown that New England's late deliverance from the rage of the heathen is an eminent answer of prayer," Boston, 1677, of which there are copies in

the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, in the Lenox Library, and in the Carter-Brown Collection. This sermon had made a part originally of the "Relation" of 1677.

A vessel under the command of Caleb More sailed from Rhode Island carrying an account of the death of Philip, supposed to be written by Richard Hutchinson; and this was published in London, 1677, as "The Warr in New England visibly ended." There are copies in the Lenox and Carter-Brown collections, and one was sold in the Brinley sale (No. 430).

The war begun by Philip may be considered as closed by the treaty at Casco, April 2, 1678. A proclamation issued by order of the General Court of May 8, 1678, for a fast on June 6, mentions the "rebuking the Malice of the Blood-thirsty Heathen about us." A copy is owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society.

The war with Philip, which had rent New England as never before, had caused a large destruction of the printed products of the missionary spirit. To replace this loss, Eliot, who had called John Cotton, of Plymouth, to his aid, began printing a second and revised edition of the Indian "New Testament" in 1680, and, completing it in 1681, it was printed in twenty-five hundred copies. Of this number two thousand are said to have been kept to add to the later Old Testament and make the completed Bible of 1685. Of the separate five hundred, the only copy known is one described by Dr. Green in his "Early American Imprints" (p. 46), as belonging to the Massachusetts Historical Society, which has the Psalms in Indian appended. A copy in private hands in Boston (Mr. W. G. Shillaber) is thought to have been separated from a complete Bible of 1685; and Mr. Eames thinks this copy a part of a copy of the second edition which was No. 380 in the original Crowninshield Catalogue, and No. 649 when sold by Henry Stevens later in London, at which time it brought £6 15s. It is supposed also to have passed through the hands of Murphy and Sabin, the dealer. The second edition of the completed Bible was published in 1685, in two thousand copies at a cost of £900. A few of these had a dedication to Robert Boyle, and in 1870 the Harvard College copy was thought to be the only one which had this

inscription; but now at least nine copies which show it are counted.

The known copies in the United States have gradually increased. In 1859 J. R. Bartlett noted fourteen; O'Callaghan, in 1861, counted nineteen; I reckoned in the Prince Catalogue in 1870 twenty copies; and Mr. Paine in 1873 enumerated twenty-eight. In 1891 Mr. Eames was able to describe, including both perfect and imperfect specimens, twenty-eight in public libraries, sixteen in private hands, in this country, — a total of forty-four. Besides he noted thirteen in Europe, eight of which were in England and Scotland.

The price in England for 1820 and for a score of years later was commonly from £1 to £3. From 1840 to 1850 I find such prices in this country as these: \$25, \$39, \$40. In 1853 Mr. Lenox gave £22 for one of his copies. A fine copy in 1860 was priced at £200. Dr. William Jenks' copy in 1867 brought \$300. In 1874 Mr. Lenox gave 160 guineas for another of his copies. The Griswold copy (No. 206) in 1876 brought \$325. Quaritch in 1870 asked £50 for a copy which is supposed to be the one priced by Leclerc in Paris, in 1878 for 1500 francs. In 1884 Quaritch held two copies, one at £120 and the other at £150. The former he reduced in 1887 to £105, and sent it to Boston, where it was bought by Bishop J. F. Hurst, of Washington. The other copy was reduced to £125 in 1887, and when brought to this country in the Quaritch American Exhibition in 1891, was listed at \$625.

The most extraordinary collection of copies ever got together in this country was that of the Brinley Library. It counted six in all, of which two were sold in 1879, two in 1881, and two in 1893, numbered in the catalogue as follows:

No. 789, sold as a part of a lot of old books at the Marquis of Hastings' sale in 1868, when Quaritch bought the lot for £2 10s. It was understood that a number of dealers had discovered the prize, but by refraining from competition shared by agreement in the advantages of the low price. Brinley is said to have given \$1100 for this copy, and at his sale Dr. Trumbull gave \$500, and sold it to Murphy, at whose sale (No. 884) it passed for \$950 to the Carter-Brown Collection.

No. 790, a copy which had belonged to Grindall Rawson, was sold to L. Z. Leiter for \$500.

No. 5683, Governor Stoughton's copy, was sold to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania for \$590.

No. 5684, Jonathan Edwards' copy, was sold for \$550 to Cornelius Vanderbilt.

No. 8434, Dr. William Jenks' copy.

No. 8435, John Pickering's copy.

The copies known to be in public collections in the United States are as follows : —

Bowdoin College; Dartmouth College (two copies); Andover Theological Seminary; Boston Athenæum (two copies); Boston Public Library (Prince copy); Congregational Library, Boston; Massachusetts Historical Society; Pilgrim Society, Plymouth; Harvard College; Morse Institute, Natick; American Antiquarian Society; Connecticut Historical Society (two copies); Yale College (two copies); New York Historical Society; Lenox Library (two copies); Long Island Historical Society; New York State Library; American Philosophical Society; Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Library Company of Philadelphia; Library of Congress (Force's copy); and University of South Carolina.

Yale College has owned two other copies, — one Samson Occom's, and the other had belonged to H. R. Schoolcraft and Thomas W. Field. They were both imperfect, and were sold to Lucius L. Hubbard, of Cambridge, in 1883. The Ebeling copy, which was a duplicate at Harvard College, passed to Judge John Davis by an exchange, and is now in the Library of the University of Virginia.

Of the sixteen copies in private hands in 1891, three at least have since changed hands at the final Brinley and the Livermore sales. There are two in the Carter-Brown Collection. What is thought to have been a presentation copy from Eliot himself to Robert Barclay belongs to the University of Edinburgh. Copies at the Universities of Leyden and Utrecht were gifts to them from Increase Mather.

The Rev. John Wright, in his "Early Bibles of America" (N. Y., 1894, 3d ed.), has given the latest enumeration of known copies of the New Testament and Bible in both editions; and he counts one hundred and twenty-five in all, perfect and imperfect. He adds twelve to those described before.

The only copy known of the little tract by Eliot, "Dying Speeches of several indians," printed about this time in Cam-

bridge, was sold in the Brinley sale (No. 765), and is now in the Lenox Library.

Thomas Prince notes a duodecimo copy of "The Indian Primer," "containing ye Large Catechism," as printed at Cambridge about 1684; and Dr. Green suspects that a defective copy in 32mo owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society is the same impression, though he might for other reasons connect it with an edition which Eliot asked Boyle for authority to print in 1686, after he had completed an edition of Bayly's "Practice of Piety." This fragment is the only copy known of such an edition, whatever the date.

In 1688 Increase Mather addressed to Professor Leusden, of Utrecht, an account in Latin of the efforts in New England to evangelize the natives; and this was printed at London in 1688 as "*De Successu Evangelij apud Indos occidentales in Nova Anglia, Epistola*," etc. There are copies in the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston Public Library (Prince copy), Lenox Library, and in the Carter-Brown Collection. Others were sold in the Brinley (No. 7618) and Murphy (No. 1636) sales. The two copies in Harvard College Library show a slight difference in the titlepage. A German translation was printed at Halle in 1696, of which copies are in the Harvard College and Carter-Brown libraries. The Latin was reprinted at Utrecht in 1699, and a copy was in the Brinley (No. 1038) sale, and another is in the Lenox Library. Cotton Mather gave it in English in the "*Magnalia*."

The last of Eliot's publications was made in 1689, when he was eighty-five years old. He turned Shepard's "Sincere Convert" into Indian, and got Grindall Rawson to revise it. There are copies in the American Antiquarian Society, Lenox, Yale, and Carter-Brown libraries, and one is owned by Dr. J. H. Trumbull, of Hartford. It was sold for \$12 at Dr. Jenks' sale in 1867. When the Brinley Collection came under the hammer, the copy now at Yale (No. 804) brought \$100; that (No. 803) in the Carter-Brown Collection \$40, and Trumbull gave \$21 for his, which had two leaves in fac-simile.

Increase Mather's "Brief Relation of the State of New England from the beginning of that plantation to the present year," London, 1689, has but scant reference to the Indians.

There is a copy in the Carter-Brown Collection, and another in the Lenox Library.

Of Cotton Mather's "Souldiers Counsell'd and Comforted. A discourse delivered unto some part of the Forces engaged in a just war against the northern and Eastern indians, Sept. 1, 1689," Boston, 1689, there were two copies (Nos. 1235, 1236) in the Brinley sale, and a third is in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

There is in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Library a broadside, "Relation of Captain Bull Concerning the Mohavvks at Fort Albany, May, 1689," which records a mission of a Connecticut agent to Albany, that produced some questions of the relations of the Mohawk and Eastern Indians. Dr. Green further describes two broadsides in the same library relative to Phips' expedition, "intended for Canada, against the common enemy, French and Indians"; and also a proclamation for a fast, March 6, 1689-90, asking God "to preserve us from the rage of our heathen enemies."

The earliest printed newsletter issued in New England was a single folded sheet, called "Publick Occurrences," dated Sept. 25, 1690, which announced itself as the beginning of a series, which never went farther. The only copy known is preserved in the Public Record Office, London; and it was reprinted by Dr. Samuel A. Green in the "Historical Magazine" (vol. i. p. 228). It has various items of news of the "Christianized" and "barbarous" Indians.

Cotton Mather's Boston Lecture of this year, "The Present State of New England . . . upon the news of an invasion by bloody indians and Frenchmen begun upon us" (Boston, 1690), shows the feelings then prevalent towards the Indians, uneasy under French instigation. There were three copies in the Brinley Collection (Nos. 326, 1196, 7650), one of which is now in the Lenox Library, and others are in the Harvard College and Massachusetts Historical Society libraries.

Cotton Mather in the same year (1691) reviewed the course of the Indian missions in his "Triumph of the Reformed Religion in America: the life of the renowned John Eliot, . . . a memorable evangelist among the indians of New England." It is in the Congregational, Harvard, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston Public (Prince copy), Lenox, and American Antiquarian Society libraries, and in the Carter-Brown Collec-

tion; and there were two copies in the Brinley sale (Nos. 1254, 1255).

A "second edition, carefully corrected," was issued in London the same year as "The Life and Death of the renown'd Mr. John Eliot." This is in the Boston Athenæum, the American Antiquarian Society, the Lenox Library, and in the Carter-Brown Collection, and was likewise sold in the Brinley (No. 1256) and Murphy (No. 1631) sales.

A third edition (1694) is also in the Harvard Library, in the Lenox Library, and in the Carter-Brown Collection, and was sold in the Livermore Collection (No. 1692).

The same year (1691) the last of the Indian versions which were printed in Cambridge appeared in Grindall Rawson's translation of John Cotton's "Spiritual milk for Babes." There are copies in the Boston Athenæum, American Antiquarian Society, Harvard, Lenox, and Yale libraries. Other copies are in the Carter-Brown and Dr. Trumbull's collections. There were three copies (Nos. 783, 804, 805) in the Brinley sale, and they brought respectively \$50, \$70, and (with another book) \$100.

The Massachusetts Historical Society has a broadside proclamation for Thanksgiving, July 14, 1692, which speaks of "Restraints upon our enemies," and of their defeat "in a late attack upon the Eastern parts."

In 1694 Matthew Mayhew's "Brief narrative of the success which the Gospel hath had among the indians of Martha's Vineyard, with some remarkable Curiosities concerning the Numbers, the Customes, and the Present Circumstances of the Indians in that island, . . . and the present state of Christianity among the indians in other parts of New England," was printed at Boston. There is a copy in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Library.

It was reprinted in London in 1695-1696 as "Conquests and triumphs of Grace; being a brief narrative," etc. It purports further "to explain and Confirm the account given in the life of the Renowned Mr. John Eliot," and covers a letter of Increase Mather on the missions, dated July 12, 1687. There were copies in the Menzies (brought \$105) and Murphy (No. 1648) sales; and one is in the Carter-Brown Collection.

Cotton Mather's "Humiliations followed with deliverances . . . with an appendix containing a narrative of wonderful

passages relating to the captivity and deliverance of Hannah Swarton" is one of his rarer tracts. It was in the Brinley (No. 1139) sale. The narrative was reprinted in the "Magnalia."

A 16mo tract, "Kneeling to God," etc., by J. Danforth, pastor of the Church of Christ in Dorchester (Boston, 1697), has appended to it, to help "fill up the vacant pages," a poem "To the blessed memory of the Venerable Mr. John Eliot, Teacher to the Church of Christ in Roxbury, and a Propagator of the Gospel to the Indians in N. England, Who rested from his Labours, May, 20, Anno Dom. 1690. Aetatis Suae, 86." It is signed "J. D." There is a copy in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Library.

The first book in Indian printed in Boston was a translation by Samuel Danforth of "Five Sermons" by Increase Mather, published in 1698. There were two copies in the Brinley sale (Nos. 801, 5687), one of them bringing \$110. The American Antiquarian Society owns a copy, and another is in the Lenox Library.

The election sermon of 1698 was Nicholas Noyes' "New England's Duty and interest," and it had appended an account dated Boston, July 12, 1698, of the visitation among the Indians in May and June, 1698, made by Grindall Rawson and Samuel Danforth, "Preachers to the indians in their own Tongue." There is a copy in the Carter-Brown Collection, and two copies (Nos. 833, 2695) were sold in the Brinley sale. Other copies are in the Massachusetts Historical Society, Congregational, Harvard College, Lenox, and Boston Public (Prince copy) libraries.

Grindall Rawson prepared the Indian form of a "Confession of Faith," after the pattern agreed upon May 12, 1680, and, accompanied by the English, it was printed in Boston in 1699. There are copies in the American Antiquarian Society, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston Public, Harvard, Lenox, and Yale libraries, and another in the British Museum. It was in the Crowninshield sale (No. 907), and one of the Brinley copies (No. 784) fell to Yale at \$70, and the other (No. 5688) brought \$85.

A "naughty and very scarce book," as Dr. Trumbull calls it, is Edward Ward's "Trip to New England, with a character of the Country and people, both English and Indiane," London, 1699. Copies are in the Lenox Library and in the Carter-Brown Collection, and the Brinley Catalogue (No. 371) shows

a second edition of 1704. The original edition is rare, and was recently priced in London at £17 10s.

In 1699 Cotton Mather published a good-sized book, — worth mentioning under such a designation amid a cloud of his pamphlets, — called “*Decennium Luctuosum*. An history of remarkable occurrences in the long war which New England hath had with the Indian salvages, 1688–1698,” and accompanied by a Boston lecture, in which the story is “repeated and improved.” It was in the Brinley sale (No. 1097).

There were two occasional tracts of Cotton Mather printed at Boston in 1700. One is “An Epistle to the Christian indians, giving them a short account of what the English desire them to know and to do,” etc., printed both in Indian and English. There was a copy in the Barlow sale (No. 1598), which is now in the Lenox Library, and one is in the library of the New York Historical Society. Another copy is owned by Dr. Samuel A. Green. An edition dated 1706 is not, as Sibley thinks, a title edition merely, for it differs from the other on nearly every page. There are copies in the Harvard, Lenox, and Massachusetts Historical Society libraries. An imperfect copy was sold in the Brinley sale (No. 802) for \$35, and a perfect one in the sale of Lenox duplicates (No. 216) for \$460.

The subject of the last prefigures the Indians’ fate: “A monitory and hortatory letter to those English who debauch the indians by selling strong drink unto them” (Boston, 1700). There are copies in the Harvard, Boston Public (Prince), and American Antiquarian Society libraries.

Mention in closing may be made of a two-page printed speech of the Earl of Bellomont to the General Assembly in Boston, May 29, 1700, — a copy of which belongs to the Massachusetts Historical Society, — in which he relates “the Circumstances we are in with the Eastern Indians,” whom “the French missionaries have debauch’d” from “their former obedience to the King.”

I am under obligations to Mr. Eames of the Lenox Library for aid in the revision of this paper. He also draws my attention to No. 1763 of the Barlow Catalogue: “New Englands Faction discovered, or A Brief and True Account of their Persecution of the Church of England: the Beginning and Progress of the War with the Indians,” etc. [London, 1690], and signed “C. D.”

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN communicated some additional notes on the early Commencements at Harvard College, as follows:—

During a recent visit at Worcester I had an opportunity to examine some early New England almanacs belonging to the American Antiquarian Society, which are not found in the Historical Library; and from them I have gleaned the dates of a few Commencement Days at Cambridge, which are in addition to the List presented at the meeting of this Society held on May 9 last.

1657.

According to an Almanac (Cambridge) by S. B., the day fell on Tuesday, August 11.

1662.

An imperfect copy of an Almanac for this year, lacking the titlepage and a few other leaves, fixes the date as Tuesday, August 12.

1667.

According to Samuel Brackenbury's Almanac (Cambridge), the date fell on Tuesday, August 13.

1672.

Jeremiah Shepard's Almanac (Cambridge) gives the day as Tuesday, August 13.

It will be noticed that these additional dates in every instance fell on the same day of the second week in August; and thus they confirm the theory that during the period from 1651 to 1681 Commencement always came on the second Tuesday of that month. See *ante*, pp. 194–205.

Mr. JOHN T. HASSAM said:—

Among the one hundred and thirty-five letters constituting the first instalment of the Winthrop papers communicated in 1843 to this Society by its late President, the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, is a letter dated April 18, 1633, from William Hilton to John Winthrop, Jr. (3 Mass. Hist. Coll. IX. 262). At the time of its publication, no other letters from William Hilton were known to be in existence. But in 1860 there

came into the possession of Mr. Winthrop, by a family arrangement, a mass of papers which had been preserved by six generations of the Winthrop family, at New London in Connecticut. Among them there are two hitherto unpublished letters of William Hilton. By the permission of Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., I have copied these letters for the Proceedings of the Society.

The first of these letters is from William Hilton to John Winthrop, Jr. It bears no date, but was probably written in 1633. It is as follows:—

SER—My duty & respectt remembred to you & to m^s Winthrope these are to serteyffie you y^t after a short yet sumthing a teadeous Jorny it pleased the lord y^t I ariued at my habetatyon the saterday after my departure ffrom you I praise the lord I am in good health wth m^r Leaueridge & the rest of our good ffrends w^h vs Ser I must remaine your debter ffor that kindnes I reseaued ffrom you I pray you remember my dutyfull respectt to your good ffather I am amoungst other his loue & kindnes to mee much bound to him ffor his louing counsell to mee in his last letter ffor the wch I most humbly thanke him Ser presuming vpon y^e goodnes of your loving & kind disposicion make bould to serteyffie you of that wch I aprehand may stand wth y^e good of you & your neighbors wth you seeing the extre-ordinary conuenience that your plantatyon hath aboue any in this land that I haue seene ffor the keeping of Swine I inquired what quantety of swine were kept there it was answered mee but asmaule quantety & that it was determened that there shuld not many bee kept there in temating y^t it was thought that the plumes & clames might proue agreter beene ffit wch cannot bee nor any way the 100 part so benefissiall this winter I haue had the benefitt of 10 hoges eauery hog worth 7 or 8 pounds beauer I was constrayned ye winter was twelue moneth to feed them all winter yet it was wth such meate as was not any way costly beeing but huskes of indean corne now the maner of ordering them John maning is able to serteyffie you now ffor the pserung of your Corne ffrom them vntill you can ffense your grounds aboute your houses you may set your corne very conuenetly on the oposit side of the riuer & you shall ffind y^t if you pracktis the breeding of swine wth the beeneffit of the Iland you may wth a smaule charge in short time raise sum hundered of pounds yerely by them as you may gather by the preportyon of my stocke in that behalffe whoe haue not any such coueinecy as you haue Ser I pray you pardon my bouldnes herein ffor my eror herein is out of loue in that I desigre the good of you all both ffor speretuell & temporall things I knowe that mens labors cannot bee had at easie rats vntill corne & porke wth the like puison bee plenty

if I were wth you I thinke I could answere all your obiecktyons & shoue you a way y^t you might keepe them at an easie rate I am affred I haue bin teadeous vnto you & thereffore desighring ye lord to blesse you & yours I humbly rest

Ser m^r Leueridge desigreth to be remembred to you though vnknowne

Your wo^r Asurd to command

WILLI HILTON

To y^e wor & his much respeckted ffrend m^r JOHN WINTHROP gouernor at aguawam giue these.

The second letter is from William Hilton to Governor Winthrop, and is dated July 14, 1637. It is as follows:—

PASCATAQUE. July y^e 14th 1637

SER — My humble duty remembred the bearer hereof beeing Sonne to Passaconoway is in debted vnto m^r Vane. three skines w^{ch} hee desighreth to pay but hee is affread to come to pay them by reason y^t the Sagamō of Aguawam serteffieth him y^t if hee come in to the bay you will take away his head hee hath desighred mee to write in his bee halffe y^t hee may come & pay his debts & likewise y^t you would bee pleased to bid him welcome & soe desighring y^e lord to blesse you & yours I humbly rest

Your worship^s to comnd

to his poure WILLI. HILTON

Ser this beearer desighreth mee to serteyffie in his beehalffe y^t the English haue awais bin verry welcome vnto him I am able to testeffie y^t hee hath euer since I knew him bin a verry loving Indean.

To y^e Right worth JOHN WINTHROP esquire
Gouerñ of the Masachsets giue these.

William Hilton, the writer of these letters, came from London to Plymouth in New England in the "Fortune," November 11, 1621. His wife and two children followed in the "Anne," July or August, 1623, and in "a little tyme following" their arrival, he settled on the Piscataqua River with Mr. Edward Hilton, they being "the first English planters there." For a further account of him, see the New England Historical and Genealogical Register for April, 1877 (XXXI. 179), and January, 1882 (XXXVI. 40).

The Hon. William W. Crapo, of New Bedford, was elected a Resident Member.

Incidental remarks were made during the meeting by the Hon. EDWARD L. PIERCE and the Hon. WILLIAM EVERETT.

DECEMBER MEETING, 1895.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 12th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the President, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D., in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved; and the list of donors to the Library was also read. The Corresponding Secretary said that he had received a letter of acceptance from the Hon. William W. Crapo, who was elected a Resident Member at the November meeting, and was now present. The Treasurer called attention to the provisions in Mr. Sears's declaration of trust; and on his motion it was unanimously

Voted, That the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the current year be appropriated toward the publication of the Society's Collections.

The President then announced the death of Rev. Octavius B. Frothingham, a Resident Member, who died November 27, and called on Rev. Dr. EDWARD J. YOUNG, who spoke as follows:—

I share the regret which you must all feel that Colonel Higginson is not here to speak of Mr. Frothingham, for he was in full sympathy with him, and, more than any other individual, could do justice to his character and work. I am glad to say a few words, at the request of the President, because of my attachment to our late associate, and my friendship, which was unbroken to the last. He was five years before me in college, so that he had left the University when I entered it; but he lived only a few doors from our house on Summer Street, and his father and my father were fellow-workers and friends. Dr. Frothingham wrote a hymn for my Ordination; and I often saw and heard Octavius, and always admired him. He had a rare equipment from his inheritance and early training. His father was an elegant writer, Edward Everett was his uncle, and another uncle was

Charles Francis Adams, so that much was to be expected from one of such birth and breeding.

There was something very interesting in his personality. He had a brilliant intellect, a native refinement, dignity, and courtesy, a quick moral sense, a poetic fancy, and a truly religious nature. One could not meet him and talk with him without feeling that he was a most accomplished man, and without being impressed by his ripe culture, his urbanity, and genial spirit. His very aspect betokened the scholar and the gentleman.

There was a curious commingling of opposite elements in his constitution. He was conservative by early education and temperament, but progressive by further study and thought. He was aristocratic in his feelings, but democratic in his principles and convictions. He was naturally a man of quiet and fastidious tastes, averse to agitation and controversy, but he was compelled by a sense of duty to be a combatant. His was not "a fugitive and cloistered virtue." He had none of the timidity of the scholar. He had the courage of his convictions; and, holding very radical opinions, he uttered them in the plainest and strongest terms. Yet in his intercourse with others he never lost his calmness, sweetness, and serenity. He was not soured and embittered, as many are, by opposition. He accepted the isolation which was forced upon him. He said that "the preacher following his Master has no enviable position; the evil-minded will be against him, and the good will not always approve." At the close of his ministry he declared: "Mine has been a career of conflict, where hard words had to be heard and spoken, and heavy blows dealt as well as received; and if sometimes there was a stronger smell of sulphur in the air than of the fragrance of roses, it was not as I would have had it."

His addresses were fine specimens of oratory; and by his voice, his diction, and delivery, he reminded us of George William Curtis. Many a time, when I have listened to him and been charmed by him, I have said to myself, *Cum talis sis, utinam noster esses!* His literary work was of a high order. He excelled as a biographer, and he could set forth the salient points of any character, being always appreciative, but at the same time truthful and just. He wrote the history of Transcendentalism and of Unitarianism, and, to show his qualifica-

tion for the task, he quoted the remark of Renan, that in order to judge a faith one must have confessed it and abandoned it.

After leaving the Divinity School at Cambridge, he was settled over the North Church in Salem, which was a cultivated and wealthy parish, desirous of maintaining existing institutions and beliefs. He was a Unitarian of the Channing type ; but he began to read certain German books, until finally he adopted the views of Baur and the Tübingen school. It must have been evident to him that if he should preach these views, he would not long satisfy his congregation.

In addition to this, the anti-slavery movement was at its height ; and it culminated when Sims, an escaped negro, was forcibly carried back to slavery with the aid of the United States troops. That was a dark day for Boston and for our whole State. The law had been declared constitutional, though it was opposed to the moral sentiment of this community, and many of the best citizens were sorrowful and perplexed. The United States Marshal, Charles Devens, who had sworn to execute the laws, acted under a painful sense of duty, being convinced that he ought to see that the statute was enforced ; but he proved his loyalty to conscience by raising a subscription in behalf of the unfortunate man, and ultimately redeemed him from bondage. Mr. Frothingham was deeply stirred in regard to the matter. In a sermon which he delivered he said, "In every scourged and vilified slave I see the person of the Crucified" ; and he affirmed that during the past week Christ himself in the person of one of the least of his disciples had been arraigned for judgment. He compared the judge who presided in court to Pontius Pilate ; and he represented those who had assisted in carrying out the law as hired ruffians stalking insolently up and down before the tribunal to which they should have been brought as malefactors. After the service he refused to administer the communion, although this was the time appointed for it. He describes the incident and what followed in these words :—

"On one occasion, after a brutal scene in Boston attending the return of a slave to his master, feeling that the larger part of his congregation were in sympathy with the government, and approved of the act of surrender, the excited minister declined to give the ordinance of communion, thinking it would be a mockery. This action brought the

growing disaffection to a head. The feeling of the parish was divided. Bitter words were exchanged. The situation on both sides became uncomfortable; and he accepted an invitation to another city, where he could exercise his independence without check or limit."

Having lived in Salem for eight years, Mr. Frothingham removed to Jersey City, where he endeavored to establish a new Society. But the undertaking was a difficult one; and after four years he went to New York, where he preached to the Third Unitarian Society, which afterwards called itself the Independent Liberal Church. Here he had the utmost freedom of speech, and attained his highest success. In Lyric Hall and Masonic Temple he often spoke to an audience of a thousand persons, comprising many of the most thoughtful and highly educated residents of the city, as well as visitors from abroad. His sermons were spiritual and practical, and were designed to influence public sentiment and elevate the individual life. Though he was highly esteemed by his congregation, yet everything was not wholly agreeable to his taste; and he said to me, "Because I am radical in theology, people think that I am radical in everything else, and I am beset by long-haired men and short-haired women who expect me to favor their pet schemes." He stood at his post for nearly twenty years, when he resigned his charge, his Society was disbanded and never afterwards re-assembled. Its minister's health had become impaired; he needed rest, and went to Europe for two years, and on his return came back to Boston, where he was warmly welcomed by his old friends. He enjoyed particularly his connection with this Society, of which he became a member in 1887; and his memoirs of James Walker and of Francis Parkman, and his tribute to Dr. Ellis and memoir of him, are fresh in the minds of all.

He was always interested in religion; and when I asked if he desired still to retain the title of "Rev.," he said, "Certainly." Religion, he declared, "is an eternal necessity, and the administration of it is an absolute demand." It was thought, after his Society had dissolved, that its members would unite with the Society for Ethical Culture; but many of them did not wish to do so, as they missed the religious element—the prayer and the hymn—which they always found in Mr. Frothingham's services.

As I look back on the career of our associate, I cannot but think that the hymn which he wrote for his class at their graduation from the Divinity School was unconsciously prophetic of his own experience, —

“ Send us where’er thou wilt, O Lord !
Through rugged toil and wearying fight,
Thy conquering love shall be our sword,
And faith in Thee our truest might.”

He died in his native city, on November 27, 1895, the day following the seventy-third anniversary of his birth.

“After life’s fitful fever he sleeps well.”

In response to a call from the President, Mr. JAMES FORD RHODES said: —

As one having frequently heard Mr. Frothingham on the platform with pleasure and profit, I would pay my tribute to his memory. To people living in the West a visit to New York City, no matter how frequently made, always remains a sort of holiday; and there were some of us to whom the prospect of hearing Mr. Frothingham preach was not the least of our anticipated pleasures from these visits. In the seventies those who were drawn on Sunday mornings to the Masonic Temple on Twenty-third Street heard some of the most finished sermons or lectures that have instructed our generation. The audience was a curious one for New York. Of course it was not like a congregation of a Fifth Avenue fashionable church, and yet it was different from that which now flocks to the Society of Ethical Culture to hear Felix Adler, although indeed Adler’s audience is to some extent made up of the remnant of Frothingham’s. You never got the idea that the people who gathered to hear Mr. Frothingham were reformers and agitators. They wore not the dress, had not the personal appearance, the eager countenance, and restless manner of men and women devoted to some movement which they hoped would result in an upheaval in politics or society. They were apparently intelligent and thinking persons, with refinement, whose taste was pleased, whose ethical sentiments were ministered to by the elegant discourse heard from that platform. The sermon was what brought them there. A large number

only came in during the hymn which immediately preceded the sermon; a still greater number left after the sermon, not waiting for the final song and what served as a benediction. If ever man had the appearance of being at home and in sympathy with his hearers, Mr. Frothingham had, as he stood up on that platform, a noble and classical figure. He took no text, but at the beginning announced the subject of his discourse, and then without manuscript or notes and, as I remember, standing near no desk, elaborated his theme in easy language, in an orderly manner, and with logical method. The sermon was not extemporaneous. The thought was so close, and the diction so fine, that I long supposed that he wrote out his sermons fully and committed them to memory. In his "Recollections and Impressions," however, he relates that in the early period of his ministry his uncle Edward Everett had advised such a course, as being based on his own approved experience. But Mr. Frothingham found this task too great, and at first read his sermons from manuscript, learning later to preach without notes. His sermons were of the impressive sort. It was not difficult to follow them. They remain long in the memory. I shall never forget his discourse on the spiritual man, which I count as one of the finest platform efforts it has fallen to my fortune to hear. The man who lived in the spirit was above the man of business, the man of political ambition, the man whose dominant thought was fame, and indeed excelled the moral man. His characterization of the moral man was effective. He drew the figure familiar enough to us all, — such an one as squares his conduct to suit exactly the community in which he lives, who never does anything by impulse, who calculates with nicety his life in public to win approbation from his neighbors, and who may after all be like unto a whited sepulchre. After developing this idea to a considerable length, he summed up his characterization with: In short, the moral man often is the man who is not found out. Touching then again on the spiritual man, he named, as seeming to realize, or nearly realize, his ideal, Goethe and Emerson.

It is not too much to say that Mr. Frothingham's ministry in New York has left behind it memories which shall endure during our generation. His sermons made for correct living and high aspirations. One felt better for having heard them; and though an earnest Methodist or Baptist might object to

their too great refinement of motive, they seemed suited to that audience who heard him for his invariable sixty minutes with rapt attention. The listeners were in sympathy with the speaker, and yet some way he seemed above and beyond us in his spiritual aspirations; and while under the spell we wondered whether he indeed had been able to peer further than our own selves into the mysteries of the universe.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN communicated an unpublished elegy by Benjamin Tompson, and said:—

At a stated meeting of this Society held on December 13, 1877, Mr. Winthrop, the President, spoke of five early Elegies—three of them printed as broadsides, and the other two in manuscript—which were preserved among his family papers. One of the manuscript Elegies was composed on the death of the third Governor Winthrop, commonly called Fitz-John Winthrop, to distinguish him from his father. It was written soon after the event, and was signed with the initials “B. T.,” which stand for the name of Benjamin Tompson, the earliest native American poet. As these productions were not considered worth printing in the Proceedings, Mr. Winthrop referred to them only to show how in former days the griefs of our fathers strove and struggled to express themselves in metrical and rhythmical form.

Through the courtesy of Mr. Winthrop, Jr., I have been enabled to make a copy of Tompson’s lines, which are without doubt in the handwriting of the author. As his verses have received some attention at a recent meeting of this Society, I herewith submit the copy, as follows:—

*The Illustrious Fitz-John Winthrop Esq^r
Govern^r of Quincticott Colony in New-England
Memorized and lamented by an aged Sylvan
of the Massathusets*

Anno Dom : 1708.

Winthrop this day reposd his weary bones
Leaving his Province filld with equall groans
To those which by the wrack hee under-went
Ere his brave soul was from its binding rent.

Being the third of a Renowned line
Which wee Americans deemed next Divine
The last Gazet which from New-England came
Might ha' been crowned with *GREAT WINTHROPS* name.
Advertisment Enough to fill a page
And deluge with its tears the present age.
His grandsire by direction of a starre
Conducted all our Tribes hither, thus farr
And many thousands of most precious Ore
And *SAINTS* more precious landed he[re] on shoare
Laying the Platforme of his State so firme
No underminers in his life did harme.
Winthrop, the second, of renowned fame
Hath filld this climate with his perfumd name
CHRLS that hee might his grand Arcanas know
While hee prepar'd them would the bellows blow.
Were there a Balsom, which all wounds could cure
Twas in this Asculapian hand be sure.
WINTHROP, the third with palsied hand I write
His Province^s pillar, and this lands delight.
His annient Patent while hee livd was free
From all intrusions on their libertie.
While all the neighbourhood was set on fire
Hee kept his Paradisian hearts desire,
Being garrisond with *GOD*, all fenced about
With living walls, and hearts of Marble stout.
New-England Histories so much have said
In *WINTHROPS* praise, poor I do but degrade.
Europe knows better than wee natives tell
How in thy Parentage thou didst excell.
Vertues sufficient to oblige a World
Have at thy Exit all their streamers furd.
In Boston lies the timber of the *ARKe*
On which before hees borne hee did imbarque
Winthrop the first Lord of the Americk coast
Opning his bosom of his sons may boast
In lethall agonies, this, prays for rest
Upon the pillow of that annient breast.
Lands everywhere hee had wheron to lie
Yet hee must see his grandsires tomb & die.
By a great favorite hees upward handed
Sin and Temptations all at once disbanded

Hee at the Innes of Court such treaty finds
 As fully can content ingenuous minds
 Heers three great Winthrops under whom wee thrivd
 Wee hope the fourth will prove far longer lived.
 And such as are invested with great power
 May bee preparing for a parting hour.

Epilogi vice

Thus naked Sylvans, guiltless as to Art
 Yet in our sorrows need not learne our part.
 Since wee can mourn, with all our Vitals black
 When those are rent from us wee chiefly lack.
 Not to renew your sorrows this I write
 Not to prevent your surfeits in delight
 Accept this offering of a countrey teare
 from clouded eys that soon must disappeare
 Might I with such kind Enterteinment have
 Take lands who will, I would request a Grave.

Morti vi[v]emus

B T

[Indorsed] 1708 on the Death of Gove: Fitz John Winthrop

The Hon. WILLIAM EVERETT spoke in substance as follows:—

It may not be improper to bring to the attention of the Society an interesting occurrence in the history of one of our oldest Massachusetts communities. On the 3d of December, 1895, the city of Quincy, formerly the town of that name, and earlier still the North Precinct of the town of Braintree, elected as its mayor Charles Francis Adams, 2d. The newly elected mayor belongs to the ninth generation of his name in the place of his residence, counting Henry Adams, the original ancestor, as the first. That original ancestor died in 1646, the town of Braintree having been set off from Boston in 1640.

The prominence of the Adams family in their native town in comparatively later times is well known; but it is not so well understood that this prominence goes back to the earlier days.

It does not certainly appear if the settler Henry Adams had any share in the town government of Braintree. The first records seem to have been kept by a person of his name, and a Henry Adams is selectman on the 10th of November, 1646;

but the settler died in October of that year. The Henry Adams of the records must therefore have been the settler's eldest son, who emigrated to Medfield.

But in the town meeting of 10 April, 1673, Joseph Adams appears as selectman. This is the eighth son of the emigrant, born in 1626, and dying in 1694. His is the first generation in the direct line employed in the service of his town. After acting as selectman, he appears in 1690 as constable, and is chosen surveyor at the town meeting of March, 1692-3.

At the town meeting of the 7th of March, 1698-9, Joseph Adams is chosen selectman. He was the son of Joseph Adams the elder, the grandson of the settler; born 1654, died 1736. He serves the next year as constable, and as surveyor in 1715; is rechosen selectman for 1716 and 1717, and again surveyor for 1720. His brother Peter Adams had a service of many years as selectman for 1710-1714, colleague with his brother in 1716, and again from 1723 to 1727, having been surveyor in 1719. He also appears in these later years as moderator at the town meeting. He refused to serve as selectman for 1728. These brothers are of the second generation called to the service of the town of Braintree.

At the town meeting of March, 1733-4, Ensign John Adams was chosen selectman; he was the son of Joseph the younger, was born in 1691-2, and died in 1761. He had previously served in several of the minor offices; and after his first service, having risen from ensign to lieutenant, and then passed to deacon, he was re-elected selectman in thirteen subsequent years. He is the third generation of the name called to the public service of his native place.

The individuals thus commemorated, besides holding the principal offices above named, were frequently placed upon special commissions, to determine boundaries and the like. They were obviously all of them constantly in the minds of their fellow-townsmen. The son of the Deacon was John Adams, whose life extended from 1735 to 1826. His distinction as signer and upholder of the Declaration of Independence, Minister to France, Holland, and Great Britain, drafter of the Massachusetts State Constitution, Vice-President and President of the United States, must not let us lose sight of the fact that his public service began in 1761, the year of his father's death, by his being elected, much to his disgust, sur-

veyor of his native town. He subsequently served for two years as selectman, and received an unexampled vote of thanks for his service in that position on his declining a third term. He is in the fourth generation in the direct line of the name of Adams called to public service in the town of Braintree.

His son John Quincy Adams, born in 1767, and dying in 1848, was never actually in the employ of the town of Braintree, either under that name, or after the North Precinct became a separate town under the name of Quincy. His service as secretary of legation to Mr. Dana, as minister to the Hague, to Berlin, to St. Petersburg, and to London, and those as Secretary of State and as President, were of course purely national matters. He was chosen to the Massachusetts Senate from Suffolk County, as a citizen of Boston, and as such also he became a Senator of the United States. His native town had voted, both in 1824 and 1828, for the Presidential electors pledged to his support, unanimously in the first year, and practically so the second. But in 1830 there began what was perhaps the most interesting part of his public career, bringing him into close relations with Quincy. He had taken up his abode there after his father's death, and begun a much more intimate acquaintance with the scenes of his early childhood. In 1830 Mr. Adams was chosen to represent the Norfolk District in Congress and re-elected eight times, dying, as is well known, at his post in February, 1848. Of these nine elections, he received the majority of votes in Quincy seven times, and being in the minority by a very few votes twice. He is in the fifth generation of the direct line elected to office by the vote of his native town.

His son Charles Francis Adams was born in Boston, in 1807, and died in 1886; he was identified with that city till his father's death. As a citizen of Boston and Suffolk he served in both houses of the Legislature. In 1848 he transferred his legal residence to Quincy. Ten years later he was chosen to represent what was practically his father's congressional district, receiving a plurality of votes in Quincy, in 1858, and falling behind his opponent by a few votes in 1860. In the ten years previous to his service in Congress, Mr. C. F. Adams was frequently elected a member of the school committee of Quincy; and after returning from his mission in Europe, served every year as one of the managers of Adams Academy. He

is in the sixth generation of his name elected to public office by the votes of his townsmen.

His son John Quincy Adams was born in 1833, and died in 1894. He was repeatedly chosen to the school committee of Quincy, and was largely instrumental in recasting the school system of the town, on a basis which acquired a national reputation. He was also, for a very long succession of years, moderator of the annual town meeting. This had assumed a disorderly and shiftless character; Mr. Adams instituted a thorough reform in the conduct of business, and revived an ancient practice of referring all the articles of the warrant to a general committee to report at a later meeting, serving himself as an energetic member. He was also for several years elected a manager of Adams Academy. He was four times chosen to the General Court as a representative of one of the Norfolk Districts. He is in the seventh generation of his name elected to office by the votes of his townsmen.

His third, but second surviving son, Charles Francis Adams, 2d, as stated at the outset, has just been elected mayor of the city of Quincy, at the ninth election held for that office, having previously served three terms in the City Council. He is in the eighth generation of his name elected to office by the votes of their fellow-citizens.

The PRESIDENT then presented to the Society a large collection of unpublished letters by John Quincy Adams, and said:—

Nearly seven years ago, at the January meeting of 1888,¹ I submitted to the Society a letter from John Quincy Adams to his brother, Thomas Boylston Adams, dated February 1, 1792, in which he gave a somewhat curious account of the state of public feeling in Boston at that time. This letter, preserved among the papers of T. B. Adams, had been, as I then stated, given to me by his daughter, Miss E. C. Adams. Some time after that Miss Adams handed me a package of other letters, also from J. Q. Adams, to her father, and containing all that ever reached their destination of a series of letters, regularly numbered from 1 to 53, written between the 7th of August, 1809, and the 2d of April, 1816. A few of the earlier numbers of the series were written at sea. In them the writer

¹ 2 Proceedings, vol. iv. pp. 61-65.

gives a somewhat detailed and very interesting account of the incidents of a voyage through the Baltic during its blockade by the British. One letter, also, the final one of the series, is from Ghent; and one from Ealing, in England. All the others were written at St. Petersburg.

This series of letters — all, with one exception, in Mr. Adams's handwriting — I now give to the Society. Written in confidence from St. Petersburg to his brother by the Minister of the United States to the Court of Alexander I., and covering as they do the Russian campaign of Napoleon as well as our own War of 1812, these letters ought to be of great interest, both historical and otherwise; and they have a considerable degree of interest, as will presently appear. This interest would, however, be much greater but for the two facts that the letters were written under conditions involving extreme caution on the part of the writer, as in one of them he remarks, "almost every letter I write is opened and read either by French or English officers"; and, in the second place, the copious extracts from his diary, since published, cover the same period as those letters, leaving nothing new of value to come to light. For these reasons, and for others which at once suggest themselves in reading these letters, I do not propose printing them in full as part of the Society's Proceedings; but, instead, will now submit certain extracts from them, while in their complete form they will be preserved and be open to examination in our archives.

When he went out as the first Minister to the Court of Russia from this country after the adoption of the Constitution, Mr. Adams was just entering on his forty-third year. He was accredited by President Madison; and history has not failed to recognize the singular importance of a mission sent out to the very centre of disturbance, just as the plot was thickening which resulted in what may without exaggeration be spoken of as the most dramatic as well as tragic catastrophe recorded in history, — I refer, of course, to the Russian campaign of 1812 and the subsequent downfall of Napoleon.

To quote from one of the letters (No. 4) of this series, Mr. Adams "landed on the quay of the river Neva just opposite the magnificent equestrian statue of Peter the Great at 3 in the afternoon of the 23rd of October [1809], the eightieth day from that of our embarkation at the wharf in Charles-

town." Russia and France were then at peace, the treaty of Tilsit having been signed two years before; but the course of events was already strongly tending to the rupture of June, 1812, when Napoleon crossed the Niemen at the head of his army. This was the period of the Emperor's continental system, when, through his Berlin and Milan decrees on the one side and the British Orders in Council on the other, the neutral trade was being crushed out of existence; and the neutral trade was that carried on in American bottoms, or under the flag of the United States. The Baltic was the great field of operations; and Napoleon, watching closely the drift of events, "took no more interest in the roads to Lisbon and Cadiz, and studied only those that led to Wilna, Moscow, and St. Petersburg. . . . So deeply were American interests founded in the affairs of Europe that even in the Baltic they were the rock on which Napoleon's destiny split; for the quarrels which in the summer of 1811 became violent between France and the two independent Baltic Powers — Russia and Sweden — were chiefly due to those omnipresent American ships, which thrived under pillage and challenged confiscation. Madison's wisdom in sending a Minister to St. Petersburg was proved more quickly than he could have expected. Between March 1 and November 1, 1811, at one of the most critical moments in the world's history, President Madison had no other full Minister accredited in Europe than his envoy to Russia; but whatever mortifications he suffered from Napoleon were more than repaid by means of this Russian mission."¹

Premising this much, I shall now submit a few extracts from this series of letters which will at least show how the events and personages of the awful drama then rapidly unfolding itself looked in the eyes of a close and deeply interested observer, watching it at the very centre of operations.

The first extract, from a letter of Mr. Adams dated only four months after his arrival, refers to his first experience of that covert personal intervention of the Emperor in behalf of the United States which the Chancellor Romanzoff reported to Mr. Adams "with undisguised astonishment," and the secret bearing of which Mr. Adams was at a complete loss to understand. He had been plunged at once into the vortex of European diplomatic intrigue.

¹ Henry Adams, *History of the United States*, vol. v. pp. 385, 408.

"ST. PETERSBURG, 14 February, 1810.

"My proceedings here as soon as I was made acquainted with the order of sequestration are not published, as I supposed the success of the special interposition of the Emperor of Russia, to obtain the speedy release of this property, might depend upon the forbearance to make it public. The peculiarly friendly disposition of the Emperor Alexander towards the United States was manifested in the readiness with which he granted his good offices with the Danish Government upon this occasion. And I trust it has not been altogether without effect. Much of the property is already released, and the remainder will be so before long. I have not heard from Mr. Russell since his arrival at Copenhagen, where by his last letter he informed me he was immediately going. . . .

"Upon the politics of Europe, or upon those of America, I scarcely know what to write you, nor would it perhaps be discreet to write what would be most interesting for you to read. Situated here at the Northern extremity of Europe, we are almost as distant from the places where the events most remarkable for the world are occurring, and imprisoned almost constantly from the time of our arrival, and still for months to be so in thrilling regions of thick-ribbed ice, we are almost as long in receiving intelligence from the scenes of important action as yourselves. We only know very lately, as before this I suppose you know in America, that there is a negotiation on foot between France and England, but with little expectation on either part that it will terminate in a peace. Unhappily for mankind, the present state of the world exhibits the singular phenomenon of two great Powers oppressing the whole species under the colour of a war against each other. France and England can do very little harm, comparatively speaking, to each other. But the armed legions of France lay the Continent of Europe under the most enormous contributions to support and enrich them; while the naval force of England extorts the same tribute from the commerce of the world. The mass of the people both in France and England suffers in common with those of other countries, but the fashion of paying any regard to the interests of the people is almost abandoned even in pretence. When we were last in Europe, a sort of republican or democratic spirit was prevalent, not only in the official pretensions, and varying Constitutions of France, but in the political and literary character of the times. It is scarcely conceivable what a change in this respect has taken place. There is not a Republic left in Europe. The very name of the people is everywhere buried in oblivion. In England, the great concerns upon which all the passions of the country concentrate themselves, are intrigues and cabals of princes and ministers to supplant one another and the prices of seats at the play-house. In France and the rest of Europe, king-making and

king-breaking orders of chivalry and dissolutions of marriage — blanchisseuses-princesses and jacobin-grubs bursting into butterfly Princes, Dukes and Counts, conscriptions and contributions, famine grinding the people into soldiers, soldiers sprouting into Sultans; fifty or sixty upstarts wallowing in more than Asiatic luxury, and an iron harrow tearing up the bowels of the nations, — this is the present history of the times.

“The country where we now are has perhaps undergone the least change of any one in Europe, since I last saw it, and that change has been for the better. The Emperor Alexander, whom the English fame-blowers once extol’d to the skies, and whom they now vainly attempt to degrade, is a character highly distinguished among the sovereigns of the world. Young, handsome, and elegant in his person, affable and condescending in his manners, he possesses qualities yet more important and more commendable in a powerful and absolute Prince. His spirit of benevolence and humanity is so strong and so universally recognized that they who wish to censure him can only complain that this disposition implies a defect of energy. How far this may be founded I have not the means of judging; but I know that his character is not destitute of firmness and perseverance. His system of policy since the Peace with France has been very steadily pursued, though undoubtedly contrary to the passions and prejudices of almost all the persons by whom he is surrounded. It has indeed been hitherto remarkably successful, and the English party here has consequently lost much of its strength. Still however it would predominate but for his steadiness and decision. His regard for our country which he has manifested upon many occasions, and in one very recent instance as I have mentioned to you, is a proof not less of wisdom than of goodness. It indicates a mind capable of appreciating distant objects and remote consequences; one of the rarest and most valuable qualities that a statesman can possess. He has extended the bounds of his Empire, though, as he himself said to me, it is already too large; but his new acquisitions have certainly contributed to its security as well as its extent.”

The next extract explains itself. “The facetious and spirited gentleman” referred to in one portion of it was the famous George Canning, and the “ministerial colleague,” Lord Castlereagh; the allusion being to the wound in the thigh received by the former in the duel between the two, which took place on Putney Heath, September 21, 1809: —

“ST. PETERSBURG, 21 April, 1810.

“I have hitherto scarcely written you anything upon the political affairs of Europe. Events which, in ordinary times, would be con-

sidered as of extraordinary magnitude succeed one another in such rapid succession, that I should hardly have had the means of sending away a view of the public appearance of Europe, before it would have assumed a new one. At the time when I embarked at Charlestown, a War almost universal was raging upon this continent. Since then the Peace of Sweden has been concluded with Russia, with Denmark, and with France — that of France and Russia with Austria has been succeeded by the dissolution of marriage between the Emperor Napoleon and his second marriage with the oldest daughter of the Emperor of Austria. The consequences anticipated from this last event, the most unexpected of any of those which I have mentioned, are greater than from all the others together. It has not only given the most cheering hopes to the house of Austria, that it will be preserved from the downfall of the Bourbons, but the whole Continent of Europe considers it as a pledge of future peace and tranquillity, which may very possibly not be realized. Its tendency to consolidate and give stability to the new Imperial Family of France is more obvious and more certain. Napoleon is the Cræsus of the age, and those who believe that the Universe is governed by the Wisdom and Goodness of a superior being can only recur to the caution of Solon ; and beware pronouncing upon a man's fortune, until they have witnessed his end.

“In the mean time everything that occurs in the world seems to be fashioned in subserviency to his views. British politicians, and their disciples throughout the world, have hitherto found no other expedient, than to stimulate resistance against him where it could not fail to be subdued, and to stigmatize the victims which they have successively offered up in sacrifice to him. He said or wrote on a late occasion that the Genius of France had directed the British Government in their expedition to the Scheldt ; but a Genius favourable to him appears to have inspired the British Councils, from the moment when in the face of their engagements they set him at defiance, to keep possession of the island of Malta. To those who feel a real concern for the independence of nations and the liberties of mankind, it is truly mortifying to observe the little man, and the little means by which the great powers and resources of England are wasted in this contest. When we read in ancient history the final struggle between Rome and Carthage, we see the triumph of one system of political institutions over another, but the greatest man is on the vanquished side. Now we have a more melancholy spectacle ; the superior system of political institutions, defeated by the individual imbecility of its supporters. That it may remain no secret to the world a Parliamentary Inquiry has been many weeks employed to expose it in its minutest and most disgusting details. The Expedition to Walcheren is but a single specimen of the manner in which the great affairs of the British nation are managed.

It appears to have been undertaken in the face of what to men of common sense must have been considered as demonstration of its impracticability. Its conduct was then committed to a man who would hardly have been fit to take possession of a place after its capitulation. Twenty thousand men are sent into the midst of a notorious pestilence ; and when the physician-general of the army is ordered to go to their relief he positively refuses on the avowed ground that he knows nothing about contagious distempers. When this wise undertaking comes to its natural termination, the Ministers try to throw the blame of the failure upon their colleague the General. The General puts it off upon his coadjutor the Commander of the fleet. One intrigues against his associates, with the king. Another betrays his friend by a sham defence of him in Parliament. Ignorance and folly appear alike conspicuous in all, and these are the antagonists who are to maintain the balance of the world against the genius and the fortune of Bonaparte.

“The choice of Mr. Jackson, and the manner in which he executed his mission in America furnishes another chapter for the same history, perfectly corresponding with it, in its characteristic features. Fortunately both for England and for us, when Mr. Jackson’s hard studied vivacities and their effects came back to Europe, the facetious and spirited gentleman who had sent him out to repair the cracks and flaws of his Master’s *dignity*, was laid up with a lame leg caught in the attempt to trip up the heels of a ministerial colleague, and was enjoying the leisure of a temporary retirement from the Cabinet. His successor, of whose personal character I have little knowledge, appears at least to be gifted with a little more discretion, and has not undertaken to bear out Mr. Jackson in his lofty pretensions and fiery temper. What the actual state of our affairs with England is, I am not authentically informed ; but the rumours of the gazettes announce that a new convention has been signed by Mr. Pinckney [Pinkney] and the Marquis of Wellesley to take effect in case it should be ratified by the American Government.

“It is much to be wished that this may be true. If it should prove so, and our commercial and amicable intercourse with England should be restored, I am persuaded that France and her dependents will follow the example. At present they are heaping outrage upon outrage in their treatment of us. If our merchants have not been allowed to arm their vessels, nine-tenths of those which may hazard a European voyage, will meet no other reception than seizure and confiscation. But if we could once make an arrangement with England, consistent with our rights and our honour, our commerce is competent to defend itself against all other force that it would meet upon the ocean, and to teach once more a lesson of forbearance and moderation to France, and all her dependents. Would I might see that day !”

The next extract affords a somewhat startling glimpse of the methods in which trade was conducted while the Berlin and Milan decrees and the Orders in Council were in active working condition : —

“ST. PETERSBURG, 30 June, 1810.

“We are expecting to hear from day to day of a great battle in Spain, and the continuance of the war, or the restoration of peace is supposed to depend upon its event. Spain and Portugal are the only remaining parts of the European Continent which furnish a pretext for continuing the war, on the part of England; but there is so much internal fermentation in that country just now, that her Government may very probably find it necessary to maintain at all hazards a foreign war, to preserve peace within her own island. With regard to commerce the two parties have already come to an arrangement, *de facto*, which suits the purpose of both. All neutrality and neutral trade is, by common consent of the belligerents, annihilated. The British at settled prices grant licenses to *any flag*, French as well as any other, which are respected by her Navy. The Emperor Napoleon gives licenses to any flag, English as well as any other, which are respected by all his subordinate authorities. All other commerce is proscribed, and under these double licenses the commerce between the British Islands and the Continent of Europe is now carried on to an extent beyond that of the most active and prosperous times of peace. France and England both raise a large revenue from their *licenses*, which ultimates as a tax upon the consumption of the articles circulating by this new method of trade. The people of Europe pay this tax with a good grace, and according to all appearances our countrymen are prepared to pay it in like manner.

“I know not any news that it would be possible for me to give you from this place, unless it should be of the war between Russia and the Turks. This is an object extremely interesting here. But I do not suppose that you would take much concern in a detail of the progress of the Russian arms. I was summoned last week to a *Te Deum* at the Imperial Chapel, on account of the glorious victories of General Kamensky, and the defeat of the Seraskier Peglivan. The said Seraskier it seems was taken together with the fortress of Bazargik, and about 1600 men, a remnant of 10,000, by storm. The eight thousand and odd hundred other Turks of the garrison were cut to pieces in the process of the capture. *Te Deum laudamus*. For the loss of Russians in this achievement did not exceed in killed and wounded seven hundred men. Silistria surrendered without waiting to be stormed. If you never heard the names of those places before, look for them upon a map. Eight thousand and some hundreds of valiant Turks were butchered in the first of them, for which but eight days

since I heard Christian priests and princes give solemn thanks to God."

The operations referred to in the final paragraph of the foregoing extract were those carried on along the Danube in the Turco-Russian war of 1810-11. Bazardjik was carried by assault by the Russians under Kamenski on June 2, 1810; and Peclivan-Pasha, the Turkish Commander, with 2,000 men of his command, was taken prisoner.

The following, from No. 9 of the series, dated "St. Petersburg, 11/23 October, 1810," has a very familiar sound. It is merely necessary to premise that Mr. Adams at this time had practically no private means. He was wholly dependent on his salary.

"ST. PETERSBURG, 11/23 October, 1810.

"True it is that while the insignificance of the American Minister's appearance is the subject of sarcasm, the theme is copious and would be ludicrous in proportion to the details into which a person acquainted with his style of living here and that of other Ministers, might enter — compare him for instance with a French Ambassador who expends yearly three hundred thousand dollars, and you may judge how he must show — compare him with the ministers of petty principalities whose names are scarcely known to you, and the lowest of whose salaries are equivalent to twenty thousand dollars a year, and you may rely upon it he does not shine. He cannot associate upon terms of equality either with the other foreign Ministers, or with the Court nobility of the country; or even with the merchants who are making enormous fortunes by American consignments of 'sugar and coffee,' and to complete the picture it must be added that from all these three classes of society he has received the most pointed and most oppressive attentions — oppressive I call them from the utter impossibility with his means of meeting them by the return which they so justly deserve. But he knows that to indulge but for a moment that honest pride which is uneasy until it has reciprocated obligations of hospitality, would be total ruin to himself and his family. He therefore limits his expenditures to his allowance from his country, shuns as much as he can those circles of society with whose splendour he cannot vie, and lives almost entirely retired within the bosom of his own family. This you may say is not very diplomatic. But it is absolutely necessary as you say to 'steer clear of the breakers.'"

The date of the letter from which the next extract is taken is significant. The French retreat from Moscow began on the 19th of October, and this letter was written on the 24th of the following month:—

"ST. PETERSBURG, 24 November, 1812.

"The great events daily occurring in the country whence I now write you, are strong and continual additional warnings to us, not to involve ourselves in the inextricable labyrinth of European politics and revolutions. The final issue of the campaign in the North of Europe is not yet completely ascertained ; but there is no longer a doubt but that it must be disastrous in the highest degree to France, and no less glorious to Russia. It may not improbably end in the utter annihilation of the invading army, three-fourths of which have already been destroyed. Whether the Emperor Napoleon will personally escape the fate which has befallen so many of his followers is yet doubtful, but it may be taken for granted that he will never be able again to assemble against Russia a force which can be formidable to the security or integrity of her empire. The politicians who have been dreading so long the phantom of universal monarchy may possess their souls in 'quietness. Never having been infected with the terror of it, I shall derive no new source of tranquillity from these occurrences ; but I cannot say that my foresight was clear enough to expect that the Colossus of French power would in so very short a period be staggering upon its foundations so manifestly as it is. It is impossible not to consider the internal state of France as greatly depending upon the course of these external events. The Empire of Napoleon was built upon victory alone. Defeat takes away its foundation, and with such defeat as he is now suffering, it would be nothing surprising to see the whole fabric crumble into ruins. France indeed still remains : a formidable mass of power ; but into what condition she may be plunged by the overthrow of his Government I am scarcely able to conjecture. The day of trial to Russia has been severe ; but it has been short, and her deportment under it will raise her high in the estimation of mankind. Her plan of defence has the most decisive demonstration in its favour — success — and success under numerous incidental circumstances disadvantageous to her. Not only her armies but her peasantry armed and sent into the field as if by enchantment, have fought with the most invincible courage, though not always with favourable fortune. The chances of war have been sometimes with and sometimes against them, but they have arrested the career of the conqueror of the age, and drawn him on to ruin, even when they yielded him the victory."

The next extract I shall read deals with matters nearer home to us. There is nothing new in them, but they do show how it all looked to a contemporary : —

"ST. PETERSBURG, 31 January, 1813.

"The English Government have *declared* a blockade of Chesapeake Bay, — Delaware River, New York and the coast of New England

they leave open. They follow Captain Henry's advice; just as at the beginning of our Revolutionary War, they disfranchised Boston in favour of Salem. The Spirit of 1775 seems to be extinct in New England, but I hope the profligacy of British policy will not be more successful now than it was then.

"The war between us and them is now reduced to one single point, — impressment, — a cause, for which we should not have commenced a war, but without an arrangement of which our government now say they cannot make peace. If ever there was a *just* cause for war in the sight of Almighty God, this cause is on our side just. The essence of this cause is on the British side *oppression*, on our side *personal liberty*. We are fighting for the sailor's cause, — the English cause is the press-gang. It seems to me that in the very nature of this cause we ought to find some resources for maintaining it, by operation upon the minds of our own seamen, and upon those of the adversary's. It is sometimes customary for the commanders of ships to address their crews on going into action, and to inspire them by motives drawn from the cause they are called to support. In this war, when our ships go into action, their commanders have the best possible materials for cheering their men to extraordinary exertions of duty. How the English Admirals and Captains will acquit themselves on such occasion I can easily conjecture. But I fancy to myself a Captain telling them honestly that they are fighting for the cause of impressment, — that having been most of them impressed themselves, in the face of every principle of freedom, of which their country boasted, they must all be sensible how just and how glorious the right of the press-gang is, and how clear the right of practising it upon American sailors, as well as upon themselves, must be. I think they will not very readily recur to such arguments. No doubt they will keep them at their guns with others. But there may be times and occasions upon which the English seaman may be made to understand for what he is to fight in this war, and when it may have its effect upon the spirit with which he will fight. The English talk of the *seduction* practised by us upon their seamen. There is a seduction in the very nature of this cause, which it would be strange indeed if their seamen were insensible to. I have heard that many of their seamen taken by us have shown a reluctance at being exchanged, from an unwillingness to be sent back to be impressed again. A more admirable comment upon the character of the war could not be imagined. Prisoners, who deem it a hardship to be exchanged! With what heart can they fight for the principle which is to rivet the chains of their own servitude?

"I have been reading a multitude of speculations in the English newspapers, about the capture of their two frigates *Guerriere* and

Macedonian. They have settled it that the American forty-fours are line of battle-ships in disguise, and that henceforth all the frigates in the British Navy are to have the privilege of running away from them! This of itself is no despicable result of the first half-year of war. Let it be once understood as a matter of course that every single frigate in the British Navy is to shrink from a contest with the large American frigates and even this will have its effect upon the spirits of the tars on both sides. It differs a little from the time when the *Guerriere* went out with her name painted in capitals on her fore-topsail, in search of our disguised line of battle-ship President.

“But the English Admiralty have further ordered the immediate construction of seventeen new frigates, to be disguised line of battle-ships too. Their particular destination is to be to fight the Americans. Their numbers will be six to one against us, unless we too, taking the hint from our success, can build frigate for frigate and meet them on their own terms; in which case, if our new ships are commanded and officered and manned like the *Constitution* and *United States* and *Wasp*, I am persuaded they will in process of time gain one step more upon the maxims of the British Navy, and settle it as a principle that single English ships are not to fight Americans of *equal* force. Thus much I believe it will be in their power to do, — and further I wish them never to go. I hope they will never catch the insolent affectation of seeking battle against superior force, — an English pretension which has been so well chastised in the fate of their two frigates.

“Our Navy, like all our other institutions, is formed upon the English model. With regard to the Navy at least the superiority of that model to all others extant is incontestable. But in the British Navy itself there are a multitude of abuses against which we may guard, and there are many improvements of which it is susceptible, and for which the field is open before us. Our three 44-gun ships were originally built not as the English pretend for line of battle-ships, but to be a little more than a match in force to the largest European frigates, and the experience both of our partial war with France in 1798 and 1799, as well as of our present war with England, has proved the wisdom of the principle upon which they were constructed. It has been a great and momentous question among our statesmen, whether we should have any Navy or not. It will probably still be a great question, but Great Britain appears determined to solve all our doubts and difficulties upon the subject. She blockades our coast and is resolved to crush us instantly upon the ocean. We must sink without a struggle, under her hand, or we must have a Navy.

“I write you concerning that which is most interesting to our own country. You will learn from other quarters the wonderful vicissitudes of war which the North of Europe has been exhibiting and still exhibits.

To all appearance the dominion of continental Europe has changed hands; but the change as yet has produced nothing like a prospect of peace. It has made the chance of peace for us more precarious than ever.

"My family suffers under the unusual rigour of the season. I am now writing you with Fahrenheit's thermometer at 30 degrees below 0, or 62 degrees below the freezing point. It is the coldest day we have had this winter, but there have been eight weeks with little intermission of severer cold than ours in Boston at its extremest intensity. If the winter in the Western Hemisphere has been like this, God bless the companions in arms of Generals Dearborn and Harrison!"

When he went to Russia, Mr. Adams had left his two eldest children — boys respectively of seven and nine years of age — at home, more especially under the charge of their uncle, to whom he was writing. These boys were now at the Derby Academy in Hingham; and the following extract has a curious interest for me personally, in view of the somewhat different conclusions expressed now more than twelve years ago in a certain Phi Beta Kappa address at Cambridge, which at the time caused some discussion, as members of the Society may remember. Now, as then, I can only say that Mr. Adams's distressing lack of familiarity with Greek and Latin must apparently have been somewhat in his own imagination, as in one of these letters (No. 27)¹ he writes: "I have hitherto been spending my winter evenings principally with Pythagoras and Plato, Demosthenes and Eschines," and goes on to show that Demosthenes was a Scythian by the mother's side. But, this apart, the deficiency, if it existed, was in his case due to the fact that his schoolboy days were passed almost wholly in Europe. The complete mastery of French he acquired in those classically wasted years most materially contributed to his diplomatic successes in later life, and never more so than at the time he was penning the following extract. "Small Latin and less Greek" may be very deplorable; but, for a diplomatist carrying on work of vital consequence in St. Petersburg, a perfect command of the French tongue had its advantages. As between the two, few, I fancy, would under similar circumstances hesitate in their choice.

¹ In this same letter Mr. Adams also remarks: "We have all been sick with what used to be called the influenza, but here it is called the grippe. Not one of us — men, women, or children — have escaped an attack of this troublesome, but, it is said, not dangerous enemy."

The last portion of the extract, coming from Russia in 1813, has a pleasant flavor of Revolutionary reminiscence.

Referring to his eldest son, George Washington Adams, then nine years of age, Mr. Adams writes:—

“ST. PETERSBURG, 3 April, 1813.

“I trust he will be seriously preparing himself for college, and I hope he will devote his most strenuous application to the Latin and Greek languages. I wish he may have no occasion to change his school again (unless it be for tuition from myself) until he enters College. For a frequent change of schools very much obstructs and delays the progress of a boy in the acquisition of classical learning. It was one of the inconveniences in my own education, that from the commencement until the close of my classical studies, I was continually changing schools and teachers. In my case it was unavoidable, and the injury resulting from it on one side was compensated by advantages which it afforded me on the other. But the consequence has been that I have always had ‘small Latin and less Greek,’ — and the little I have has contributed so much to the uses, the comforts and the pleasures of my life, that I have always lamented the shallowness of the streams with which I have been indulged from those inexhaustible fountains of virtue, elegance and taste. I hope my sons will be much more accomplished classical scholars than their father is or can ever be, but if they often change their schools I shall not expect it.

“As the walk from Hingham to Quincy is now only five miles, they will, I doubt not, traverse it as often as the usual relaxations from their attendance at the Academy will admit. When I was of their age, I remember with what delight I used to walk over to our grandfather’s at Weymouth, which was then about at the same distance. It is as you remark about the old walnut-desk and the spot where we were born. There is a charm in the remembrances of our infancy which to my feelings becomes more vivid the further I advance in years. Those were times of public distress, and terrors and sufferance, still more than the present. I remember the melting of the pewter spoons in our house into bullets immediately after the 19th of April, 1775. I remember the smoke and the flames of Charlestown which I saw from the orchard on Penn’s hill. I remember the packing up and sending away of the books and furniture from the reach of Gage’s troops while we ourselves were hourly exposed for many months to have been butchered by them. All this has passed away like a troublous dream, and all this adds pleasure to every recollection of that time. The same spirit from the same nation has now kindled against us another war. I pray God that it may not expose the infancy of our children to such perils as those which surrounded your childhood and mine. But if it

is the will of Providence that it should, my next prayer is that to them as to me after the lapse of forty years, the alarms and dangers which befall them in consequence of their country's struggle for her rights may serve but to rivet their affections to their country and her cause, and to mingle the remembrance of evils overcome and of deliverance from distress with all the first traces of conscious existence and of opening intellect, — complete redemption from imminent calamity is among the sweetest enjoyments of human life."

Mr. Adams then goes on to philosophize over the fate of Napoleon, who, just escaped from Russia, was gathering together the remnants of his strength for his last great German campaign, which closed so disastrously for him at Leipsic, in the following October: —

"The Continent of Europe is just commencing the progress of a Counter-Revolution, the end of which it is yet impossible to foresee. The frosts of Russia and of Poland have struck at the roots of Napoleon's laurels and of his power. In September he entered Moscow as a conqueror, and in March his enemy took possession of his 'good city' of Hamburg. All Germany is in combustion. Prussia has deserted his banners and rallies all the remnants of her force under the standard of Alexander. Denmark has implored peace of England, her despoiler, and has been rejected. Austria negotiates and dissembles, and arms, probably to join at last the new coalition against her ancient foe, and France has the most imminent prospect of being reduced at least to her ante-revolutionary dimensions, and perhaps to the restoration of the Bourbons. Nothing less than this is now intended; and between this design and its accomplishment there is now nothing but the life and the genius of Napoleon to interpose. For his fortune has deserted him; and of his genius independent of his fortune, I have never entertained a very exalted opinion. Cæsar was once in perhaps as great a strait as he now is and extricated himself from it. But to extricate himself he must possess greater resources of genius than were ever employed by Cæsar, and I do not yet believe that he has them to display."

The next letter from which I shall make an extract is dated 21 June, 1813, and relates to the expected arrival in Europe of Messrs. Gallatin and Bayard, who subsequently were associates of Mr. Adams in the negotiations at Ghent. He then discusses his own probable return to America; but adds, referring to the uncertainty of the future and the rapid course of events: —

“ST. PETERSBURG, 21 June, 1813.

“‘Le moment ou je parle, est déjà loin de moi.’

“This would be the proper motto for the History of Europe during the last twelve months. The succession of events has been as momentous and rapid as it ever was at any period in the annals of the world. On the 24th of last June, Napoleon at the head of at least 300,000 men, entered upon the Russian territory. In September he was at Moscow. In December he reached Paris, almost literally alone, and his immense host were fattening the crows, and bleaching the frozen fields of Russia and of Poland. In March the Russians were at Berlin and Dresden, Hamburg and Lubeck. On the first and second of May he met them at Lutzen, and at this moment, if for want of better information I can believe common report, he is in or on the borders of Silesia, with an armistice concluded, and a Russian and a Prussian Plenipotentiary at his camp. Prussia from his ally has become his most inveterate foe. Austria, I am very positively assured, has made the same evolution. But whether she has actually commenced hostilities or not is a problem which time only can solve. The public here are assured in the ‘Gazette’ that she has; while in the same ‘Gazette’ other articles affirm that she is in concert with him, to convoke a General Congress of all Europe and the United States of America to negotiate a general Peace. Hamburg in the course of a month has passed successively into the hands of Russian, Danish, Swedish, Prussian, Danish again, and finally French troops. Sweden with a French General at the head of her army is in English pay to invade France. Denmark has been wavering between France and the Coalition, ready to take the side of the allies; spurned back into the arms of France and perhaps at this moment bombarded, and Congreve rocketed again into submission to the allies. All is yet a chaos of confusion; through which the elements are barely discernible of a plan attempted to be organized in concert between Russia, Sweden, and England, and into which Austria, Prussia, and Denmark were to be drawn. Its first object was the dissolution of the Rhenish Confederation, and a reorganization of the German Empire. Then it would seem Holland was to be restored to the House of Orange, and the Bourbons were to have as much of old France, as a dismemberment to be limited by the moderation of the allies might leave her. The two battles, of Lutzen and of Bautzen, though both officially declared here victories of the allies, appear to have interposed some little obstacles to the immediate execution of this great plan. To the utter astonishment of all Europe, after a series of disasters which would have overwhelmed in irretrievable ruin the oldest and mightiest monarchy of the globe, Napoleon returned to the field as formidable as if no misfortune had befallen him.

In the first battle he fought under great disadvantages, and with a very inferior force. The victory was perhaps equivocal on the day of the battle, but the next day the Russians and Prussians retreated. Three weeks afterwards having received a reinforcement of 30,000 men, they fought another battle of three days, the 19th, 20th, and 21st of May; upon the first and second days of which they again claim the victory; but acknowledge a retreat on the third. A full month has passed since this last event, and nothing official has been published here of subsequent occurrences. The rumour of an armistice is very general, but the fact is not publicly acknowledged. It is not the custom here to publish any news but such as are agreeable."

The course of military operations in Germany was approaching the catastrophe of Leipsic, and the news of the engagement between the "Shannon" and the "Chesapeake," which had taken place the 1st of June, had found its way through British channels to St. Petersburg; so Mr. Adams wrote as follows:—

"ST. PETERSBURG, 7 August, 1813.

"There has been at midsummer a feeble attempt, or perhaps it would be more correct to say, the pretence of an attempt for the negotiation of a General Peace in Europe. It immediately succeeded the unexpected issue of the two battles of Lutzen and of Würschen with which the Northern campaign of the present year commenced. Austria was with one hand offering the olive branch as Mediator, and with the other raising a most formidable armament to join the Coalition in an alliance offensive and defensive against France. Her preparations were not quite completed, when Napoleon rushed into the field with so much precipitation and effect after the disasters of the last winter. The two battles had weakened and exhausted both the belligerent parties so much that a time for breathing from the work of butchery was necessary to both. Austria then in her mediating character talked of Peace. Napoleon very readily answered, Peace. The allies strained so hard at the word that they have not yet distinctly pronounced it, but they agreed to an armistice—first for thirty hours, then for forty days, and finally for three weeks longer. The parties have all been employing the interval in preparations to renew the war, in which Austria is now said to be ready to take her part. The term of the armistice is six days' notice from the 10th of August, but we are told the hostilities between France and Austria will begin before that date. They may have begun at the moment while I am writing. The English victory in Spain has doubtless hastened the resolution of Austria to drop the mask of mediation. The storm is now bursting upon France in all its fury. It is, however, so late in the season, that no very important progress is likely

to be made by either party in the short remnant of the present season. None of them will, I believe, be ambitious of another winter campaign.

“ We are anxiously waiting for intelligence from our own country ; the latest we have is the unpleasant account of the loss of the Chesapeake Frigate. As usual we receive it first in its English garb, which we suppose to be, as all our experience warrants us in expecting, falsely coloured. It would be presumptuous to hope, and perhaps worse than idle to wish, that in *every* contest with such an enemy upon the ocean we should be blessed with a triumph ; but unless the English narratives of this affair are gross misrepresentations, there must have been some mismanagement or want of skill on our part, to which they were more indebted for the victory, than to their prowess, or even to the unfortunate chances of war. The capture of the *Guerriere*, the *Macedonian*, and the *Java* was obviously accomplished by good conduct no less than by valour. I hope and believe that our gallant naval warriors will not suffer themselves to be elated, even by their unparalleled successes, into rashness, — that in every defeat as well as in every victory they will find a lesson to make them more and more formidable to the foe. How formidable they are already, needs no other proof than the riot of exultation which the news of the Chesapeake’s capture excited in England. Among the many motives which I have for lamenting the war in which we are involved, I have one great source of consolation. There are energies in the constitution of man, which a long protracted peace always weakens, and sometimes extinguishes altogether. Occasional war is one of the rigorous instruments in the hands of Providence to give tone to the character of nations. We had in America too much of ‘the cankering of a calm World and a long Peace.’ As Providence has seen fit now to visit us with the calamity of war, it behooves us all and most especially those whose opinions and examples have the greatest influence over those of the nation, to direct the public spirit towards those virtues which it is the peculiar attribute of war to display. Of these, cool and deliberate valour is the first, and closely connected with it is the persevering fortitude ‘not to be overcome’ — the steadfastness in adversity, which is superior to evil fortune. We have a powerful, stubborn, and insolent enemy to deal with. The event is with God. May it be the triumph of eternal Justice, and propitious to our country!’ ”

One more extract will suffice, and the allusion in it to the “Gunpowder Percy” is not bad. This letter was written as the Allies were moving on Paris in the winter campaign which closed with the abdication of Fontainebleau, and it was on the 29th of January that the Emperor defeated Blücher at Brienne : —

"ST. PETERSBURG, 24 January, 1814.

"The events of the last two years have opened a new prospect to all Europe, and have discovered the glassy substance of the colossal power of France. Had that power been acquired by wisdom, it might have been consolidated by time and the most ordinary portion of prudence. The Emperor Napoleon says that he was never *seduced* by prosperity; but when he comes to be judged impartially by posterity, that will not be their sentence. His fortune will be among the wonders of the age in which he has lived. His military talent and genius will place him high in the rank of Great Captains, but his intemperate passion, his presumptuous insolence, and his Spanish and Russian wars, will reduce him very nearly to the level of ordinary men. At all events he will be one of the standing examples of human vicissitude — ranged, not among the Alexanders, Cæsars and Charlemains, but among the Hannibals, Pompeys and Charles the 12ths. I believe his romance is drawing towards its close; and that he will soon cease even to yield a pretext for the war against France. England alone will be 'afraid of the Gunpowder Percy, though he should be dead.'"

Mr. CHARLES C. SMITH said: —

On one of the last occasions when our associate Mr. Hamilton A. Hill was in these rooms, not long before his death, he remarked that just half a century ago he attended at Plymouth the anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims, and that he should like to communicate to-day his recollections of that interesting celebration. I said to him that probably there was some account of it in Dr. Pierce's journal, and that if he should make his proposed communication, I would supplement it by Dr. Pierce's notes. Unfortunately Mr. Hill did not live to prepare his paper; but in Dr. Pierce's volumes are accounts of the only two visits which he ever made to Plymouth, — the first in 1820, when Mr. Webster delivered the oration; and the other in 1845, when both Mr. Choate and Mr. Everett spoke at the dinner, there being no oration. The account of the earlier celebration is very meagre, and if it stood alone would scarcely be worth communicating; but the account of the second celebration has some very characteristic touches which are well worth preserving. At that time Dr. Pierce was in his seventy-third year, and he never let any opportunity pass without expressing his abhorrence of the use of wine and tobacco, of which he here affords amusing illustrations.

[Bicentennial Anniversary at Plymouth.]

On 21 Dec., 1820, I went in a private carriage to Plymouth to celebrate with the Pilgrim Society there the completion of the II^d century from the landing of the first settlers of Plymouth.¹ On the way I visited the well dug for my first paternal ancestor in this country, Robert Pierce, at a place bounded by the mouth of Neponset River on the South & the Atlantick on the East, it being in Dorchester. I took a fragment from one of the stones with which the well was stoned.

On my arrival at Plymouth I first visited the far-famed rock on which, it is said, our fathers first stepped, & took a small piece of it as a memorial. It is now but little above the surface of the earth & is included in a wharf. A large fragment of it is deposited near the meetinghouse. From this place I proceeded to the burial ground, situated on the highest eminence in the vicinity. On the northern² declivity stands the church. From this hill there is a fine view of Plymouth bay, the beach, Clark's Island, Captain's Hill in Duxbury, & of Cape Cod to a great extent. On examining the grave stones I found none of an earlier date than 1681. It is said that they first buried their dead near the celebrated rock. But why there are no memorials, nor even traces of the place of their burial, none of the inhabitants could inform me. It is not known where the remains of Elder Brewster, Elder Cushman, nor even of Gov. Carver or Gov. Bradford were deposited. I saw the grave of Elder Thomas Faunce who died 1746, AET. 99. Deac. Spooner, who died about two years since, well remembered him; so that he was able to derive information concerning the first settlers from one who well knew several of them. On the southeastern³ declivity were deposited the remains of 72, who perished from the privateer Gen. Arnold, Capt. James Magee, commander, which foundered on Plymouth beach 26 Dec., 1778. All who drank freely of brandy on that occasion are said to have been frozen to death; while they who abstained were generally preserved. They were frozen in all kinds of postures, one with his favourite dog in his arms. Capt. M. preserved his feet from freezing by filling his boots with brandy. The bodies were thawed [thawed] in a brook so that they might be decently interred. But no stone marks the spot where their mortal remains were consigned. From this hill the place was pointed out to me where Massasoit made a treaty with our fathers. Their first place of worship was the guardhouse, on the very top of the hill, so that

¹ In the margin Dr. Pierce gives the names of twenty-four ministers who were present at the celebration.

² This should be "southeastern."

³ This should be "northern."

while the Pilgrims were engaging in the service of their Maker, others were keeping watch lest they should be surprised by the aboriginals. I went to the Register's office & found in the Colony Records the writings of some of the earliest fathers, & Judge Davis gave me a fac-simile of the handwriting of several of them.

The morning of the 22d was ushered in with the firing of cannon & the ringing of bells. At XI. a procession was formed at the Rev. James Kendall's, of the Pilgrim Society, &c., headed by a military company. On arriving at the meetinghouse, the military opened to the right & left, and we passed into the house.

The exercises began with a hymn, "Let children learn the mighty deeds," set to St. Martin's. President Kirkland, a lineal descendant of Capt. Myles Standish, made an appropriate prayer of 18 minutes. "Hail Pilgrim Fathers of our race" was sung to Old hundred, Dr. Holmes reading line by line.

The Hon. Daniel Webster, of Boston, delivered from the elders' seat¹ an address of 1 hour & 47 minutes, on the characters & principles of our fathers, & particularly on the great events which had taken place during the last century. In the didactic parts of his discourse he was confined to his notes, though he read with great propriety. During this he was preparing his own mind & the minds of his audience for the more eloquent passages which he had committed wholly to memory, & delivered with a pathos & an effect but rarely equalled. On the subject of slavery he was exceedingly impressive. Indeed, I neither saw nor heard of any who were not highly delighted. The house, pews, galleries, & even aisles were crowded.

After the address the usual ode, "Sons of renowned sires" was sung to "God save the King."

Blessing by Dr. Holmes.

We then proceeded to the hall where about 400 dined. Rev. James Kendall asked the blessing, & Professor Everett returned thanks. During the toasts Judge Davis read an address from the Historical Society,² which was answered by the Rev. Mr. Kendall. Hon. Levi Lincoln then delivered an address from the Antiquarian Society, which

¹ The elders' seat was in front of the pulpit. The meeting-house in which Mr. Webster delivered his oration was built in 1744, and taken down in 1831. When Mr. Winthrop gave his address, in 1870, he spoke from the pulpit of the meeting-house built on the same site, and unfortunately burned in November, 1892.

² At the Annual Meeting of the Historical Society, April 27, 1820, John Davis, Abiel Holmes, Charles Lowell, John Pierce, and Francis C. Gray were appointed a committee to represent the Society at the proposed celebration, and the chairman was requested to express "the congratulations of the Society, and the cordial interest which is ever felt and cherished by all its members in every proceeding intended to honor the memory of our venerable ancestors."

was answered by Alden Bradford, Esq. At dinner an ode was sung, written by Rev. James Flint, Bridgewater, entitled 200 years ago, to a tune prepared by Bartholomew Brown, Esq. He led in the musick.

In the evening there was a splendid ball, at which, it is judged 500 were present.

Hon. D. Webster brought down 2 sheets of parchment tacked together, & desired that if possible the signatures of all present might be obtained. I counted on Saturday, at noon, & found 356 names.

The reflections & associations on this interesting occasion were "pleasant, yet mournful to the soul."

Anniversary of CCXXV Landing of Forefathers at Plymouth.

Having been invited by Judge Charles H. Warren, President of the Pilgrim Society, Plymouth, to meet there on 22 Dec., 1845, to keep the CCXXV anniversary of the landing of our Pilgrim Fathers there, I accordingly went. The only time I had ever seen Plymouth was on 22 December, 1820, to keep the II^d Centennial Anniversary. The reason why I have never been there since has been the fear that I might weaken the deep impressions received on that occasion. The convocation was in the Court House, where I observed the following my seniors at College, Nahum Mitchell, 1789, Dr. Ingalls & President Quincy, 1790.¹

The railroad has been travelled but a few weeks to Plymouth. To-day was, I believe, the first time that they had started from their depot in Boston, near the depot of the Worcester Railroad. We started, it was said, with about 500, at IX $\frac{1}{4}$, A.M., and arrived at Plymouth, with but one stop, at the half-way house, for wood and water, at XI.10, it being 5 minutes short of two hours. We proceeded immediately to the Court House, where we mingled our congratulations, and revived our recollections, with old friends, till called to walk in procession to the church. While at the Court House the 2 sheets of parchment containing the names of the attendants at the II centennial celebration was brought. I had not time to count the names. I was forcibly struck with the numbers of the departed.

We walked in procession to the church, headed by the Brass Band from Boston. The exercises commenced with a voluntary upon the

¹ In a marginal note, Dr. Pierce, in accordance with his custom, enumerates the following clergymen as present: "Dr. Kendall, Geo. W. Briggs, J. Pierce, C. A. Bartol, Pres. Wayland, B., J. O. Choules, B., Jos. H. Towne, O., Neh. Adams, O., Wm. P. Lunt, S. K. Lothrop, Geo. Putnam, Theo. Parker, C. Robins, Geo. Richards, O., Henry A. Miles, Aug. R. Pope." Dr. Bartol is the only one of the number now living. In Dr. Pierce's enumeration, B. stands for Baptist, and O. for Orthodox. Those not marked were Unitarians.

organ. Then the choir, headed by Marcus Colburn, sung the ode by Judge Davis, written in 1799.¹ President Wayland, B. U., then read appropriate passages of Scripture, 9 minutes. Prayer by Dr. Kendall, 15 minutes, peculiarly appropriate. The hymn then for 22 December, written by Judge Davis, was sung to Old 100.² Benediction by Dr. Kendall.

We then left the church in procession. I walked on the right, President Wayland in the centre, Dr. Kendall at the left, next to the Com^{tee} of Arrangements, who immediately followed the President. We passed down to the famous rock on which the fathers first touched. As we passed it every one took off his hat. We then passed to the railroad depot, to dinner, to the number of 475. It was some time before the whole company could be seated. I then implored a blessing in nearly the following terms: "God of our fathers, and God of their children, smile propitiously on the present occasion. We thank Thee that from the height of our comparative prosperity we can take a feeling view of our venerable fathers in their lowly condition, of whom the world was not worthy. While we spread the mantle of charity over their imperfections as men, may we imitate their fidelity as Christians who entertained no other fear than the fear of Thee, and who held their love of Thee in subordination [*sic*] to every other affection. May we not be slothful, but followers of them who through faith and patience inherit the promises."

The tables abounded in the greatest luxuries of the season. In front of the President was brought in by two men a baron of beef, given for the occasion by Hon. Daniel Webster of Marshfield, who by reason of public duties as Senator at Washington could not be present on this occasion. I had never heard of a baron of beef before, much less had I ever seen one. It is defined by Johnson to be "when the two sirloins are not cut asunder." It was brought on in a pewter dish which, it is said, came over in the Mayflower. The whole dinner was cooked in the United States Hotel, Boston. At every plate were 5 parched corns to remind us of the time when the Pilgrims on a certain occasion were thus allowanced.

It may be well to copy the printed bill of fare at every plate, to show how different are our present circumstances from those of our fathers.

Clam Chowder. Fish. Succotash.

Boiled. Salt-petred Beef. Shoulder Pork. Hams. Tongues. Bœuf à la mode. Stuffed Shoulder Veal. Collared Beef. Mutton

¹ Here follows the well-known ode, written by the Hon. John Davis, third President of the Historical Society, beginning "Sons of renowned sires."

² Here follows Judge Davis's scarcely less familiar hymn, beginning "Hail, pilgrim fathers of our race!"

Chop. Fillet de Bœuf. Brawn. Pate Froid. Fillet de Veau. Chicken Pies. Boned Turkies. Sallad de Volaille. Sandwiches. Scolloped Oysters. Stewed Oysters. Fried Potatoes. Baked do. Cellery. Olives, &c.

Roast Beef. Turkies larded. Ducks. Chickens larded. Partridges.

Dinner Rolls. Bread and Butter. Crackers and Cheese. Apple and Squash Pies. Tarts. Cake of various kinds. Preserves. Turks caps. Custards. Jellies and blanc mange.

Dessert.

Apples, grapes, English walnuts, shellbarks, almonds, raisins.

Wines!!!

Claret \$1. Old Lisbon \$1. Schreider Anchor Champagne \$2. Cordon bleu \$2. Pints do. \$1. Gonzales and Duboss pale Sherry \$1.50. Webster Madeira \$1.50. London Dock do. \$1. Com. Nickerson's 1 Madeira, \$3.

I had been seated but a few minutes at table when a waiter came to me with an open bottle of Madeira with somebody's compliments, I did not hear whose. I am at a loss to decide whether this wine was sent to me by some one who knew not my habits for a long time of total abstinence from every thing which can intoxicate, and intended it as an attention to my profession, supposing that from my neighborhood to my more luxurious brethren of Boston, I might not object to a good glass of wine, or whether it was sent to me in sport by some one who knew the stand which I have long since taken, and intended to show how he regarded it. Whatever may have been the motive the thing did not move me; nor was I curious to ascertain to whom I was indebted for this act of civility or for the joke as the case might be.

The dinner was sumptuous above what I am accustomed to witness, even on festive occasions. The tickets, I understand, were \$3 apiece. The wine was not reckoned as a part of the expense; but every one who desired a bottle of wine was expected to send the pay for it by the waiter who brought it. A considerable portion of champagne was drunk, producing the noise over the room when the corks were discharged of small arms on a day of military muster. The spectacle and the sound so affected me, and my feelings were so chastened by the "genius loci" and the occasion, that though President Kirkland's defence of such festivities was repeatedly mentioned, namely, that our fathers partook of the best which they could procure, and we but imitate them in doing the same, I nevertheless ate only a little clam chowder, and drank nothing at dinner, not even cold water. Yet it was not to me a gloomy occasion, but I was in a state of constant excitement. Besides, my position at table was favorable to the purest social enjoy-

ment, as President Wayland was on my right, and Dr. Kendall on my left, who in respect of wine practised the same abstinence with myself. The baron of beef was said to be excellent, though owing to my invariable habit of partaking of one dish only of animal food at the same meal, I did not taste of it. There was considerable despatch at the dinner as the company generally appeared anxious to hear the speeches.

I felt a curiosity to hear the President, Judge Warren, introduce the subject, as he so abounds in humor, and I had witnessed such manifestations of it at the last $\Phi B K$ dinner at Cambridge,¹ I wondered how he would manage so grave an occasion as the present must necessarily be. But my fears were soon relieved. After President Wayland had returned thanks in a brief and appropriate manner, Judge Warren arose, and in a very cordial and touching manner, and at times with a spice of his accustomed humor, saluted the company. His exordium was peculiarly happy.

"Gentlemen, the first salutation which the white men met with in Plymouth was that grateful one from Samoset, the Indian chief, 'Welcome, Englishmen'; and tradition says, he said this, because he had met 'Englishmen' before. I will imitate his sincerity, and say, Welcome, Americans, and I use this phrase, *because I have seen you before.*"

In this strain he continued for a quarter of an hour.

On giving the sentiment, "The Town of Plymouth, holding the ashes of the fathers, it must always retain the reverence and affection of the children," Hon. Nathaniel Morton Davis, son of the late Wm. Davis, Esq., nephew of Judge John Davis, and of H. U. 1804, responded to this sentiment in a speech of 13 minutes, and closed with a tribute to the fair sex, on which he offered the following sentiment in allusion to the tradition that Mary Chilton was the first who stepped upon the rock, — "The heroic mothers of the Old Colony *who took the first step* in the daring enterprise we celebrate, and amid suffering and sorrow rocked the cradle of New England."

A joco-serious letter of some length was read from the Hon. Harrison Gray Otis, former Mayor of Boston, H. U. 1783, born on 8 October, 1765, and of course 80 on his last birthday.

The President then turning round to Governor Everett, candidate for the Presidency of H. U., who sat next to him, and to President Quincy, the next in order, who has just resigned the office, in allusion to H. U. as one of the first institutions of the Pilgrims, said with regard to its Presidents a grammatical solecism was acting. "Both the *past* and the *future* are *present*." A bystander exclaimed, "That is *perfect*."

¹ Dr. Pierce's account of the $\Phi B K$ dinner referred to is in 2 Proceedings, vol. ix. pp. 139, 140.

The sentiment was then given from the chair, "Harvard College, one of the earliest cares of our fathers; may it always honor their memory by vindicating their great principles, liberty of conscience and the rights of private judgment."

President Quincy replied in quite a humorous strain, and closed with, "Boston and Plymouth, in all times united in affection, and now almost locally united in bonds of iron and steel. God bless their enterprise and people." 13 m.

The President then gave, "The venerable Judge Davis! he finds his mortal frame the more cumbrous the longer it is worn. The Pilgrim Fathers will recognize in him a kindred spirit when they meet him in his robes of light." Judge Davis had sent a sentiment which was then delivered from the chair, — "The old comers & Samoset's salutation, 'Welcome, Englishmen,' may no unfortunate crisis ever occur forbidding the application of that friendly greeting." The venerable Judge, though born 25 January, 1761, and accordingly near 85, has but a short time since resigned his office as District Judge. His whole soul is in the occasion; and he actually went to Plymouth a few weeks since at the opening of the railroad to Plymouth. He had a strong inclination to be present on this anniversary, but his daughters and other friends succeeded in dissuading him from the attempt. It is not many weeks since Mrs. Samuel Greele, who was an Emerson of Newburyport, sent him a marine herbarium curiously prepared with a rich and various collection. The Judge acknowledged the kindness in a *jeu d'esprit* of poetry which Mr. Greele pronounces the best the Judge has ever written. I had made several unsuccessful attempts to procure this poetry, hoping to read it at this time. But though the Judge had promised me a copy as his autograph and as the effusion of his muse, yet on my calling on him to fulfil his promise, he declined, saying that for certain reasons, which he did not give, he must be excused from fulfilling his engagement.

The Hon. Rufus Choate was next called up, and made a speech of 25 minutes, in which he every now and then spoke with great vehemence. His was perhaps the most popular speech of the day, to judge by the plaudits given him. But I should term him an *infuriate* orator. His eloquence produces not the effect on my mind as does the more sober and chastened good sense of Edward Everett. His speech in my view seems better from the press than in the delivery.¹

Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes next read a beautiful poetical effusion

¹ A full report of Mr. Choate's speech was printed in the Boston Daily Advertiser of December 24, 1845. Dr. Pierce's account of the celebration was not written until some time afterward, probably in January, as it is interrupted by the insertion of two letters, one dated December 30, 1845, and the other January 4, 1846.

adapted to the occasion.¹ In that, with his accompanying speech he was 13 minutes. He is of H. U. 1829, son of the late Dr. Abiel Holmes of Cambridge.

Mr. Dempster, a Scotch musician, then sung a beautifully adapted ode, "The spot where I was born."

John Quincy Adams's toast was read, "The future representative of Plymouth Rock in the councils of the nation; may a double portion of the spirit of the Pilgrim fathers rest upon his constituents in making the selection, him when selected." The President then gave, "John Quincy Adams, and he always represents a rock."

I should previously have recorded the sentiment which called up George S. Hillard, Esq., "Puritan blood; we prove its excellent quality by showing that it may be exposed for two centuries without changing its color or properties." Mr. Hillard made a beautiful speech of 15 minutes closing with, "The religious faith of the Pilgrims. To them it was the pillar of fire in the night of trial; to us may it be the cloudy screen that shall temper the dazzling glare of our prosperity."

An interesting letter was read from the venerable John Howland of Providence.

Col. Clifford² made a pithy speech of 10 minutes.

Joshua Thomas Stevenson was next called up, who said that he was indebted to this civility being that of the first President of the Pilgrim Society, Joshua Thomas.³ He closed in 7 minutes, with the humorous sentiment, "The baron of beef, the only title that is *meet* in New England, and suited to our taste."

To this Col. Clifford added, "It is a striking instance of the difference between the ancient feudalism of the old world and the modern liberty of the new that in one the *barons* fed upon the people; in the other the people fed upon the *barons*."

The President next gave the following, "Old England. She sent us instructors to teach us that the highest intellectual cultivation is the best support of liberal principles; our country has sent back to her one of New England's most distinguished sons to show her what good schoolmasters they were, and how apt we were to learn." Gov. Everett, though laboring under an oppressive headache, made a charming speech of 35 minutes, which is the 33^d time in which I have heard him on public occasions. When he had spoken about 25 minutes, he intimated that he would relieve their patience. But cries resounded from

¹ Dr. Pierce copied the poem, "The Pilgrim's Vision," in full into his diary. It is printed in Dr. Holmes's Poems.

² Hon. John H. Clifford, afterward Governor of Massachusetts.

³ Dr. Pierce has omitted some words needed to complete the sense, but the substance of Mr. Stevenson's remark is so obvious that the necessary words can be readily supplied by any reader.

all parts, "Go on, go on"; and he continued 10 minutes longer. He contrived, as he always does, to communicate something new. The most striking was this, that "when the truly apostolical Robinson sunk prematurely under the labors and sorrows of his hard pilgrimage, the sum of 9 florins (about \$3.50 of our money) was paid for the hire of a four years' resting place for his mortal remains."

After the company had become saturated with these moving speeches, the President gave, "The New England Society of New York, a colony of ours which we hope will always insist on a right of representation in the mother country." On this a Mr. Fessenden began a prosing speech of which there seemed no probability of a termination. The audience exhibited manifest signs of impatience, understood by every one but the speaker, who when he suspected all was not right stooped down to the President for his advice in the matter; as the cars were about to start for Boston, and as a set of cars had already started, in which several of the company had gone, and as I began to fear that those who were desirous of going might be prevented till too late, I had the boldness to employ the interval by this appeal to the chair, "Mr. President, 'The full [soul] loatheth the honeycomb.' I move that we adjourn this meeting to 22 December, 1846, for the young people are impatient to go to their ball, and the old folks want to go home." On this there was a simultaneous motion throughout the room; and the patient Mr. Fessenden, I presume, handed the following sentiment to the President to be noticed among the orders of the day. I am certain it could not have been heard, "The prosperity of New England. As it has resulted from the character and labors of the Puritans, their sons cannot preserve it except by imitating their example."

A large portion of the company then betook themselves to the cars. We were three hours in reaching Boston, as our stops were so frequent to leave passengers by the way, and arrived at XI. in the evening, after an absence of 14 hours, having travelled $78\frac{1}{2}$ miles, been 8 hours in Plymouth, and experienced a large share of genuine satisfaction!

I omitted to record in its place that immediately after President Wayland had returned thanks at table, Judge Warren called on me to sing the following stanzas to St. Martin's which are a little varied from those which I have been so long accustomed to sing on Commencement days at Cambridge.¹

"Let children learn the mighty deeds
Which God performed of old;
Which in our younger years we saw,
And which our fathers told.

¹ Dr. Pierce "set the tune," for the second time at Cambridge, in 1812, and for the last time in 1848. See 2 Proceedings, vol. v. pp. 177, 255.

“He bids us make his glories known,
His works of power and grace;
And we'll convey his wonders down
Through every rising race.

“Our lips shall [tell] them to our sons,
And they again to theirs,
That generations yet unborn
May teach them to their heirs.

“Thus shall they learn, in God alone
Their hope securely stands;
That they may ne'er forget his works
But practise his commands.”

In reflecting upon the transactions of this day, I have experienced many mingled emotions. It was highly gratifying once more to visit scenes of such overwhelming interest to the first settlers of this venerated spot. I was gratified in being introduced to so many “sons of renowned sires.” No females appeared publicly, only in the church, where I had no opportunity of an introduction. I was gratified with the attention received in the invitation to discharge the office of a deacon by reading the hymn line by line, as in my youth I was accustomed to hear the good Deacon White, my great uncle, recite it. This part was performed by the Rev. Dr. Holmes of Cambridge at the bi-centennial celebration in 1820. The enjoyment of the dinner was greatly marred by seeing so much wine drunk on the occasion. How much more reasonable would it be, and how much greater the gratification, to unite with the ladies in celebrating the day, as was the case at Barnstable in 1839. The ladies are certainly as much interested in the events commemorated, and would enjoy the speeches on the occasion, as much as the men. Besides were we favored with their presence but little if any wine would be quaffed; and we should be wholly relieved from the great indecorum manifested by some young men in even smoking cigars in the diningroom before the dinner was finished!!!

This was the first dinner of the kind at which I was ever present when no sentiment was given relating to the clergy. In the days of our fathers this profession had perhaps an undue preponderance. With the improvements of modern times they are now often in the background. Had an opportunity presented, I had intended to say something to this effect, — “Mr. President,

‘You’ll scarce expect one of my age
To speak in public on this stage,’

I will let my fathers speak for me. Accordingly I improve this opportunity to present through you to the Pilgrim Society, over which you

preside, a new edition of Roger Clap's *Memoirs of Dorchester*, my great, great, great grandfather; also James Blake's *Annals of Dorchester*, now first published by the Historical and Antiquarian Society of that town, my maternal great grandfather; as also my address at the funeral of the Hon. Thomas Aspinwall Davis, late Mayor of Boston, on 25 November, 1845."

But no favorable opportunity presenting to make these small presents publicly, I left them with the Rev. James Kendall, D.D., senior pastor of the I Chh. in Plymouth, with the request that he would deposit them in the Library of the Pilgrim Society.

JANUARY MEETING, 1896.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 9th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the President, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D., in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved; and the Librarian read the list of donors to the Library.

Mr. Francis Cabot Lowell, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member, and Leslie Stephen, LL.D., of London, England, a Corresponding Member.

Mr. Josiah P. Quincy was appointed to write a memoir of the late Rev. Octavius B. Frothingham, for publication in the Proceedings.

Mr. ARTHUR LORD said that since the last meeting of the Society the bequest of the late Dr. George E. Ellis had been paid into the Treasury; and on his motion, it was —

Voted, That the instrument relating to the bequests and devises of Dr. George E. Ellis to this Society and dated on the twentieth day of December, A. D. 1895, signed and delivered to George S. Hale, Executor of the Will of said Ellis, by the Treasurer, the same having been accepted and approved by the Council and Committee appointed with full power to act on all matters connected with the bequests of said Ellis, be and hereby is ratified, confirmed, and adopted as the act and deed of this Society.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN said that at the memorial meeting of the Historical Society, held on December 13, 1894, he was called upon to speak of Mr. Winthrop's connection with the Peabody Education Fund, and that he wished now to place permanently upon the records of the Society the tribute since paid to his memory by the Trustees of the Education Fund, only recently published. It seems desirable that the minute — which was prepared by Mr. Choate — should appear in the Proceedings of this Society, with which for so many years Mr.

Winthrop was identified, as well as in those of that Board, which equally claimed him as its foremost member; and accordingly he submitted a copy, as follows:—

The Trustees of the Peabody Education Fund, convened at their annual meeting for the year 1895, desire to put on record their profound regret at the death, since their last meeting, of their distinguished president, the Honorable Robert C. Winthrop, and their high appreciation of his great qualities of mind and heart, which were never exhibited to greater advantage than in his long and zealous devotion to the interests and affairs of the Trust as its chief executive officer during the whole period that has elapsed since its foundation.

His renowned career in the public service of his country and in the noblest pursuits of private life may well be reserved for a suitable biographer, but his relations to this Trust were so peculiar and of such transcendent importance to its welfare, that we may well pause in our deliberations to recall them. He was a warm personal friend of Mr. Peabody before the establishment of the Trust, and while that friendship and his great public and private repute might account for his original selection by our founder as a trustee, Mr. Peabody's designation of him as the permanent president of the Trust is to be ascribed to his thorough knowledge of the man, and of his fitness, by his long and frequent occupation of a similar position in other institutions, for guiding, controlling, and developing the affairs of the great charity which his generous heart intended this Trust to be. His wide and thorough knowledge of the whole country, to whose service he had given a large portion of his active life, and especially of the needs of the Southern people, among whom Mr. Peabody designed to distribute his bounty for the purposes of education, his admirable tact and skill in dealing with educational and charitable problems, naturally pointed him out to Mr. Peabody as the most competent adviser that he could call to his aid in the constitution of the Trust, and the proper person to preside over its future. And so in his original letter, in which he declared the general objects of the Trust to be "the promotion and encouragement of intellectual, moral, and industrial education among the young of the more destitute portions of the Southern and Southwestern States of our Union," while leaving the details and organization of the Trust wholly to the trustees, he requested that the chairman might be Mr. Winthrop, to whom he referred as "the distinguished and valued friend to whom I am so much indebted for cordial sympathy, careful consideration, and wise counsel in this matter."

The result, during a presidency of twenty-seven successive years, has fully justified the selection. It may be said, with truth and moderation, that the great success of Mr. Peabody's intentions for the amelioration

of the destitution and sufferings of the Southern people by education has been largely due to the ceaseless and vigilant devotion of Mr. Winthrop, during these twenty-seven years, to the business of the Trust. Not a school was aided but after careful consideration of its merits by him. Not a dollar was expended without his serious consideration of the utility of the outlay in the direction intended by Mr. Peabody.

His lofty character, his courteous bearing, his uniform kindness in all his dealings with the trustees over whom he presided, endeared him to each member of the Trust as a warm personal friend, and the light which his experience and knowledge shed upon every question that arose for deliberation always made the task of his associates an easy one. We felt that whatever Mr. Winthrop approved, after the study and reflection which he insisted upon giving to every measure projected, must, of course, be right. It was a very great thing for an institution like this to be presided over by such a man, who for a quarter of a century was willing to give to its continual service the best powers with which he was endowed.

The Winthrop Training School in South Carolina, which, by Act of the Legislature of that State, has been transformed and developed into the Winthrop Normal and Industrial College, will stand as a permanent memorial of the great service rendered to the country by Mr. Winthrop in the exercise of his duties as our president. That such an institution of learning, fostered by this Trust, and sustained by the aid of the State of South Carolina, whose interests are so much involved in the advancement of education in the South, should have received his name, was always a great source of pride and satisfaction to him; but his interest in it on that account did not surpass the deep-seated concern and solicitude which he always felt for the success of all the institutions scattered through the Southern States, which were made the object of our founder's bounty.

His work in carrying out the proud and noble designs of Mr. Peabody was but a fitting sequel to the earnest interest which throughout his prolonged public career he had manifested for the welfare of the people of the Southern States; and it was no small satisfaction to him that incidentally Mr. Peabody's bounty relieved, to some extent, that emancipated race which for centuries had been deprived by law of all possibility of education. As an object lesson, the beneficial results of gifts to such schools as Hampton and Tuskegee made good his own words when he said: "Slavery is but half abolished, emancipation is but half completed, while millions of freemen with votes in their hands are left without education." Whatever speculations may be indulged in as to the future of that race in America, this sentiment of Mr. Winthrop's will ever remain the only safe guide for public or private treatment of the vast and complicated subject; and his wise

utterances, the result always of careful study and reflection, as they appear in the published Proceedings of the Trust since its foundation, will always serve as a valuable contribution to the advancement of education in the South among both races.

We shall ever look back upon our association with Mr. Winthrop in the Trust as a rare privilege and a great honor, and can only hope to approximate in the conduct of its affairs to his fidelity and his wisdom.

MELVILLE W. FULLER.
WILLIAM A. COURTENAY.
JOSEPH H. CHOATE.

Mr. HENRY LEE then presented, in behalf of Mrs. Edward C. Cabot, a collection of unpublished letters written by Jonathan Sewall, and said : —

This box contains thirty-eight letters from Jonathan Sewall, remembered as the Attorney-General of the Province before the Revolution, as one of the most distinguished of the Refugees, as the husband of Esther Quincy, and as the bosom friend of John Adams, who says of him : —

“He was a gentleman and a scholar, he possessed a lively wit, a brilliant imagination, great subtlety of reasoning, and an insinuating eloquence. As a lawyer, his influence with judges and juries was as great as was consistent with an impartial administration of justice.

“I know not that I have ever delighted more in the friendship of any man, or more deeply regretted an irreconcilable difference in judgment in public opinions. He had virtues to be esteemed, qualities to be loved, and talents to be admired.”

Attorney-General Sewall left Boston for England early in 1775, endured a weary exile in that country until 1788, when he removed to Halifax, was appointed Judge of Admiralty for Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and died, as John Adams believed, of a broken heart at St. John in 1796.

Thirty-four of these letters are addressed to Mr. Thomas Robie, of Marblehead, son of Dr. Thomas Robie and Mehitable Sewall, and cousin to the writer.

The first letter is dated 1757, and the last 1789 ; and while not very interesting, they add to our previous knowledge of the dreary homelessness of these Refugees.

Their sons were rewarded for the loyalty of their fathers, — Mr. Robie's rising through three responsible offices to be

Master of the Rolls for Nova Scotia ; while Jonathan Sewall became Chief Justice, and Stephen, Solicitor-General of Quebec.

There are four letters to other friends, and there are in the box three letters not written by Sewall, of a satirical turn, signed "Lindamira."

Mrs. Edward C. Cabot, who presents these letters to the Society, is a daughter of Hon. Samuel Edmund Sewall (H. C. 1817), remembered by some of you as a most refined and benevolent man ; she is of the eighth generation of Sewalls in New England, and reckons among her ancestors Winslows, Dummers, Hulls, Walleys, Quincys, and Robies.

These letters were addressed to her great-grandfather Robie.¹

CAMBRIDGE, 25th Sep^r, 1773.

DEAR COZ., — In answer to your last I have to acquaint you that I had given M^r Mansfield my opinion, sealed up, before the rec^t of yours. Whether it makes for you or against you I know not. The Law, M^r Robie, the Law, I say, is no respecter of persons ; it is founded upon the fix'd basis of right reason ; therefore, Sir, the Law, Sir, is *semper eadem*, it is permanent, it cannot alter, that is to say, it will not alter, to please any, it is not to be trifled with, it is to be honor'd, it ought not to be blasphemed as it has been by *somebody* who once presumed to compare the *legal* decisions of a *certain person* who shall be nameless, to a treatise of one *Hopkins on the Goodness of Sin* ; horrid ! but no matter.

Now for Loring ; you say he is a cheating dog ; he says you are a lying son of a b—— ; you say he agreed to transport your bricks @ 25/ O. T. & M. to be paid in goods ; he says he agreed @ 30/ to be paid in cash ; now the Law, like a sovereign umpire, steps it [in ?] &, in the course of a few years, before the end of the present century, if the writ don't abate by the death of either party, decides the difference,

¹ Most of the letters presented by Mr. Lee relate to private affairs, and are written in too familiar a style to admit of publication ; but there are several which are of general and permanent interest, for the light they throw on the personal character of the writer, and on the opinions and feelings of the Loyalists. The first two of the letters now printed were addressed to Mr. Robie while he was living at Marblehead and actively engaged in trade. The others addressed to him were written after he went to Halifax ; and there are two letters to his sister Mrs. John Higginson, — one written while she was living in Halifax, and the other after her return to Salem. The letters now given are printed in full, with the exception of four letters from which only extracts have been taken, for the reason above indicated. In printing, a few explanatory notes have been added. — EDS.

to the dissatisfaction, chagrin, & loss of both parties, — a certain proof that it avoids both extremes, & takes the middle way, and, *in medio tutissimus ibis*, — you know. Here you see & must, in spite of your prejudices, adore & admire the wisdom & beauty of the Law. You observe, that you hope I tendred the 25/ so as to prevent any costs; but here again I must tell you, M^r Robie, you are no lawyer; indeed Sir, you are no lawyer, otherwise you would have known that the Law does not admit of such a tender, after y^e action is commenced; and you will remember his action was commenced before you applied to your lawyer. This can be done, and I shall do it, — at October Court the money may be bro^t into Court & there lodged, and a rule of the Court may be made, that if the plaintiff will not accept it, he shall proceed at his peril; but in this case the costs for the writ, service, entry, travel & attendance must also be left in Court, & then if he will proceed, he will recover no other costs of the Inferior or Superior Court, but must pay your costs, if he finally recovers no more than 25/. This, by reason of your blindness, may possibly, & probably will, appear strange to you; but when I have leisure to explain the grounds & reasons, you will own it to be right beautiful, and beautifully right. At present be content silently to adore (I don't mean idolize) it as an incomprehensible mystery, too profound to be fathom'd by the short line of the understanding of the *lay gens*. No Sir, it is fathomable only by those intellects whose naturally squab-thick powers have been, as it were, wire-drawn to a sufficient longitude by diurnal & nocturnal porings, poundings, dreamings, sleepings, cursings & swearings over codes, pandects, digests, institutes, abridgments, reports, entries, commentaries, actions, pleas, replications, rejoinders, surrejoinders, rebutters, surrebutters, &c. in infinitum. This is but a faint glimpse of the immense sea of legal — what shall I call it? — chaotical confusion of primary principals of abstract ratiocination, thro' which for the tedious space of 3 lives, or 21 years, we toil, tug, labour, plunge, paddle, scramble, wallow, & from which, per varios casus, per *tot discrimina rerum*, we at length emerge with souls fitly enlarged & enlightened for assuming the guardianship of the lives, liberties, & properties of our ignorant fellow men. Think of this, Sir, & then let conscience say whether it can be thought a hard matter, if at the end of a tedious lawsuit the poor lawyer gets barely the oyster, provided the shells, by the equitable decision of the Law, are equally divided between the contending parties, & thereby their warm untractable tempers are cooled down & rendred humble & governable, and cordial, sympathizing pity, love, & harmony take place of bitter enmity, rage, hatred & discord. Oh! don't wish for the oyster, you are great gainers, sufficiently great, without it.

I could enlarge & dwell till midnight on the subject, but certain movements within, & the clattering of dishes, plates, knives & forks

without, together with the culinary effluvia gratefully titillating the olfactory nerves, give notice to the cerebrum, or cerebellum, or sensorium, that dinner waits for

Your hum. servant,

JOÑ. SEWALL.

ESQ^R ROBIE.

P. S. I saw Loring last week for the first time, & he absolutely refuseth to take anything short of 30/ O. T. & M. freight, — an unconscionable dog, say you.

CAMBRIDGE, 8th Nov^r, 1773.

MR. THO^S ROBIE, Esq^r,

SIR, — . . . Nov^r. 12. In answer to what I wrote you respecting your *antagoness* Loring, you remind me of the fable of the boys & the frogs, — a very good fable, — but nothing less or more than the spleen or the small pox or the d—l could ever have painted to your bewildered imagination the *preposterous* (a word which you may remember Churchill great in arms apply'd to my breeches) idea of my making sport of your death, or even of your lightest affliction. Why did you, or could you, think because my pen frisk'd and gambol'd a little at the expence of my own fraternity, that therefore I was inattentive to your interest? I pity & heartily forgive you. I shall now give you a serious account of your case with Loring.

13th. Dear Coz.

When you apply'd to me as your counsel at law to defend an action commenced against you by one Loring, you told me *he had then sued you* for the freight of bricks at 30/ O. T. & M., whereas you agreed for 25/ to be paid in goods. You thought you could prove the price, but was doubtful whether you could prove the agreement to pay in goods. It was then too late to make a tender w^{ch} you could have any advantage of on the trial. This I knew, & if I did not mention it to you, I suppose it was because it could do no good, & would probably produce more sarcastical squibs at the *wise rules & principals* of the Law; but I let you know that if the money which you said was due was *tendred* or *lodged* in Court together with his costs to that time, it would prevent his recovering any further costs, but that you would recover costs if he sho^d refuse to take what you offer'd, & you sho^d prove the agreem^t for 25/. Soon after you sent me £12 lawf^l money. As Loring was not come up, M^r Quincy, his attorney, agreed to continue the action, & said he would advise him to take it. I saw Loring after y^e cause was continued & offer'd him the money, but he refused to take it. At October Court I lodged the debt & costs in Court, amounting to £14. 4. 8,¹ and

¹ From a subsequent letter it appears that the amount paid into court was for "boating 69 M. Bricks @ 3/4 — £11. 10. 0" and for "costs £2. 14. 8." These figures show the depreciation of the Massachusetts paper currency at that time. — Eds.

a rule of Court was made that if he would proceed further, it sho^d be at his peril, that is at the peril of paying costs.

Nov^r 15th before breakfast. His attorney moved for a continuance, but afterwards, having thought better of the matter, he came into Court & took y^e money & was nonsuited, and thus the lawsuit ended.

After breakfast. And now, Sir, let me tell you I have done as much for your interest as the nature of your case admitted. Had you applied to me sooner I could have put you in a way of saving the costs by making a tender before he could bring his action, but then you must have made a journey to Hingham on purpose, which would have cost you as much; but then, you will say, that dog Loring would not have been the better for it. True; nor is he the better for the costs you have paid now. The Clerk, Sheriff & lawyer have got it all & as much more out of his pocket. This, I hope, will afford you some *Christian* consolation. I own, had he got the 25/ £ M. clear, it would have been provoking, but to have cleared that & the costs too would have been the d—l. I should not have wondered, in such a case, if you had cursed him with the intire curse of Bishop Ernulphus, but, as I have shewn above, the case is quite otherwise; he, to your comfort, is as great a loser as you. Now don't take hold here again by the wrong handle. I don't mean to ridicule or insult; no, far from it; but I would have you remember it as long as you live; and if you take it as you ought to take all afflictions, it will in the end yield you the *peaceable, saving* fruits of Wisdom. For upon the word & honor of an *honest* lawyer (if you won't deny the hypothesis), a gentleman, & a Christian, I solemnly declare it to be my firm opinion, that if two men have a dispute, where the difference is not more than 6 or 8£ lawful money, & both obstinately resolve to contest it at law and accordingly rush into the law, whether they are both honest men, or both knaves, or one an honest man & the other a knave, it is morally, physically, legally and absolutely impossible for them to get out again without being both losers. This is a truth which I wish all my friends, & you among the rest, to attend to with seriousness and reverence. Experimentia docet, but bought Wit may be too dearly purchased, sat verbum sapienti. Finis. Only, upon supposition you want any more bricks, let me advise you to reduce your contract to writing & let it be signed by the other party. It is but little trouble. Three lines does it. And all ground for litigation is taken away. And if you have any dispute & want my advice, don't wait till you are sued, which is like going to a physician after the disease is obstinately rooted, or like going to the parson when the D—l is come.

No more at present, so I remain

Yours till Death (the great [*illegible*] of all things).

JOÑ. SEWALL.

BOSTON, 7th June, 1775.

WELL, Cousin Tom, — And so you are at Halifax, the renowned seat of my maritime jurisdiction. I wish you were here, tho' I don't know whether it would be best. If you have your *flocks & herds*, as well as your little ones, with you, you are well off. I wish I had mine, but I am not discouraged. I don't fear starving; we have plenty of salt beef & pork & flour in the town, & of fish in the sea. We get fresh meat now & then, & have good stuff in our gardens. Cheer up, Robie. I think I see daylight, tho' it has been a long, dark, stormy night. I begin to hope the storm has almost spent itself; but how or when it will end is yet in the womb of Fate. As to my situation, which you wish to be informed of, I can only say, I am situated in Tom Boylston's house in School Street, formerly Col^o Wendell's.¹ Thus the world goes round. I have a very convenient house & garden, & my family are in good health & spirits. I hear so many stories from without that I know not which to believe, & therefore I believe none. Whenever I have any thing certain to communicate, I will take the first opportunity to write you. At present, believe nothing you hear, for a lying Spirit is gone forth, & lyes are as plenty as ever pigeons or tom cod were. We are still coop'd up in the town, & I spend my time in scolding, mourning, laughing, cursing, swearing, & praying; so that what the body wants in variety is amply made up to the mind. The scenes now exhibited on the stage afford matter for setting all the passions of the human mind in motion, & accordingly they all turn up in their turns. How long, O Lord, how long, when shall the wickedness of the wicked come to an end? What do those abandoned wretches deserve who have thus reduced a whole country from peace & happiness to confusion & misery? Yesterday I assisted in bearing my good friend & neighbour Mr Borland² to that silent mansion where the wicked cease from troubling & where the weary are at rest. He lost his life by a fall in attempting to get upon the top of his house to see an expedition to Hog Island, which one day will make a ludicrous figure in the History of the American Rebellion. Thus he fell a martyr to the times; rest his soul. I am glad to find you are so much at ease in your retreat. I sometimes wish myself with you, & could I leave Boston with propriety, I believe I should take up my residence at Halifax untill these calamities are overpast; for tho' I have some glimmering hopes, yet, from the continued frenzy of the people, the prospect is gloomy; here & there a light spot, but still the clouds are black &

¹ Opposite to King's Chapel. — Eds.

² John Borland, a prominent merchant and Loyalist in Boston. He died, June 5, at the age of 47. The expedition to Hog Island was on May 27. See *New England Chronicle*, June 8-15, 1775; *Sabine's American Loyalists*, vol. i. p. 237; *Paige's History of Cambridge*, p. 493. — Eds.

heavy, & the wild tempest roars. In short my hopes & fears prevail alternately. I don't see the way out, & yet I think we can't be far from the end of the lane. When we are out, I will give you by way of amusement, some of the many entertaining anecdotes with which the scene is interspersed. I wish Yorick was alive & upon the spot to write a Sentimental Blockade. It would afford an infinite fund of matter for his infinite fund of humour. Oh! with what fine touches would such a pen describe the bewitching charms of the great goddess Liberty, how would he paint her worshippers, some plunging themselves, their wives & children in certain poverty & destruction, quitting or wasting their substance, strolling about like pilgrims, not knowing whither they are bound; others plundering & destroying all around them, killing horses, stealing cattle, sheep, money, goods, burning houses, barns & hay,—the whole troop rushing into the arms of Slavery, & all in honour of the afores^d goddess Liberty, as 'Indians cut & mangle themselves to please the Devil. It will certainly be a fine field for somebody.

Pray present M^{rs} Sewall's with my affectionate regards to M^{rs} Robie & your little ones. Tell her to keep up a good heart. The times must alter, & they can't grow much worse.

Yours sincerely,

JO^N. SEWALL.

M^R ROBIE.

GARRISON at BOSTON, July 15th, 1775.

DEAR ROBIE, — Musketry, bombs, great guns, redoubts, lines, batteries, enfilades, battles, sieges, murder, plague, pestilence, famine, rebellion, & the Devil have at length brought me to a determination to quit a scene with which I am thoroughly cloy'd, & to retreat to the cold climate of Halifax, — a spot which I flatter myself will afford peace at least, because it is not worth quarrelling about. It is not despair which drives me away, but because I am heartily tired. I have faith like a mountain of mustard seeds that rebellion will shrink back to its native Hell, & that Great Britain will rise superior to all the gasconade of the little, wicked American politicians, but I have a wife & children to take care of, & I fear a long winter for which I can see no provision, and I think it my duty to repair to my station. I expect to embark, bag & baggage, in about a fortnight or three weeks. I have engaged M^{rs} Jo. Gerrish's house for one year. M^r Spooner will tell you everything that I could write in the way of news. Present my affectionate regards to M^{rs} Higginson, & tell her I don't write her because I expect to come unto her shortly, & see her face to face, that I hope to spend a social winter with your & her fireside, but I have learnt not to depend upon any thing sublunary. M^{rs} Ben

Gerrish will be afflicted to hear of the death of her poor brother Jun^o Cotton; he dy'd this morning of a dissentary, the same disorder that carry'd off his eldest son last week, & which prevails much in town. He was a good man & the event is melancholy; but Death has so long stalked among us that he is become much less terrible to me than he once was. Habit has a great influence over that mystical substance, the human mind. Funerals are now so frequent that for a month past you met as many dead folks as live ones in Boston streets, & we pass them with much less emotion & attention than we used to pass dead sheep & oxen in days of yore when such sights were to be seen in our streets. How the times are changed! If a quarter of a poor, half-starved dead sheep is carry'd thro' the street, people fly to their doors & windows to view the wonderful sight, in the same manner as they formerly did to see the funeral of a person of distinction, while in return a funeral passes along as unheeded as ever a panier of pigeons did in the afternoon of a hot day, when the morning price was a half penny a dozen, & this is all natural eno', for when there is not a supply of victuals for all the survivors will feel less regret at seeing the crowd thin off. I do verily believe that war, pestilence, & famine, however horrid they have been thought to be, form the best school of philosophy that ever was invented. If I was to tarry here six months longer, I believe I sho^d grow fond of them; & I had only my own belly to fill, I should certainly try the experiment. I have a strong desire to see the end of the play, of which I have seen but two acts as yet; and by the scenery the next will be much more crowded with smoke, fire, and bloodshed & such like ornaments of tragedy; and it's not impossible that the finishing stroke of the last act may be the death of the last person of the drama, like Swift's *Tom Thumb* the Great. I sometimes scold, but I oftener laugh; & I assure you I have never from the beginning felt the least disposition to cry. Every thing I see is laughable, cursable, and damnable; my pew in the church is converted into a pork tub; my house into a den of rebels, thieves & lice; my farm in possession of the very worst of all God's creation; my few debts all gone to the devil with my debtors. I have just parted with my coach horses for £24 ster^s, which cost me £40 last fall & £20 more in keeping, while the circuit of my riding ground has been confined to my own yard or little more. I parted with them because they were starving in the midst of British armys & British fleets in the most plentiful country in the world. All this is *right*, says Doctor Pangloss, & this is the best of all possible worlds, & the garrison of Boston the best of all possible garrisons, as the castle of Thundertentrunch was the best of all possible castles. Be it so, with all my heart. I like it well enough, if it was not for the hen & chickens; if they were out of the way, I should feel that happy indifference which would carry me up

to the mouth of a cannon, or to an assembly room, just as the call happened to be, without a wish to disturb my tranquillity. I could say, but I will keep silence, and be dumb while the wicked is before me.

Adieu.

JOÑ. SEWALL.

BOSTON, 12th August, 1775.

LOVING COZEN, — In my last I acquainted you with (or at least hinted to you) my design of spending the winter at Halifax. I am now all off, & hearing of the small pox, & for divers other good causes & considerations me thereunto moving, more especially in consideration of the sum of two thousand pounds sterl^s money of Great Britain, from me, out of pocket already lost & gone to the Devil, as a reward for my endeavours to save my countrymen from ruin & destruction, have consented, determined, bargained, & agreed to quit America during the present scene of distraction, & to transport myself, my wife, children, man servant, & maid servant in the good snow called the [*blank*], whereof Robinson is master for this present voyage to London; & so God send the s^d snow a safe & speedy passage. Amen.

If we reach our desired port in safety I shall depend much on seeing your phiz. I shall take a house at Westminster end for the winter, in what particular street, or at which corner, or what part of that street, I cannot determine, but if you enquire for Squire Wronghead & family lately from the country of Independents on a *journey to London*, you will find us out without any difficulty. To be serious, I am really going bag and baggage. I am discouraged at the prospect before me. I see infatuation, distraction, & hair-brain'd blindness on one side, and determined resolution & resistless power on the other, & for my wife & children I dread the shock. I have doubts whether effectual measures will be taken this fall, & in that case I fear that Halifax itself will taste the bitter pill, such is the epidemical nature of the frenzy that after what I have seen, I know not where it will stop, till the only proper remedy is apply'd. I doubt not a cure, but I am uncertain when; & I have seen, heard & felt enough of the rabies; I wish to be out of the noise. Your letters by Hunter & by the packet, with the two cheeses & the butter came safe to hand, for which you have my hearty thanks. I sho^d have wrote you by the packet, but she sailed two days sooner than I was assured she would sail, to my great mortification. The certificate you wish for I have not obtained; the reasons you shall know if we live to meet in London, where I doubt not I can answer all the purposes of a certificate. If you pursue your London scheme, I can't but think it wo^d be better for your wife & sister, with their families to return home soon. Salem & Mbhead are quiet as yet. There they will find plenty of provisions & cheap; & sho^d any thing disagreeable take place, they can retire into the country. Women & children will be

in danger only of inconveniences. Besides, M^{rs} Robie & M^{rs} Higginson will derive some advantage from certain connections which I cannot think of without indignation.

But "when it is to combat evil,
'T is lawful to employ the Devil."

On the other hand, Halifax is in a cold climate, long winters, provisions poor, scarce, & dear; add to this the danger (as I apprehend) that the *flame* may catch there notwithstanding the *coldness* of the climate, & what will be their situation then? Only suppose your back country should adopt the humane Massachushtes plan of starving Halifax into a compliance with Continental measures! and the more unreasonable this appears the more probable it is. Every step hitherto taken has been to reason a stumbling block & to common sense foolishness. Indeed, I think if they return home, they will choose the least evil of two. Your & M^{rs} Higginson's letters for Salem & Mbhead I put on board a ship bound thither with a cargo of transports from our almshouse. They were carried to the General's & open'd, & in the mean time the ship sail'd, so that I now have them in my possession open. I will seal & forward them, to be open'd again I suppose by the rebels. M^{rs} Sewall joins in love to M^{rs} Robie & chicks. Better times is the wish of

Yours sincerely.

JOÑ. SEWALL.

M^R ROBIE.

No. 16 KNIGHTSBRIDGE, 17th Aug., 1776.

DEAR ROBIE, — You sailed from Portsm^o 24th May, as I suppose by your last letter; the Commission^{rs} are now arrived in 25 days, which gives you 7 weeks, & no news of you yet. God grant you mayn't have fallen into the hands of the rebels. Heavens! I had rather hear the Devil had got you, for I believe he has more honesty, honor, virtue & humanity than they. I congratulate you on the pleasing prospects American affairs begin to wear, *rejoicete & upliftite oculos*, for your redemption draweth nigh. Nothing new has occur'd since your departure, except that my man Richard took it into his head in return for all my kindness to break up my house in the night between the 19th & 20th of June, & rob me of all my plate, table cloths, napkins, towels, shirts, my wife's smewys, &c., &c. to the value of 80 or 90£, for which he was hanged at Tyburn on Wednesday last, & I hope his soul is happy. I petitioned his Majesty for the poor fellow's life, but the crime being of so dangerous a kind, burglary by a servant, my prayer could not be granted. I believe he was drawn into it by a bad woman, who nevertheless had art enough to manage matters so as to save her own neck, & leave poor Richard, as the Devil also did, in the lurch. I hope & believe Heaven makes all the allowance for him that I do; if it does, the worst is over with him.

You remember how I scolded at you for not bringing me some fish from Halifax. I expect 3 or 4 quintals by the first vessel that sails after your arrival. If you have forgot it, pray send by the first opportunity after the receipt of this, & let me know where I shall pay for it. You don't know how I long for it every Saturday. I bought a box of oyl a month ago, in high expectation of receiving the fish before this time. Dear Robie, don't fail.

I shall write you again as soon as I know where you are, but not before. I have taken up a letter from M^{rs} Robie to you, & open'd it, as it was directed to me in your absence. The bill inclosed is a second, & I suppose the first came to your hands before you left England. I mentioned it to S^r Will^m Pepperrell, & he supposed it was paid. I have not yet seen M Paice, but intend it, & if it be as I suppose I shall destroy it.

Our kindest love to M^{rs} Robie, M^{rs} Higginson, & the little ones, & accept the same from

Your hearty friend & kinsman.

JOÑ. SEWALL.

M^R ROBIE.

KNIGHTSBRIDGE, March 12th 1777.

DEAR COZ., — . . . I lately sent via N. York a long letter to M^{rs} Hig^{son}, part of which was wrote in Nov^r last, upon a subject the most melancholy I have ever had to write upon, — the death of my dear, amiable little Betsey. Oh Robie, it was a severe stroke. I feel it yet, & shall feel it till death puts a final period to all sensation; but "what avails superfluous sorrow?" if I can't forget her I must not trouble my friends with her; they have troubles enough of their own, & so, farewell, dear Shade!

I hope my letter to M^{rs} Higginson will not fall into the hands of the rebels, for I should be loth their malice should be gratified, as I know it would be, by reading, & perhaps printing the heart-felt pangs which in the bitterness of soul I penned for the perusal of a sympathizing friend. I lately saw in one of their newspapers a printed letter of the venerable D^r Caner,¹ wherein he expresseth his (groundless) fears lest he should be left to poverty & want in his old age; & the humane publisher (one of the Adams's or D^r Cooper, I suppose) subjoins to the letter an invocation to Heaven or Hell, I don't know which, that such may be the fate of all Torys, that is, of all who would not join in a wicked rebellion. What unfeeling brutes! I wrote 3 or 4 letters to M^r Brenton,² all which, I suppose, fell into the hands of the American

¹ Rector of King's Chapel. He went to Halifax on the evacuation of Boston by the British troops. — Eds.

² Presumably James Brenton, one of the Rhode Island Loyalists. He went to Halifax, and was a notary public there in September, 1775. See Sabine's *American Loyalists*, vol. i. p. 254. — Eds.

pirates, as he writes me he has never rec^d them; as they were merely on business, would not their committees, if they had a spark of generosity in their composition, have forwarded them? but no, they have discovered only the most barbarous, inhuman, unchristian, diabolical sentiments from the beginning. God forgive me if I am wanting in charity; but before him I declare that in my conscience I believe the plotters, instigators & cherishers of this most unnatural, causeless, destructive rebellion to be the worst set of men that have ever lived from the days of Lot to this day; they never appeared to me to have acted what they thought right, but to have been abandoned to all sense of moral & civil obligation, & to have given themselves up to the guidance of malice, pride, envy, hatred, & every other vicious principle that can blacken the human heart, but thank Heaven, they have almost fill'd up the measure of their iniquity, & will very soon reap their reward. Pray let me hear from you every opportunity, & to convince me you are still living in this *mundaine sphere*, touch a little upon sublunary subjects, & send a few quint^{ls} of good fish, do you mind. Greet your fire-side, M^{rs} Hig^{son}, M^r Porter,¹ & all friends. I shall go into the country this summer upon the œconomic plan. You shall hear where when I know myself. Wherever I am, believe me

Yours sincerely.

JOÑ. SEWALL.

If the rebels catch this, I believe they will hardly think it worth printing; however, if [they] should, they are welcome, & then you may read it in print. I take care to give them no information as to matters & things; but I advise them to lay down y^e weapons of their rebellion immediately, or the D—I will come, & then it will be too late to pray.

THO^s ROBIE, Esq.

LONDON, 4th March, 1778.

MY DEAR M^{RS} HIGGINSON,²—The last letter I had the pleasure of recieving from you was dated in June last, & just before I went out

¹ Samuel Porter, a native of Danvers, and a graduate of Harvard College in the Class of 1763. He was afterward an attorney-at-law in Salem, and a Refugee. He died in London in 1798. See Sabine's *American Loyalists*, vol. ii. pp. 197, 198. — Eds.

² Mrs. Higginson, whose maiden name was Mehetabel Robie, was a sister of Thomas Robie, and widow of John Higginson of Salem. She went to Halifax in May, 1775, with her only surviving child, a daughter, ten years of age, and her brother's family. There she remained until May, 1782, when she returned to Massachusetts. She died in January, 1818, at the age of 94, "having for many years, in connection with her daughter, kept a school of great repute." (See *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute*, vol. v. p. 39.) In the Pickering Papers, belonging to the Massachusetts Historical Society, are nine letters from Mrs. Higginson to Colonel Pickering and four letters from him to her. — Eds.

into the *country* to spend the *summer*, which was in August last, for by the bye, you must know we have our *country* & our *town* residence, like our betters, & like them, for you know it would be foolish to ape them by halves, we went to our *country* residence at the *latter* end of *summer*; & let me add, for the parenthesis is now so long that it is no matter how much longer it is, our *country* residence was at Bristol, a city containing about ninety thousand inhabitants, & which carries on more trade than the whole continent of America; just before we left London, I say, I recieved a letter from your eccentric brother, acquainting me with his intentions of soon quitting Halifax for N. York, or Nova Zembla, or the Lord knows where, & from that time I have been waiting with the utmost impatience to hear from some of you, somewhere, wishing to write you, if I knew where to find you. But a few days since our friend Porter,¹ who, by the way, is the very same, identical, numerical, velvet-breechical Porter that he was when you last saw him, without any other variation or shadow of change than the dampness of the climate would, in the same time, have made in a marble statue, the same rough diamond he was first formed; he called upon me, & told me he had recieved a letter from you at Halifax, from whence I conclude this will find you there, for I presume the events of the last campaign have not determined you to return to Salem immediately. However, don't despond. Things have not gone, I own, just as I expected, but still, I think they are in a good way. Slow & sure, to people not in a hurry, is a comforting motto. Don't be startled at the plan of reconciliation. I verily believe it to be a wise plan, & that it will be attended with the happiest consequences, whether the Congress accept the terms, or not. I caution you, because my gloomy & angry countrymen here seem to think every thing is given up, & cry, We are undone. Opposition, on the other hand, say the terms are trifling & nothing is given up. I have often seen two warm partys in a private dispute equally angry at an award of arbitrators, which I thought perfectly just & equitable. The two partys, in their judgments, were upon the opposite extremes, but the arbitrators took the middle, where truth & justice lay, — so I think Lord North has done in this grand national dispute, & I don't at all regard the clamors of fiery partizans on either side. The terms now offered are, I verily believe, the same that would have been granted if Gen^l Burgoin had never *convented*, & if America had been conquered and reduced to the most abject submission; and in the name of humanity why should more blood be shed on either side for form's sake? If the Americans will yet insist on independence the whole world will justify this kingdom in reducing them by any & every means that the art of war points out; if they give it up, & are content with the removal of every grievance complained of as the ground of the rebellion,

¹ See note, *ante*, p. 418. — Eds.

& with the amplest security for their English rights & liberties, surely it is best to terminate a bloody war as speedily as possible.

April 1st, 1778. No opportunity for conveyance having offered since I began my letter, it has lain by, as you perceive, near a month, & now I think it will go, but where it will find you is uncertain. Mr Salter tells me you were at Halifax when he left it, but that he heard from Mr Porter you were about removing home; if so, this probably will never reach you, but it shall take its chance, lest you should think I have forgot you, as you seem to have forgotten me. Why did not you, nor your cross brother, write me by Mr Newton or Mr Salter? Your neglecting two such fine opportunities is a mystery I cannot unravel; but I hope you will soon. I shall set out next Monday, bag & baggage for Bristol, there to remain till the restoration of peace, & perhaps till the restoration of all things, for if a French war takes place, as is generally expected, I have no expectation of seeing America these ten years, if ever. But perhaps I may be as much out in my judgment now as I have been in every instance from the commencement of the American troubles. However, I am determined to possess my soul in patience. I know I am at least half thro' the journey of life; & if I can but see my two dear boys¹ upon their own legs, I care not three farthings whether I end it in England or in America. I long earnestly to see many of my valuable friends there, but whether I am ever to be gratified is so uncertain that I can form no judgment about it. I still wish *you* had never left Salem, & should you return, I think you would act wisely. *You* can have nothing to fear, & I am sure your life would be more comfortable. Greet your second self with a kiss, accept Mr^s Sewall's best wishes, & believe me

Your affect^o friend & kinsman.

JOÑ. SEWALL.

BRISTOL, 11th Feb^r, 1780.

MY DEAR LACONIC COZ., — . . . I have nothing to write on but politics, and as that is a subject you so very prudently avoid, I shall most scrupulously follow your example, and I believe you are right, for I have every reason to think some of the most interesting letters I have wrote to Halifax & New York have miscarry'd. Therefore I am determined to observe your wise maxim, *Least said is soonest mended*, tho' as Ash Wednesday happened this week I could not help adding some occasional curses to the catalogue of the day. I cursed, but *Howe* I cursed, guess you. I thank you for your kind advice respecting my repairing to Halifax to receive my *coto* of the profits upon condemnation of prizes; but I assure you I could not finger a farthing of them if

¹ Jonathan Sewall, afterward Chief Justice of Lower Canada, and Stephen Sewall, afterward Solicitor-General of the same Province. — Eds.

I were upon the spot, as my commission expressly prohibits my taking any fee or gratuity whatever on pain of forfeiture. Notwithstanding this, believe me, were it not for my children I should long ago have removed to Halifax, & recieved the whole of my salary to my own use, upon which I think I could live better there than upon $\frac{3}{4}$ ths here, but for their sakes I must tarry here yet a little longer. I grew so tired of living with a family at lodgings that I am now again a householder in *Trinity Street*, Bristol. I was formerly in *Unity Street*, from whence I removed hither. Whether this is a change from *heresy* to *orthodoxy* or *vice versâ*, or whether according to St Athanasius they are *both* the same, & so I remain in *statu quo*, or in *quomino*, as our country pedagogue express'd it, I leave you to determine.

I rec^d your favors of 23rd Nov^r, 1778, and 30th Jan^r, 1779, the last of which you'll observe bears date the very day after the date of mine to you, since which I have wrote you two or three.

We have in Bristol D^r Gardner, Gov^r Oliver, Mess^{rs} Lechmere, Vassal, Faneuil, Barns & familys, M^{rs} Borland, Mess^{rs} Simpson & Waldo, &c., &c., so that we don't want for American acquaintance. I wish you wo^d take another trip, & say, how d'ye. M^{rs} Sewell, Jenny, & Sam join in good wishes to your fireside; finally & lastly, to finish & conclude & say no more, but to have done,

I am your obliged kinsman.

JOÑ. SEWELL.

Couragè.

TRINITY ST^T, BRISTOL, 11th Mar. '82.

. . . You persist in spelling my name Sewall. I have repeatedly informed you that upon examining the Herald's Office, and a strict enquiry in the county from whence we originated I am fully convinced the name is Sewell. Accordingly Sam^l & I have for several years past conformed to y^e true family way of spelling our name. . Our great g. father certainly did not know how to spell his own name; if he had, he would not at that time have left England for America. The error was handed down to the third generation; but now we have got right again. I have a genuine copy of the family arms, taken from the Herald's Office, which I will send you soon. . . .

JOÑ. SEWELL.

BRISTOL, TRINITY STREET, 10th Sep^r, '83.

MY DEAR M^{RS} HIGGINSON, — When I saw your letter, for I well knew your handwriting, dated at Salem, I was as much astonished as if it had been dated at Calcutta or in the moon. I had not received the

¹ Samuel Sewall, of Brookline, a graduate of Harvard College in the Class of 1761, and also a Refugee, went to England, where he died in May, 1811. — Eds.

least hint of your having left Halifax, for which I have given your brother a gentle rap over the knuckles, as he has wrote me two or three letters since your departure, without mentioning it. I heartily rejoice at your being restored to your little freehold & to the arms of your friends, tho' whether I ought to rejoice or to grieve at it, I am at a loss to determine; at present I think you have acted with your usual prudence, and if the Americans by breaking off their connection with G. Britain have established liberty, peace & happiness among themselves, you must, I think, find yourself more agreeably scituated at Salem than you could be at Halifax. If, on the contrary the picture sho^d be reversed, you may possibly be glad to revisit Hal^x. This, however, is in the womb of time. At any rate you have secured your mansion. For myself, tho' I wish the united States may realize all the fancy'd blessings of independence, yet, at present, I am far from hankering after a residence among them. I have many friends, with whom to enjoy one month's friendly social chit-chat I could traverse half the globe on foot, yet such are my ideas of the disunion & the consequent troubles which are yet to come before regular government can be firmly established, and such my abhorrence of the form which must, if any, finally prevail, that, I assure you, if my estate was now to be offered me upon condition of my returning to take possession of it, I would not accept it. So you see, tho' I can't deny my being a *Saint*, yet I am not a St Evremond. I believe all you say about Halifax, & I believe I shall be there next summer, & tho' I sho^d never see my Massachusetts friends, yet it will afford me some pleasure to think I am within four days sail of them; but if I can live on a few years longer, I don't despair of seeing you. The definitive treaty is now signed, & it seems to be an agreed point that our estates are not to be restored to us, & the Devil must be in your people if they won't admit us as transient visitors. I bless Major Handfield & Doct^r Prince for their kindness to you, & if I live to reach Halifax & find them there, they shall have my personal thanks & every grateful return in my power to make. Friend Porter is still living, & in London, as you have heard, but not in health,—at least not in his own opinion. He had for some time perswaded himself, that as all his family were short-liv'd & none of them exceeded a certain age, at which he was to arrive two years ago, in August, he sho^d not get on beyond that period. His anxiety under this perswasion, together with continual gloomy reflections on the loss of his dear bonds & notes in America tormented his mind day & night, & reduced it to a very sickly state, which, as is not uncommon, was communicated to his body & brought on a spitting of blood & other symptoms of a consumption, but being determined not to yield to that inexorable tyrant, Sergeant Death, in this accursed Sodom, as he very piously calls England, he suddenly embark'd for

Oporto, where he arrived in safety & resolved to lay his bones, but it so fell out, what with the salutary effects of the voyage & what with the change of climate & a plenty of unadulterated wine, peaches, nectarines, grapes, musk- and water-mellons, that his health was re-established, & the much dreaded day in August passed over, & all his melancholy prognostications were falsified; thinking then that he stood an equal chance for longevity with other people, he returned to Sodom, & has remained here ever since. However, his letters inform me that the hemorrhage frequently returns, tho' his friends who have seen him tell me he never look'd better, nor appeared in higher spirits than at present. From my soul I wish him long life, health & happiness, for Porter with all his whims, his oddities, & his quiddities possesseth, I firmly believe, as good, benevolent, honest a heart as ever God gave to man. I wish he could return in safety to Salem, for I am persuaded it would add many years to his life. England is not the climate for which he is calculated. Vauxhall, Ranelagh, the play house, the opera, & many other amusements with which I am enraptured, his soul, like Pococurante's in Voltair's *Candid*, sickens at, & when he is overperswaded to attend them, instead of relishing those refined entertainments he only growls like Comodore Trunnion, when his wife substituted a bed instead of a hamock. In short all the cities & courts of Europe could not afford him so much solid satisfaction in a century as he would carve out for himself in one hour's talk to Blaney in his dark office behind our Court House. I say, talk to Blaney, because Blaney, you know, never talks, & Porter when he begins talks without ceasing, so that I can't say conversation. You know both the gentlemen & will understand me. I do really wish you & your & his friends would sound George Williams & others of your *great* men, & try what can be done in favor of his return; for I am assured that he can neither live nor die in peace but in Salem, his once happy seat, & in my conscience I believe could he be made to realise the idea of returning thither fifty years hence he would live on that idea to the end of the term in spite of hemorrhages & all pulmonic attacks. He is a man of such truly Parson Adamish honesty & simplicity that they cannot fear any caballings or plottings from him. But he has taken up too much of my paper. Try what can be done, & tell me all about it. My heart is much interested in the matter, because I know it to be almost his only wish, tho' I do not know another American Loyalist now in England, except Aunt Jenny, who would return if they might; she vows to go the very first opportunity. Pray remember me with the warmest affection to M^r & M^{rs} Pynchon,¹ & tell her that the event has proved that the refugees were not furnished with so good head-

¹ Mr. and Mrs. William Pynchon, of Salem. His diary was edited and published, in 1890, by our late associate, Dr. Fitch Edward Oliver. — EDS.

pieces as those who stuck by the stuff. However, in their names I thank her for her encouraging compliment. I admire her spirit. Tell her also I wish for a letter from her, in which she may give free scope to all the sentiments of her heart. You tell of your gossiping round the neighbourhood with letters from your friends in England, but you must not do so with this. I have wrote too much in a hurry for public inspection; besides I don't know but I have let drop here & there an expression which an ingenious independent American might misinterpret. I have upon your hint wrote to your brother for further intelligence about the projected Academy at Halifax. I have communicated to my sons your kind paragraph respecting them & they thank you, & say you shall positively be their aunt.

You tell me in the beginning of your letter how happy the receipt of my letter of 12th March '82 made you, & yet in the postscript you say you have not received a line from me since the year '80. You will in your next reconcile this seeming contradiction. I believe I should have prevailed on my two boys to write you their grateful acknowledgments of your kind wishes, but this being Bristol fare-week, when, as Yorick says, all the world are running at the ring of pleasure, they could not find time. The Fares in England resemble our Commencements in general, but they differ in this, that at the fares every thing of the wonderful in nature and in art is collected & exhibited. These exhibitions draw together during the term of the Fare, which is ten days in this city, an astonishing number of men, women, & children. Among other exhibitions at this Fare are four giants & 4 dwarfs. Of the giants two are twin brothers, each 8 feet 3 inches in highth, & every part from head to foot in just proportions to their highth. The father of them is 6 feet high, & the mother 6 feet 3 inches. Of the dwarfs one is a male Polander, 38 years of age, 3 feet 3 inches high, & very completely formed; he speaks every language of Europe, is as polite & accomplished in his manners & address as any gentleman I have ever seen; he has a wife of the middling stature, by whom he has two children (have you faith as a grain of mustard seed?); his hands & feet are of the size of a child's at two years of age. Another is a female 3 feet high, & twenty-eight pounds weight; her age about 30; she is as well proportioned as the little Poland gentleman, & is a very sensible little woman. These are curious sportive productions of nature, which, however insipid the subject may be in a literary description, yet I assure you, could you see them with your own eyes, you would be filled with pleasing wonder, but above all could you behold *size ace* together, the little Polander standing by the gygantic Irishman, or, I should rather say, by the side of his leg, for he does not come up to his knee, you could not fail being highly diverted at the very ludicrous contrast.

Now I shall be grievously disappointed if I have not a monstrous

long letter by the very first opportunity. I wish you would touch a little upon politics. I want your opinion upon the present appearance respecting the future government of the united States considered as one confederated people. Must there not be a supreme & controuling power lodged somewhere? Must not this supreme head be vested with a discretionary power to make war in the name of the 13 States? to provide in time of peace against such an event? to discharge the public debt contracted in the late war? and to these ends must not he or they, be it Protector, Stadholder, or Congress, have power to levy taxes & to enforce the payment of them? Will a people who so lately took up arms to avoid a 3 penny duty on an acknowledged luxury of life, & by the help of a great & good ally, overturned a long established government, & one of the mildest on earth, patiently submit to a tax on all the luxuries & many of the necessities of life levy'd by creatures of their own creation but yesterday? Can such a necessary supreme power exist a moment, or their laws ever be carry'd into execution, without a standing army? Will y^e independent Americans tamely submit to be dragooned into submission & compliance by their fellow citizens & countrymen? Will not the disbanding the army be in effect annihilating the supreme authority of Congress, & dissolving the fæderate union of the 13 States? Will not an attempt to keep up a standing army arouse the jealousy of Leviathan, & like an electric shock communicate to every part of the new body-politic, & bring on mobs, insurrections, anarchy, confusion, & bloodshed? Will not the ancient jealousies, competitions, & enmities between the Northern & Southern States soon break out again, when they have no longer a public cause, the only cement of their union, to keep them in outward good humour? Perhaps, you will say these are *questions not to be ask'd*. Be it so, but were I an inhabitant of the united States, I could not avoid pondering them with anxiety. They contain more of politics than I have indulged myself in writing for some years past, and possibly my concern for the future peace & happiness of my native country suggests fears & doubts which are but chimerical & imaginary. I wish this may prove to be the case. But you must observe this is all only for your perusal; no gossiping with politics. It is in your Land of *Liberty* a subject too sacred to be meddled with by the profane vulgar, tho' in the Land of *Slaves* a cobbler or a chimney sweeper claims & exercises freely, as his undoubted right, the privilege of arraining, examining, judging & condemning the conduct of the King's Ministers, of the Parliament, & even of the King himself. You are tired; and I am at the end of my letter. Peace & happiness ever attend you & your daughter, in which wish joins my fireside, with

Your sincere friend & affec^o kinsman.

JO^N. SEWELL.

BRISTOL, 8th Sep^r, 1785.

DEAR COZ., — I have rec^d your two very friendly l^{rs} of 30 July & 1st Augst, & think myself highly honor^d by the very flattering opinion which you & *one* gentleman of the bar entertain of me, & your wishes that I may succeed your present (or late) Ch. J. But waving all objections which diffidence of my own abilities, qualifications, &c., strongly suggest I have forty other irrefragable & cogent reasons against closing with your friendly proposal, tho', as I am rather straighten'd in point of time, & as by your letters it is clear to demonstration you are at all times in the same predicament, I will content myself for the present, & detain you with two only. 1st, I could not obtain the commission if I would; & 2^{ly}, I would not if I could.

“By method things are best discuss,
Begin we then with reason first.”

Had L^d North continued in admⁿ I believe I might have had any thing I could modestly have ask'd, but when he found he could no longer support the American war, he first paved the way for the *glorious* peace which you have heard of I presume, & then like a true minister of state wisely slipt his neck out of the collar, or like a cunning *Fox* retreated to his burrough, & left us poor loyal refugee *geese* all in the lurch. A new king has now arisen who knows not Joseph, or rather who hates Joseph; for M^r Pitt, with a view to his own glory, the only principle upon which, if we may believe the majority in the herd of divines, the deity himself ever acts, was in the first outset of his career in the opposition to L^d North, — not I suppose that he had any spleen or malice against L^d N. as L^d N., but merely as Minister, & had it been the Lord Jehovah it would undoubtedly have been the same. In this by the way, I would not be understood to suggest, or even squint at an opinion of M^r Pitt's acting upon principles different from those which actuated the great L^d Chatham, the greater S^r Robert Walpole, or the still greater Burleigh. No, no, they all, both in getting into & keeping the saddle, ever did, & ever will, proceed upon the invariable divine principle of promoting their own glory. M^r P. being thus necessitated to oppose L^d N. must of course, as he ever did, condemn the measures taken against America. Having now mounted the saddle his avowed principles must be uniform; he can't, therefore, you see, be a friend to the loyalists who exerted themselves to support L. North's measures in America, and consequently I can have no interest with him. Which was to be dem. Reason 2nd, I would not if I could. I must first observe here, that I could not expect to hold my commission as J. of the Adm^{ty} & recieve that of C. J., & the former is certainly preferable in point of profit, but further I will let you into a secret which you must keep sacred, till I write you again, even from your wife & your walls. You must read it as a good Christian ejacu-

lates his prayers; it must not rise to a whisper; but you will say, if I can't keep my own secrets, how can I expect you to keep them? True. Therefore I'll e'en keep it myself, but I'll let you know it in my next, or when I see you, & it will then be no secret. That's good Irish, you say, but positively it is sterling English, as you will see.

I have long talk'd of going to Halifax, but my impediments are now removed, & you may rely on it that life & health, wind & weather permitting, I shall certainly embark bag & baggage in April next. I assure you I am tired of England, & earnestly long once more to see you & others of my old American friends & acquaintance, I mean in Nov. Sco. & N. Brun.; for as for those in the 13 States, 2 or 3 excepted, I have not a wish to see a devil of them in this world or the next. I wish them no harm. God bless them, I say, but as either world is wide enough for us all, without jostling, I wish to keep clear of them to all eternity.

I have never heard how you stand with respect to the real & personal property you left at Mbhead. Two of the commissioners upon the American claims are now gone or going out for N. Sco., in order to examine the claims of the Loyalists there. If you are a sufferer, I mean a loser of property, you will put in your claim, & will undoubtedly get something in recompense; but in what proportion, I can't pretend to say. However, you know y^e old proverb, *half a loaf*. Get what you can by all fair means. I believe I shall send to your care a small package for my son at St John's, which you will be kind enough to forward. I have paid the £10 agreeable to your direction, that is, I have not paid it, but I gave orders to my agent in London to pay it out of my salary which became due in April last, & from some new arrangements at the Treasury has not yet been paid. However, it will now be paid in a few days. I congratulate you, for I know you will rejoice, that I have nothing more to add, but that with my best regards to your fireside, I am

Your affec^o kinsman & friend

JOÑ. SEWELL.

MR ROBIE.

Rev. HENRY F. JENKS communicated from the papers of Rev. Dr. Benjamin Colman, of the Brattle Street Church, Boston, two unpublished letters written respectively by Rev. George Whitefield and Rev. Jonathan Edwards. They are as follows:—

LONDON, Aug^t 10th 1743.

REVND & D^R S^R — Glad was I last night to receive a letter from your hands. It refreshed my soul to find the mutual intercourse of love & friendship which our Saviour has wrought between me & the d^r New England people kept up & maintained. It is begun in time,

but will continue I trust to an endless eternity. I never forget them or their ministers. They are always upon my heart & I long to see them face to face. Hitherto the door has been shut, but now begins to be opening for my going to America. My d^r wife is near the time of her travail. As soon as she is able to go abroad I purpose to embark for America. I have seen Mr. Hutchinson's information concerning the Orphan-house. I scarce have ever seen so small a paragraph filled with so many great and flagrant lies. Poor man. I pity him. You do well Revnd S^r to give little credit to it. For indeed it is worthy of no credit at all. Did I think it necessary I could give it an explicite answer, but I shall send it to M^r Habersham who in a letter from Charlestown dated June 6th informs me that all w[as] [*a word or two torn out*] [From?] others I hear fourty Dutch family had settled near the Orphan house & that [*one or two words torn out*] been visited with a remarkable effu[sion] of the Holy Spirit. D^r M^r Smith of [Cha]rlestown writes to me about the same [*a word torn out by breaking the seal*] & tells me He was then going to visit the Orphan-house. Ere this reaches you I suppose you will have received accounts from him. [I] am glad I put the burning bush at the bottom of the Orphan-house plan. Surely it [w]ill flourish unconsumed in fire. I thank you Rev^d D^r for your tender sympathy on account of the reproach I have met with for the sake of Jesus Xt. Blessed be his name, it has been sweet to my soul & as afflictions have abounded consolations have much more abounded. I think my bodily health is better than it has been these seven years, & deeply feel the truth of that promise They [that] wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength. I am much obliged to Doctor Watts for his great kindness. I see him as often as I well ca[n] which is but seldom, but I hear he is now much indisposed. Blessed be God I can yet send you good news concerning the progress of the Gospel. Both in England and Wales the word runs & is glorified very much. I find the work is not quite at a stop among you. I am glad d^r M^r Prince is printing a weekly History & I long to see d^r Mr. Edwards's last book. I w^d write to him, d^r M^r Cooper & some other dear & honrd Friends, [wou]ld time and business permit, but I am called away to an Association of the English Brethren. However be pleased Revnd S^r to salute all in the most cordial manner & assure them that without seeing I [make] mention of them in my prayers. My d^r wife joins in returning her most hearty salutations with me who am Revnd & D^r S^r

Your very affec. Younger Brother & Ser^{vt} in the Gospel of our
Glorious Emanuel

G W

I have deliver'd your message to M^r Mason. I hope my particular respects will find acceptance with the Honourable Governour Belcher, Esq^r Willard, M^r Welsh, my d^r host & hostess & all other particular & intimate friends.

NORTHAMPTON, May 22, 1744.

REV'D & HONOURED SIR, — It has been our manner in this congregation, for more than two years past, in the summer time, when we sing three times upon the Sabbath, to sing an Hymn, or part of a Hymn of Dr. Watts's, the last time, *viz*: at the conclusion of the afternoon exercise. I introduced it principally because I saw in the people a very general inclination to it: indeed I was not properly he that introduced it: they began it in my absence on a journey; and seem'd to be greatly pleased with it; and sang nothing else, & neglected the Psalms wholly. When I came home I disliked not their making some use of the Hymns: but did not like their setting aside the Psalms; and therefore used them principally, and continued the singing of the Hymns only in the manner that I have spoken of, and thus we continued to use them: which at first I suppose, was to universal satisfaction: and [so] it continued to be till very lately, excepting one [m]an, one Mr Root; he after a little while manifest[ing] a disgust, not by coming to me to say anything [to] me, but by turning his back on that part of [our] publick worship from time to time, and [going] out of the meeting House. There was no appearance of dislike in any other person that I know of, 'till lately I have heard some other persons have appear'd not well pleased: which I suppose principally arises from what Mr Root says you said to him concerning our singing those Hymns, more than a twelve-month ago, and a message that he says you desired him to deliver to me (tho' he never deliver'd it, or informed me of it 'till yesterday) He says that he went to you on purpose to talk with you on the affair, and that you charged him with this message to me, once and again, "Tell Mr Edwards from me, that I desire that he would by no means sing Dr. Watts's Hymns." This message which Mr Root has spoken much of to others tho' he did not deliver it to me, has I believe made some difficulty: and because I was ready to think there was some mistake, and it is pity that trouble should arise among us from nothing, I thought it would be best to write to you, that I might know the certainty. Therefore I would pray you Honoured Sir, to inform me whether Mr. Root did not mistake you, by writing briefly to me concerning this matter. Herein, Honoured Sir, you will much oblige

Your already greatly obliged son and servant

JONATHAN EDWARD[s]

Mr. JAMES F. RHODES, having been called on by the President, then read the following paper: —

The First Six Weeks of McClellan's Peninsular Campaign.

If one desires to read a chapter of blunders, or wishes to show how costly it is for a peace-loving people devoted to an industrial civilization to learn the lesson of war, or if he would have an example how decisive events fail of accomplishment wholly for the lack of a great general, let him read the story of McClellan's Peninsular Campaign. The plan itself was an unfortunate one. Not that from a military point of view it was inherently bad, for that contention is probably disposed of by the fact that twice and perhaps thrice during its attempted execution the chances were more than even that McClellan's noble and faithful army would go into Richmond had he given the word of attack, and had he been present on the field of battle to issue the orders and to make the disposition of forces that hardly would have failed to suggest themselves to a man of his technical training. The plan of the Peninsular Campaign was an unfortunate one, from the fact that the President's consent to it had actually been wrung from him, his objection being that to make the advance upon Richmond via Fortress Monroe and the Peninsula between the York and James rivers, deprived Washington of the protection of the main Federal army. Had McClellan been a man who looked at facts as they were instead of as he wished them to be, he would have appreciated that he could not expect as perfect co-operation from Lincoln as if he had determined upon a direct advance overland to Richmond, which was the plan favored by the President, and which at least had equal military merit with the other. The second blunder lay in the misunderstanding between Lincoln and McClellan as to the proper force which should be left to protect Washington, and which resulted in the withdrawal from the General's command of McDowell's corps of 35,000 men. Yet, as it is the consensus of opinion that it was the lack of generalship and not the lack of men which caused the failure of the campaign, that failure may not be imputed to the President for doing what, in his best judgment, was necessary to do for the safety of the capital.

April 2, 1862, McClellan reached Fortress Monroe. April 3, according to his own figures, he had with him ready to move 58,000 men; and the rest of his force, which he main-

tains made his effective total but 85,000, and which the President insisted made 108,000, was coming to him as fast as transports could bring them from Alexandria. April 4 the army began to move, and the next day appeared along the whole front of the Confederate line, which stretched from Yorktown across to the James River, a distance of thirteen miles. To hold this line Magruder had 11,000 men, and his reinforcements were arriving very slowly. McClellan's general report, written August 4, 1863, confirmed as it is by a private letter written to his wife when he was before Yorktown, makes it clear that he entertained a simple and correct plan of operations, which was by rapid movements to drive the enemy before him, open the James River, advance on Richmond, and attack it before the Confederate army of Northern Virginia could receive large reinforcements. Political as well as military considerations favored such a course. The Union victories in the Southwest, chief of which was the capture of Fort Donelson, had caused gloom and demoralization in the capital of the Confederacy, and the recovery from the depression had at this time only begun. A quick advance menacing Richmond would have intensified the dismay of its citizens. McClellan was before the Confederate line of Yorktown with 58,000 troops, reinforcements constantly arriving, and that line was defended by only 11,000. Why did he not make an attack? "Instant assault," he wrote, August 4, 1863, "would have been simple folly." Several excellent authorities maintain, on the contrary, that it would have been the highest wisdom. Indeed, no knowledge of military criticism is necessary to see that unless an army of 58,000 could break through a long line defended by only 11,000, it had no business to venture on an offensive movement. Moreover, McClellan had the authority of his government to make an assault, — and in a war waged by a republic such backing ought to be grateful to its general. April 6 the President telegraphed him, "I think you better break the enemy's line from Yorktown to Warwick River at once." The General had a profound contempt for the opinion of the Washington authorities, and in his answer piled up the difficulties with which he had to contend, and complained of the inadequacy of his force. To his wife, with whom he shared his inmost thoughts, he wrote: "The President very coolly telegraphed me yesterday that he

thought I had better break the enemy's lines at once ! I was much tempted to reply that he had better come and do it himself." April 9 Lincoln wrote McClellan the noble, pathetic, and sensible letter which is often reproduced or quoted from, and which contains as a direction for the future the remark, "It is indispensable to you that you strike a blow." The young general failed to take the course which every consideration prompted, from two defects in the working of his mind. He was irresolute ; he habitually overestimated the force of the enemy. For a conceited man and an unsuccessful general, McClellan wrote and talked too much, and he had at this time various opinions as to the strength of the enemy he must encounter ; but, April 7, he was sure that General Joseph E. Johnston had arrived in Yorktown with strong reinforcements, and that he should have the whole force of the enemy on his hands, which was probably not less than 100,000. It is quite true that as soon as McClellan began his advance towards Yorktown reinforcements commenced to arrive for Magruder, so that by April 11 he had an aggregate of 31,500 ; but by this time the Union army reached the number of 100,000 men present for duty. Up to this date, therefore, there was no time when McClellan had not three men to one of the Confederates. April 17, Joseph E. Johnston took command in person at Yorktown of an army which had then reached the number of 53,000. McClellan had missed the golden opportunity for an assault, and perhaps from this time on nothing could have been better than a continuance of the scientific siege operations which he began soon after his arrival before Yorktown.

He went on erecting siege-works and planting heavy Parrott guns and mortars against the Confederate fortifications, maintaining all the while a lively correspondence with the department at Washington and with his wife at home. In his letters to the President and the Secretary of War he resented bitterly that McDowell's corps had been withdrawn from his command ; he complained of the smallness of his own force, and intimated that he was outnumbered by the Confederates ; he had much to say of the rainy weather and of the roads deep with mud. To his worshipping and devoted wife he told of the disadvantages he was laboring under and of his many troubles in a tone that at times degenerated into childishness ; some of his letters indeed sound as if they had come from a

youth not yet grown rather than from the captain of a great army. When not childish, he is pursued by phantoms. Not only "the rebels," but "the abolitionists and other scoundrels," are aiming at his ruin. It is the men at Washington to whom he refers when he writes: "History will present a sad record of these traitors who are willing to sacrifice the country and its army for personal spite and personal aims." The President, yearning for the success of McClellan and eager to do everything to effect it, sent him Franklin's division of McDowell's corps; this reached him April 22. Still McClellan did not open a general attack from his batteries. April 28 he called for some 30-pounder Parrott guns from Washington, which brought forth this answer from the President: "Your call . . . alarms me chiefly because it argues indefinite procrastination. Is anything to be done?"

Turning from the contemplation of the Union general to Johnston, one is impressed with the good fortune of the South in having an able commander for its principal army at the commencement of the war, instead of being obliged, as was the case of the North, to grope about in a painful search, through bitter trial and sickening failure, of a general fit to lead the Army of the Potomac. Johnston coolly watched the operations of his adversary, and, surprised that at first he had not assaulted the Confederate line and now pleased that he delayed the bombardment, wrote, with a certain measure of contempt to Lee, "No one but McClellan could have hesitated to attack." When these elaborate siege operations were nearly completed, the Confederate general decided that Yorktown was untenable, and on the 3d of May evacuated it and the adjacent defensive works, with the intention of withdrawing his army to the neighborhood of Richmond. Magruder and Johnston had gained a month, — a delay of inestimable value to the Confederate cause. During that month the Richmond Congress passed the Conscription Act; the work of the reorganization of the Confederate army and the training of the Virginia militia went on.

The evacuation of Yorktown took McClellan by surprise. Anticipating serious resistance, he had expected three days later to open with his batteries. Nevertheless he gave orders for immediate pursuit, while he himself remained at Yorktown to superintend the embarkation of Franklin's division on trans-

ports which should go up the York River. Hooker with his division overtook the enemy, and began the battle of Williamsburg, which was fought without a plan, under confused orders and defective disposition of forces, and which, though somewhat relieved by a brilliant exploit of Hancock, then commander of a brigade, resulted in a Union defeat and considerable loss. McClellan arrived on the field at about five o'clock in the afternoon, receiving, as he always did, loud and enthusiastic cheers from his men; but the battle of Williamsburg was over. He made a disposition of forces for the conflict which he expected would be renewed on the morrow, but that night the Confederates marched away from Williamsburg in pursuance of their retreat to Richmond. McClellan followed with almost incredible slowness. From Williamsburg to the place where his army went into camp on the Chickahominy, a distance of forty to fifty miles, it took him a fortnight to march. The roads of course were bad. In a somewhat merry mood, he enlivens his book with an anecdote of which he more than once thought during this campaign, and from which he might have drawn an apposite lesson. McClellan asked an old general of Cossacks, who had served in all the Russian campaigns against Napoleon, how the roads were in those days. "My son," he replied, "the roads are always bad in war." Virginia mud is a factor which must be taken into account in the consideration of many campaigns; but the young general exaggerated the inclemency of the weather and the difficulty of the roads, even as he did the force of the enemy. Lincoln, undoubtedly weary of this constant grumbling, and observing that the Confederates marched in spite of bad roads and made attacks in spite of rough weather, once wittily said, "McClellan seemed to think, in defiance of Scripture, that Heaven sent its rain only on the just, and not on the unjust."

On the morning of May 11, when nineteen miles beyond Williamsburg, McClellan learned that the Confederates had evacuated Norfolk and destroyed the iron-clad "Merrimac." This opened up the James River to the Federal vessels and gunboats, and should, by the highest military considerations, have suggested to him that that river offered the more advantageous line of advance on Richmond, making available as it did the co-operation of the navy, avoiding the fever-breathing swamps

of the Chickahominy, and threatening the most important communication of the Confederate capital with the States farther South. McClellan is wise after the event, and in his report of August 4, 1863, and in his book acknowledges that the approach to Richmond by the James was a safer and surer route than the one adopted; but with his incapacity to admit that he ever made a mistake, he ascribes his evident failure in strategy to the administration at Washington. Repeatedly asking for reinforcements, he sent, May 14, to the President a respectful and reasonable despatch, the gist of which was, "I ask for every man that the War Department can send me by water." Four days later the Secretary of War replied that while the President did not deem it wise to uncover the capital entirely by sending the forces available by the water route, he had, however, ordered McDowell with his thirty-five or forty thousand men to march from his camp opposite Fredericksburg overland, and join the Army of the Potomac either north or south of the Pamunkey River; and he directed McClellan to extend his right wing north of Richmond, in order to establish this communication as soon as possible. "This command," declares McClellan, "is the reason why I did not operate on the line of the James." Yet the statement is effectually disproved by his official and private correspondence at the time, in which there is not the slightest allusion to a desire to make such a movement; in fact, the tenor of all his despatches and letters is that he expected to fight Johnston's army between the Chickahominy River and Richmond. Moreover, he knew of the destruction of the "Merrimac," May 11, and he did not get the notice of the promised reinforcement by McDowell until the 18th, giving him a full week to consider and adopt the plan of moving on to Richmond by the line of the James River, which he had unhampered power to do, and which is exactly what he should have done.

As soon as the destruction of the "Merrimac" was known, the "Monitor" and several gunboats started up the James. Their approach to Richmond caused more of a panic in that city than did any direct menace of McClellan's army of a hundred thousand during the whole of the Peninsular campaign. There were indeed anxious hearts in the capital city when the Union troops first appeared before Yorktown; but when McClellan,

instead of attacking the Confederates, went on with his scientific siege operations, anxiety gave way to wonder, and to contempt for his generalship. The fall of New Orleans was a blow, and the destruction, a fortnight later, of the "Mer-rimac," — "that great gift of God and of Virginia to the South,"¹ — seemed disaster crowding upon disaster. While McClellan's military ability was despised, the march towards the capital of the Confederacy of his well trained and equipped army could not be looked on without apprehension. While there was a quiet confidence in Johnston, strictures on Jefferson Davis were not uncommon. Of him who became the greatest Southern commander, and who was now acting as military adviser to his President, the Richmond "Examiner" said: "Evacuating Lee, who has never yet risked a single battle with the invader, is commanding general"; and after Yorktown had been given up, it sneered at "the bloodless and masterly strategy of Lee." We must bear all these circumstances in mind to understand the trepidation with which the people heard that the "Monitor" and the Federal gunboats were at City Point, afterwards within twelve miles, and then within eight miles of Richmond. Davis had himself baptized at home, and the rite of confirmation administered to him in the Episcopal church of St. Paul's. He had appointed by public proclamation a day for solemn prayer. A victim to anxiety, he insisted that his wife and family should go to Raleigh. The families of the Cabinet Secretaries fled to their homes. These facts, and the adjournment of the Confederate Congress the previous month, seemed to lend confirmation to a report now gaining ground that Richmond would be abandoned. The packing of trunks was the work of every household; refugees crowded the railroad trains. People fled in panic from the city, with nothing but the clothes they had on; and their action was not from baseless fear. New Orleans they thought had been ignobly surrendered. What should save Richmond? Davis's letters to his wife breathe discouragement. "I have told the people," he wrote, "that the enemy might be beaten before Richmond or on either flank, and we would try to do it, but that I could not allow the army to be penned up in a city." The evidence seems good that the government archives had been sent to Lynchburg and to Columbia.

¹ Richmond Examiner, May 13.

May 15 the "Monitor" and the Federal gunboats reached Drewry's Bluff, eight miles below Richmond on the James River. There they encountered a heavy battery and two separate barriers formed of spiles, steamboats, and sail-vessels, and found the banks of the river lined with sharpshooters. As the boats advanced, the Confederates opened fire; this was soon returned, and the battle was on. Richmond heard the sound of the guns, yet consternation did not reign. The panic-stricken had left the city, and resolute citizens had stemmed the current of alarm. The day previous, the General Assembly of the Commonwealth resolved that the capital should be defended to the last extremity, and appointed a committee to assure President Davis that all loss of property by the State and by the citizens involved in such a determination would be cheerfully submitted to. Davis said to the committee: "It will be the effort of my life to defend the soil of Virginia and to cover her capital. I have never entertained the thought of withdrawing the army from Virginia and abandoning the State. If the capital should fall, the necessity of which I do not see or anticipate, the war could still be successfully maintained on Virginia soil for twenty years." To the sound of the enemy's guns Governor Letcher affixed his hand and seal to a call for a meeting at the City Hall for the purpose of providing for the defence of Richmond. Before the time of the meeting the news came that the Federal gunboats had been repulsed; and this added joy to the enthusiasm with which the citizens assembled listened to the pledges of the Governor and the Mayor, that the city should never be surrendered. Confidence was restored, and not again during this campaign of McClellan was it so rudely disturbed. There had been a fine chance for an energetic Union general who knew his enemy. After the naval engagement of May 15 it was the opinion of Seward, then on a visit to the scene of operations, that a force of soldiers to co-operate with the navy on the James River "would give us Richmond without delay." While McClellan failed to take advantage of the favors which fortune lavished upon him, the public of the Confederacy, as well as its generals, learned to comprehend this Fabian commander, and could not conceal their derision at his lack of enterprise.

If the hopeful North and the anxious South could have

known McClellan's inward thoughts during these days, there would have been reason neither for hope on one side nor anxiety on the other. In his letters to his wife he spoke of his defeat at Williamsburg as a "brilliant victory," and asserted that he had given the Confederates "a tremendous thrashing." May 12 he asked, "Are you satisfied now with my bloodless victories?" And, May 15, he wrote, "I think that the blows the rebels are now receiving and have lately received ought to break them up."

This is the story of six weeks, or of one-half of the Peninsular Campaign; for it was confessedly a failure when in the last days of June McClellan retreated with his shattered army to the James River. In the two battles of Fair Oaks and Gaines's Mill, fought almost a month apart, his tactics were timid and disjointed. He showed himself incompetent to manage an army of one hundred thousand. Nor is this surprising. In June, 1862, it may well be doubted whether in either the Union or the Confederate army there was an officer who could handle such an army to the very best advantage. From Savannah, in January, 1865, William T. Sherman wrote his brother, saying that he did not care to accept the commission of Lieutenant-General. "Of military titles," he added, "I have now the maximum, and it makes no difference whether that be Major-General or Marshal. It means the same thing. I have commanded one hundred thousand men in battle and on the march successfully and without confusion, and that is enough for my reputation." This letter suggests what may be said in defence of McClellan. It is nevertheless certain that in June, 1862, there were several men South and several men North who could have handled that army better than did McClellan.

The consideration of McClellan's mistakes does not exhaust the chapter of blunders. Stonewall Jackson's brilliant raid into the Shenandoah valley brings into relief the blunders of Banks and of Frémont. It shows, too, that the story of this campaign cannot be truly told without animadverting on the error of the President in putting such men as Banks and Frémont into places of military responsibility.

Mr. JOHN C. ROPES spoke extemporaneously, in substance as follows:—

It is curious to note the existence in General McClellan's mind of a lack of precaution in dealing with certain subjects, and an excessive caution in dealing with others. We have just had our attention called to his extraordinary hesitation to attack the enemy's lines on the Peninsula, when he had everything to gain and really nothing to lose; but attention is not often drawn to the fact that in going to the Peninsula at all, after the "Merrimac" had come out, he was taking a very great risk. I have always believed that if the "Merrimac" had been well handled by a daring and capable officer, she might have come out from Norfolk and destroyed the transports and vessels which were carrying ammunition, food, and forage to McClellan's army. For a month McClellan's army was situated on the extremity of a peninsula, the enemy's lines from Yorktown to the James River shutting it in on the west, and the formidable "Merrimac" able to come out of Elizabeth River at any time, — so far, at least, as his information went, — and, unless restrained by the "Monitor," able to destroy the wooden vessels, upon whose safe arrival at Fortress Monroe and other landing-places, the very salvation of the army depended.

In connection with what has been said by Mr. Rhodes about General Joseph E. Johnston, I would say that it was Johnston's plan, on falling back from the Rapidan to Richmond in the latter part of March, to retain his army in the neighborhood of Richmond, to husband his resources, to rest his troops, to give them every advantage of drill and discipline and proper supplies, and to secure for them reinforcements, which he urged President Davis to draw from all parts of the Southern Confederacy. But Davis — between whom and Johnston there existed a quarrel, arising out of Davis's having disregarded Johnston's claims to the highest rank in the Confederate army, based upon his having held the position of brigadier-general in the old army — was not inclined to attribute much weight to Johnston's suggestions; and, supported by General Lee, who was at that time acting as military adviser to the President of the Confederacy, Davis insisted upon Johnston's taking his whole army down to the lines at Yorktown, where the troops suffered a great deal from exposure and privation, from insufficient shelter from the weather, and from remaining for weeks in a malarious climate. During the retreat from York-

town to Richmond, Johnston complained that his army was in such a condition that it would take him two days to get it ready for a general action.

In regard to the orders given by Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Stanton to Generals McDowell and Frémont in the latter part of May, to intercept Stonewall Jackson, who was making a raid in the Shenandoah valley, I would say that the popular impression, that this action on the part of the President and Secretary was not taken until Jackson had driven Banks to the borders of the Potomac, is erroneous. The orders were issued on the 24th of May, the day before the battle of Winchester. This shows conclusively that this action was not dictated by fear of invasion, but rather by an expectation on the part of the administration of accomplishing a brilliant strategical operation.

I would say that with the substance of Mr. Rhodes's paper I entirely concur.

In an informal discussion which followed, the Hon. WILLIAM EVERETT, the PRESIDENT, Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN, the Hon. T. JEFFERSON COOLIDGE, Mr. GAMALIEL BRADFORD, the Hon. EDWARD L. PIERCE, Mr. HENRY LEE, Mr. WILLIAM R. THAYER, and the Hon. MELLEN CHAMBERLAIN took part.

To show that Mr. Rhodes's opinion was not universally accepted, Mr. Coolidge related the following anecdote: Some seventeen or eighteen years ago I was in New Orleans, and happened to be at the same hotel with Gen. Joseph E. Johnston. . . . I breakfasted with him alone several days in succession; and as neither of us was busy, we used to chat on the war and the various commanders. One day he asked me whom I considered the greatest general that had fought on our side. I said that for military talent I placed Thomas above all the other commanders, and went on to give my reasons. He listened quietly, but said that in his judgment McClellan was the best informed and most able general of the Northern armies. Imagine my surprise. Nor can I account for his opinion, which he repeated on several occasions, except by supposing that the knowledge of the military art and of strategy was what he considered great, rather than success, which had not been granted to himself, however much he deserved it.

FEBRUARY MEETING, 1896.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 13th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the President, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D., in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved; and the list of donors to the Library since the January meeting was also read. The most important gift was a valuable collection of books and pamphlets from the library of the late Hon. Richard Frothingham, for many years Treasurer of the Society, which had been selected by his son, Mr. Thomas G. Frothingham, as an addition to his previous gift from the same source. The Corresponding Secretary announced the acceptance of Mr. Francis C. Lowell as a Resident Member, and of Leslie Stephen, LL.D., as a Corresponding Member; and the President added that he had received a private letter from Mr. Stephen, dated London, January 24th, from which he would venture to read an extract, intended evidently for the Society:—

“ . . . I received a few days ago a notice of my election to be a Corresponding Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. I wrote an acknowledgment to the Secretary; but I am very glad to have the opportunity of saying to you personally that I really value this proof of kindly recognition from your members. It is over thirty years since I first saw Boston, and in many ways I have had constant cause for remembering that visit and being thankful for the friendships which I trace to it. Lowell and Norton were ever afterwards among my best friends, and I feel now that, if I could be dropped down at your Cambridge, I should feel myself more at home than in any other place outside of London, except my own Cambridge. Any proof that Cambridge and Boston people think kindly of me has, therefore, a special value. If it should be natural for you to intimate something of this to the Historical Society, I should be glad to let them know that my welcome of the honour they have conferred upon me is more than merely conventional courtesy. . . . ”

THE PRESIDENT then said that he expected to be absent at the next meeting of the Society, and he would therefore

announce the committees which it would be necessary to appoint in anticipation of the Annual Meeting. He accordingly named for the —

Committee to nominate officers, — Rev. Dr. Edmund F. Slafter, and Messrs. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., and Henry W. Haynes ;

Committee to examine the Library and Cabinet, — Messrs. James F. Rhodes, William R. Thayer, and Francis C. Lowell ;

Committee to examine the Treasurer's accounts, — Messrs. A. Lawrence Lowell and T. Jefferson Coolidge.

The PRESIDENT further said that he had received a letter from our associate Mr. Albert B. Hart, relative to printing the early papers of the Continental Congress, which he had been requested by the Council to communicate to the Society ; and on motion of Rev. Dr. EDMUND F. SLAFTER, it was

Voted, That a Committee of three be appointed, of which the President shall be one, to draw up and forward to Congress, through such channel as they shall deem expedient, a memorial asking for the publication of the Records and Papers of the Continental Congress.

The President, Rev. Dr. Slafter, and Mr. Hart were appointed members of the Committee.

The PRESIDENT announced the deaths of three Resident Members since the last meeting of the Society, and said : —

Not often in the history of the Society has it chanced that three names have been stricken from our roll of Resident membership in the interval between two monthly meetings ; but this afternoon I regret to announce the deaths of Messrs. Shurtleff, Brimmer, and Russell, as having occurred since we met here on the 9th of January. Prominent in their callings and communities, advanced in life and established in public respect, though no one of them ever especially identified himself with our Society or its purposes, yet they naturally were members of it. As respects their membership, Mr. Brimmer was oldest of the three ; chosen at the meeting of March 13, 1884, his name at the time of his death stood fifty-seventh on our list. Mr. Russell followed close upon him, having been elected eight months later, at the meeting of November 13, Lieutenant-

Governor Wolcott only intervening between them. Judge Shurtleff was made a member at the meeting of November 13, 1890, six years to a day after Mr. Russell. Their periods of membership were, therefore, twelve years each in the case of Messrs. Brimmer and Russell, and six years in the case of Judge Shurtleff. Mr. Brimmer served in 1887 on one of our committees, and in November, 1893, communicated one of the two autobiographical fragments written by Francis Parkman; but, with this single exception, none of the three made contributions to our Proceedings. Mr. Brimmer not infrequently attended our meetings; but Mr. Russell, as is often almost of necessity the case with busy professional men, was rarely seen here; and Judge Shurtleff more rarely yet.

None the less they were, as I have said, all men whose election to the Society was in every way proper and desirable, as a recognition if nothing more. Judge Shurtleff I do not remember ever to have met; and the Society, I know, cares little to listen to impressions of its dead from those who had no personal knowledge of them. Few things in the order of our Proceedings have to me been more attractive, and at times touching even, than the heart-felt tributes I have sometimes listened to in this room where classmates recounted memories of years long gone, or lifelong intimates bore witness to the qualities of old familiar friends, or younger members spoke of a deep sense of loss when another landmark disappeared. But I have never observed that mortuary eloquence of the conventional order commended itself greatly; and, in the case of one we have never met, that is all any man can offer. Silence, then, is best.

Of Judge Shurtleff, therefore, I will say nothing more. It is otherwise with Mr. Brimmer and Mr. Russell. I had known them both for many years, and been brought much in contact with them; and for both I entertained not only deep respect, but that personal friendliness and kindly feeling which come to us almost always from dealings with a genuine man. They were, too, both men of mark, — for, since the death of Sidney Bartlett, now some seven years ago, who himself, in 1859, succeeded Rufus Choate, Mr. Russell has been the acknowledged head and leader of the Massachusetts bar; while I think all here will agree with me when I say that at the time of his death Martin Brimmer was, and for years had been, — indeed,

ever since Mr. Winthrop's increasing age and infirmities withdrew him from the public eye and mind, — the first citizen of Boston.

Of Mr. Russell I shall ask our associate, Professor Goodwin, to speak presently; for next to being a lawyer, Mr. Russell was essentially and distinctively a Plymouth, an Old Colony man; and so words uttered in commemoration of him in this room should be uttered by one not less than he representative of Plymouth stock. One incident only will I mention, and it is in this Plymouth connection. In November now many years ago — more than twenty, probably — I one Thanksgiving-day went down to Plymouth in company with the late Monckton Milnes, then Lord Houghton. On the train we accidentally met Mr. Russell, going of course home to take part under the old roof-tree in the prescriptive family dinner. As ever he was courteous, and evidently took great pride as well as pleasure in guiding our party and its guest to all points of interest in the ancient town. He even went so far as to give proof of the warm memory Americans preserved of the friendly bearing and active aid Lord Houghton — quite exceptional in that respect among the British aristocracy — had ever, and especially in our times of trouble, evinced to this country, by bringing to him some broken bits of Plymouth rock itself. That day I experienced one of the benefits of being in good company, in that, like Lazarus, I fed on the crumbs that dropped from the rich man's table; for Mr. Russell, in requesting Lord Houghton's acceptance of a fragment of what to Americans is the nearest approach to the Crusader's True Cross, could not well help giving a bit of it to me. I accepted it gladly enough, and afterwards had it cut and worked into a seal which I have since carried and now carry on my watch-guard. Several years after I again one day met Mr. Russell on some railroad train, and, chatting with him, recalled Lord Houghton's Plymouth visit; then, unhooking my watch-guard, I showed him the seal, saying at the same time that I thought myself fairly entitled to it, for I, too, was of Plymouth stock, being through the Besses of Quincy one of the numerous progeny of that prolific couple John Alden and Priscilla Mullens. Mr. Russell was not to be outdone. He immediately produced from about his person a larger, more finished, and much finer spe-

cimen of the rock; and further informed me that John Alden and Priscilla Mullens were two among fifteen of those who came in the "Mayflower" from whom he traced descent. It is needless to add that on the occasion in question I made no further parade of either Old Colony genealogy or of Plymouth relics. There is proverbially small satisfaction to be derived from the carriage of coals to Newcastle even in shipments of most modest dimensions, and I infer that the same rule applies to their display in Newcastle.

Of Mr. Brimmer, no more than of Mr. Russell, is it my intention to speak in detail. For that I propose in a few moments to call on President Eliot, as he more than any one else here can speak feelingly as well as intelligently of one with whom he has sat for many years in close association among the Fellows of the University. Yet to me also Mr. Brimmer was an attractive as well as interesting personality. I suppose mine is no exceptional case among men of over fifty, but it seems to me sometimes as if the high and fine types of individuality were fast disappearing from earth. At our meeting corresponding to this exactly a year ago I paid my tribute here to Judge Hoar, and never since have I passed through the main street of Concord that a sense of something gone, not again to return, has not come over me; and now I do not like to think that never again as I sit at lunch at the club shall I see Mr. Brimmer slowly enter the room, and with a look of kindly recognition lighting up that refined, expressive face, marked with signs of pain uncomplainingly borne, quietly take the opposite chair at my table. Thus in all places and at all times there was something very noticeable in his bearing, his character, his attributes. He impressed you with a sense of fineness and culture as well as of character; in contact with him of the slightest social nature one instinctively felt that he was not only essentially that which the much abused word "gentleman" only expresses, but he was also a man of natural insight and no small degree of force, not the less there because in undemonstrative reserve. He gave one the idea of courage and endurance of a high order, because emanating from an innate, unconscious self-respect. Modest and unselfish, he was appreciative of others. One often gets one's best insights into men through some occasional anecdote, and I recall one of Martin Brimmer which made quite an impression on me at the

time, and I have often thought of it since in connection with him. It was a trifle, but it revealed the man. One evening I found myself at a dinner-table seated next to our former associate Augustus Thorndike Perkins. The talk turned that way, and Mr. Perkins described how he and Martin Brimmer — they were close contemporaries — once went deer-hunting among the lakes of Maine. The custom was to make a camp on the borders of some lake, upon which, while the guides beat the woods and rounded up the deer, the hunters lay in canoes, and, when the frightened animals took to the water, making for the opposite shore, they shot them as they swam. My table companion said that he and Mr. Brimmer were thus idly lying, he with the paddle and Mr. Brimmer with a rifle on his knees, when a fine antlered stag broke from the woods and took water just before them, making in his fright almost straight for the boat. "I," said Mr. Perkins, "paddled very gently and quietly along, so as to keep in line and give Martin a good shot. He sat there quietly watching the animal approach, his rifle resting on his knees. I said nothing, but the deer rapidly drew near the boat, the water curling up before him, his head and antlers only visible; when, at last, it was a dead shot, Martin, without lifting his rifle, turned his head towards me, and quietly said, 'Gus, have n't we got all the venison we need in camp?' I replied, 'Well, Martin, I rather think we have.'" Not a word more was said; but the rifle rested where it was, and the two sat there quietly watching, while the stag, swimming for his life, rapidly passed the canoe, gained the opposite shore of the lake, shook itself, and disappeared in the forest.

Perhaps some of those here may recall Browning's poem of "Donald," which turns upon an incident the exact counterpart of Mr. Perkins's story, and I apprehend that Martin Brimmer would hardly because of this performance be regarded as a conspicuous success among the disciples of Nimrod; but none the less, I fancy, Robert Browning, that "writer of plays," might have found in the little episode "a subject made to his hand," appealing to his sympathies as did the struggling stag to those of our friend. At any rate, it was characteristic of Martin Brimmer.

But Mr. Brimmer was as wise as well as a kind-hearted and useful man. He knew enough to cultivate outside interests,

and so saved his life from falling into that rut of jaded monotony which in this country is the bane of the idle rich. A friend of mine, a man of means and leisure and addicted to stock-raising, exclaimed to me one day as we were looking at his herd, "What a thing it is for men of our age to have a hobby! It does n't make much difference what it is, — cows, horses, farming, horticulture, — a man after his youth is gone is interested and happy all the same, if he only has his hobby to ride!" Our great cities to-day are full, and growing ever fuller, of men circumstanced as was Martin Brimmer. From the cradle they have wealth, education, leisure. With every opportunity for usefulness and consequent enjoyment, — with the world to choose from, — a more idle and unhappy class as a rule does not exist. They simply do not know enough to cultivate a hobby. To all such Mr. Brimmer was at once an object-lesson and a living reproof. Our civilization is full of opportunities, — artistic, educational, charitable. A man with eyes, if he has also means and leisure, has but to look about and select where he will make his monument, — into what he will build his life. There is an immense satisfaction to some, and there should be such a satisfaction to all, in being able to look at something, — a park, a library, a college building, a hospital, — and say this is mine, — that I did. It is Horace's *non omnis moriar*. Few in our community had better right to feel this satisfaction than Mr. Brimmer. He was the ideal of the useful private citizen, — the fruitful, unostentatious member of the community. Unfortunately for us, his interest and his efforts did not turn in this direction. He was a member of our Society, and occasionally took part in its meetings; but it was in no degree to him as were the University and the Art Museum. The last is indeed his monument. That he made; and I think, so far as Boston is concerned, it may truly be said of Martin Brimmer, that no man of the present generation, or of the last, has done more than he for his native city, or deserved better of it.

Mr. GEORGE S. MERRIAM, having been called on, said: —

Meeting Judge Shurtleff a few weeks ago in the court-room, which was the scene of his daily labors, I spoke of his membership in this Society. He said that his professional work

prevented his attendance at its meetings, but to hold a place in it was to him a matter of pleasure and pride. As he spoke, his fine and strongly marked features lighted up with the animation they were always quick and vivid to express. This trivial incident was a hint at the character of his life. By taste and feeling he was strongly drawn to the pursuit of letters, to fine culture, to the imaginative and ideal side of things. His actual occupation was in legal business, — absorbing most of his time, requiring concentrated attention, and often of a very prosaic nature. This difference in him between the ideal and the actual, instead of signifying a clash and contradiction, was the expression of a well-balanced harmonious nature. His ideal life, instead of breeding rebellion against the calls of this matter-of-fact world, inspired him to respond to those calls with loyal service and with a fine graciousness.

He was a man of warm affections, centred in his family; with a circle of closely attached friends; open-eyed and responsive to the good in every man he met; uniting high breeding and fine manners with a most democratic sympathy, and a keen relish for human nature in its picturesqueness and humor as well as its graver traits. He loved nature as a familiar friend. He delighted in his fine library, and was active as a director of the Springfield Public Library, — as he was always prompt and efficient in whatever opportunity for public usefulness came to him. At the beginning of the Civil War he enlisted as a private, and rose rapidly to the colonelcy of the Forty-sixth Massachusetts Regiment, serving honorably for nine months. But the strength of his life was given to the profession of law. He did much work as a conveyancer, and was notably expert in searching titles and drawing deeds; but his especial contribution was as Judge of Probate, an office he held for thirty-three years. His administration was marked by conscientious thoroughness, by learning and judgment so sound that only in one or two instances were his decisions overruled by the State Supreme Court, and by a courtesy and delicacy which gave to his court-room an atmosphere of friendliness. In the universal respect and goodwill with which the community regarded him, perhaps the central element was the appreciation of this rare quality of the judge, — scrupulous justice blent with gracious kindness.

Was he dealing, as often, with the ignorant, the weak, the slow, his patience and gentleness were tireless. Through him the law expressed itself in its finest aspect, — as the matured wisdom of the community, fitting itself to the rights and needs of the humblest, with a regard for their personal conditions and feelings which was indeed paternal.

Among his public services were the principal work in drafting a meritorious charter for the city of Springfield; an active part in the Connecticut Valley Historical Society; and labor for the preservation of places of historical interest and natural beauty, as Vice-President of the State Board of Public Reservations. He developed, somewhat late in life, a fine power of literary expression, both in prose and verse. Did the occasion serve, there might be quoted here passages of true poetic quality and of masculine eloquence. There is especial temptation to cite words spoken twenty years ago, at the dedication of a soldiers' monument, which nobly voice the sentiment of reunion and reconciliation. But this literary gift, greater than such as stimulates many a man to self-display and eager quest of fame, was with him only the incident and ornament of a life devoted to more solid ends than those of the versifier. The imagination and romance which were deep in him were put to service, — to the successful mastery of an impulsive nature, to the sweetening of social life, and to the benefit of the community. His imaginative insight gave him a lofty interpretation of his office. The judge of probate, — he touches men and women at a strange meeting-place of the deepest emotions and the most material interests. Death brings the survivors to the gate of eternity, — then with the opening of the will they come back often to a very earthly earth. The bread of the widow and orphan, the jealousy of rival claimants, the challenge of public bequest by natural heirs, difficult questions of equity and law, obscure questions of sanity and disease, — such aspects as these confront the probate judge, and call for his decision. To decide rightly and administer rightly makes surely as large a demand upon the intelligence, imagination, and sympathy, as the composition of an ode or a lyric. This man so discharged the duties of his office as to win not only the constant approval of the courts, but the uniform confidence and warm regard of the community. Viewing his professional service, together with the

affections and friendships, the attainments and enjoyments, the fidelities and heroisms, which marked his sixty-six years of life,— we may say of him, in words spoken of another, “This man was a true poet, but rather than sing his songs like a bird, he acted them like a man.”

In response to the call of the President, WILLIAM W. GOODWIN, D.C.L., spoke of Mr. Russell in his relations to Plymouth, his birthplace. He was always strongly attached to his native town, and deeply interested in her history and her local associations. He always made Plymouth his summer home, except on the few occasions when he went to Europe; and he lived in the house which once belonged to his father-in-law, the late Thomas Hedge. He was descended from a goodly number of the Pilgrims of the “Mayflower,” among whom were Priscilla Mullens and her two famous suitors, Myles Standish and John Alden. His great-great-grandmother was Lydia Standish, daughter of Alexander, eldest son of Myles Standish, and Sarah, daughter of John Alden and Priscilla. He spent much of his time in Plymouth in driving through the woods, visiting the beautiful ponds with which they abound, and in searching for rare wild-flowers in hidden nooks, which were known to few or none besides himself. He always prided himself on being the first in the season to find the mayflower, the sabbatia, and the cardinal flower; and he never confided to his rivals his favorite spots for finding the choicest of these. He was also devoted to fishing, especially in the waters off Manomet; and he might often be seen landing at one of the Plymouth wharfs with a fine lot of tautog which he had caught with his own hook. He was familiarly known to every boatman and every fisherman in the town, and he always knew how to make them tell their best stories.

Mr. Russell was fitted for Harvard College at the age of fourteen at the Plymouth High School, which at that time sent a constant succession of young men to college. Plymouth had the oldest graduate of Harvard twice in succession,—in William Thomas of the Class of 1807 and William Sever of the Class of 1811, who were cousins. It was a more remarkable distinction for the old Pilgrim town that, when Mr. Russell was made a Doctor of Laws by Harvard College in

1878, he and his cousin Sidney Bartlett, both Plymouth men, were the only persons who had ever received that honor solely for their distinction as lawyers, with no regard to any political or literary reputation or to the holding of any office.

CHARLES W. ELIOT, LL.D., was next called on, and said :

Martin Brimmer, the fourth and last of the name in this country, was born on the 9th of December, 1829. As a boy he was carefully educated by the best schools and tutors of the day; and, like his father and two uncles before him, he graduated at Harvard College. His health was somewhat delicate, and lameness cut him off from many of the active sports of boyhood and manhood. He never had a robust body; but it was serviceable for the main objects of living, and it must have had a certain toughness of fibre, for in middle life he recovered from two severe illnesses, and three years ago from a heavy fall which made him seriously ill for many weeks. In spite of this delicacy of body, no comrade of his youth and no witness of his maturer life ever accused Martin Brimmer of lack of courage, decision, or persistence. He was always gentle, but always firm.

His education was prolonged by foreign travel, which he greatly enjoyed and profited by throughout life. His reading was extensive, and the language he used, whether in conversation or in writing, was pure and accurate. He had a clear English style which gave effect to thoughts inspired by good sense and good feeling. He read aloud well; and this useful faculty gave weight to any opinions or proposals for which he desired to procure the consent of others.

His father died before he graduated at Harvard, and from each parent he inherited a considerable fortune. To the making of money he never had occasion to give any thought, and not much to the keeping of money. The pursuit of wealth had no attractions for him, and that winning of a livelihood which occupies almost exclusively the time and energy of most men did not enter at all into his experience. He was rich and "knew how to abound." His houses contained many precious things, — particularly the books and pictures he loved. He was an intelligent and discriminating patron of art, and therefore was surrounded at home by many

objects delightful to the eye; but in his personal habits he was always simple, refined, and manly. Enervating luxuries had no allurements for him. He was not tempted to accumulate money; on the contrary, he dispensed it with extraordinary generosity and judgment. His rich material surroundings were only an incidental environment of his pure, lofty, and self-forgetting life.

He was always ready to render any public service for which he considered himself fit. At thirty years of age he was a representative in the Massachusetts Legislature; at thirty-four he was first elected a Fellow of the Corporation of Harvard University, and at thirty-five he was a member of the State Senate. In 1878 he was a candidate for Congress, but was defeated at the election. Perfectly disinterested himself in all public functions, he was absolutely incapable of appealing to interested or corrupt motives in others.

Of the numerous public trusts with which he was connected the two principal were Harvard University and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. He was a Fellow of the University Corporation from 1864 to 1868, a member of the Board of Overseers from 1870 to 1877, and again a Fellow of the Corporation from 1877 to his death. He was President of the Museum of Fine Arts from the organization of the corporation in 1870 to his death. He was a director in numerous charitable organizations, and a member of innumerable committees organized for temporary public service; and in all such labors his singular fairness, good temper, and good judgment made him a leader among his associates. In contentious meetings his influence was invaluable. He soothed irritations, moderated fanaticisms, and made men and women of the most incompatible temperaments unite contentedly in good works.

Of all his public services, his labors on behalf of the Museum of Fine Arts were the most fortunate, congenial, and productive. Through much study and observation he had acquired a real knowledge of the Fine Arts, and an accurate and discriminating judgment in regard to pictures, statuary, and all other artistic objects. He believed ardently in the refining and uplifting power of the Fine Arts, and was as well prepared as he was eager to devote himself to the building up in Boston of a worthy Museum. For twenty-five years he inspired and directed the work of that institution, and to

him is chiefly due the large measure of success which the Museum of Fine Arts has already attained.

It is apparent from this brief outline of his labors that Martin Brimmer was generous indeed in giving his time to the public. He was one of the most industrious of men; but his industry was manifested in the discharge of public and semi-public trusts. He did not work thus strenuously for himself,—it was always for others. Generous in giving his time to others, he was equally generous in giving his money. He never withheld his name from any Boston subscription-paper in a good cause. His gifts had the most varied character, and, like his sympathies, embraced all the agencies of education, religion, and charity within his knowledge. His benefactions were distributed all over our country. Under a calm manner, there burned steady enthusiasms which inspired many of his habitual or occasional activities. When the struggle to make Kansas a slave state was going on, Martin Brimmer contributed freely to the support of the men who were determined to make it a free state, by force if necessary; but perceiving the gravity of the situation, he went to Kansas to satisfy himself on the spot of the real conditions of the struggle. In the efforts to aid and protect the Freedmen after the Civil War, he took a spontaneous and hearty interest.

He was warmly attached to the principles of religious toleration; and in active defence of those principles he exerted himself repeatedly—Huguenot though he was by descent—to defeat fanatical attempts to exclude all Catholics from the Boston School Committee. He was a regular attendant at the services of the Protestant Episcopal Church, a generous contributor in every sense to its support, and interested in its legislation and its policy; but in his noble nature there was nothing of the partisan or the fanatic, and in all public affairs, and in all the trusts with which he was connected, he was a consistent supporter of an undenominational policy. In the largest sense he was a man of liberal mind.

In spite of some grievous disappointments and bereavements, Mr. Brimmer had an unusually happy life. His contemporaries thought him quiet and serious in youth; but as life advanced he grew gayer, until, in his later years, he visibly enjoyed all cheerful and improving human intercourse. His marriage was one of rare felicity; the coming into his home

of four orphaned children of his wife's brother brought him somewhat late in life new domestic joys, if also new cares ; and as he grew older, he could not but be sensible of the respect and confidence with which all classes of people regarded him.

With his death his family name becomes extinct. All the more it is the duty of the friends who survive him to tell and enforce the lesson of his life for the benefit of the rising generation. Here was a rich man who was neither indolent nor self-indulgent ; a man who had the means of giving himself to the lower pleasures of life, and who sought only the higher ; a man of leisure who was always laborious and serviceable ; a man of delicate body who was as brave and resolute as he was gentle ; a man who, living, illustrated all the virtues and graces of friend, husband, counsellor, citizen, and public servant, and, dying, left behind him no memory of look, thought, or deed that is not fragrant and blessed.

President G. Stanley Hall, of Clark University, was elected a Resident Member, and President James B. Angell, of the University of Michigan, was elected a Corresponding Member.

The PRESIDENT said that, before calling for communications from the regular section of the day, he wanted to read a memorandum of a very amusing as well as characteristic anecdote of General Jackson, which had recently come into his hands from among the papers of the Rev. William Parsons Lunt. Dr. Lunt, as many of those present would remember, was formerly an active member of the Society. He was the pastor of the First Congregational Society of Quincy, and is one of the figures in the photograph now hanging at the entrance to the Dowse Library of a Committee of three appointed by this Society to attend the semi-centennial anniversary of the New York Historical Society, the other two members being Mr. Winthrop and Dr. Ellis. It was Dr. Lunt's habit frequently to call on ex-President John Quincy Adams, who was one of his parishioners ; and after these calls he sometimes made memoranda of what Mr. Adams had said to him in the course of them. The present William P. Lunt had recently sent to him (the President) for his examination a number of these memoranda. Among them was one relating to a conversation with Mr. Adams on June 30, 1845, and evidently noted down immediately afterwards. This memorandum is as follows : —

"In a visit to Mr. A. just after the intelligence had been received of Gen. Jackson's death, I said to him, 'I see by the papers, Sir, that your successor has gone.' 'Yes,' he replied, 'at last. His life was a boisterous one. As he said to me. In the year 1822, on his birthday, he gave a dinner, to which he invited his friends, among whom I then was one. I sat next him at table, and in the course of the dinner said to him, "You must congratulate yourself that your life so far has been very successful." He turned and said, "My life, sir, has been a damned boisterous one."'"

The Third Section having been called on, Mr. CHARLES C. SMITH said:—

It may be remembered that at the last meeting of this Society our associate Mr. Henry Lee presented, in behalf of Mrs. Edward C. Cabot, an interesting collection of letters written by Jonathan Sewall, one of the most eminent of the American Loyalists. A considerable number of these letters will be printed in the Proceedings; and among them are two letters to Mrs. John Higginson, which will be read with much interest. In the Pickering Papers, belonging to the Society, are a number of letters from Mrs. Higginson to Colonel Pickering, as well as letters from him to her; and from them I have selected six letters written by her, which I desire now to communicate for publication in the Proceedings, as supplementary to the Sewall letters. It may be proper to add that Mrs. Higginson was about twenty years older than Colonel Pickering, and that they had little in common in their political opinions. When Mrs. Higginson opened her school in Salem, she was nearly sixty, and her daughter, Colonel Pickering's "pupil," was in her nineteenth year. Mrs. Higginson died in 1818, at the age of ninety-four, and her daughter in 1846, in her eighty-third year.¹

MARBLEHEAD, May 3d, 1775.

SIR, — This morning I received your truly friendly obliging letter, and my heart answers *Amen* to y^e proposal that our friendship be lasting as our lives; for years I regarded you with the affection of a parent, and now see the child matured into the friend. You perhaps have forgot, but I well remember, my proposal to you when you adopted Nauticus that our differing sentiments should have no effect on our mutual growing friendship. I have (human frailties excepted) religiously observed it, and shall continue to do it to my utmost, and only wish it

¹ See note, *ante*, p. 418.

in my power in any way to do you real service. I thank you for your wishes that I might not take y^e intended voyage, but I see no place of safety here, & hope if I can be of any service in the world I shall be returned to my much loved town and friends, but I say with Hagar, *Let me not see the death of the child.* My obligations to you are not lessened by our differing sentiments with respect to y^e place of safety. You will excuse me when I say, I think you would do more service to your country as a mediator than an officer, nor think I mean to depreciate your military abilities by saying it. Liberty is fled, but not so far as that it may not be regained by a prudent recall; may you be directed to the best measures for that purpose. I thank you for your fervent prayers for me and my dear charge. I hope to live to educate her so far as my capacity will permit in the ways of true vertue and piety. I request you to use your influence that our friends who have been y^e friends of government may be used with tenderness, and tho^t of with that candor they deserve. I would have taken another farewell of the place of my nativity could I have met with an opportunity this morning, but wherever I am, and in what circumstances soever I may be, you will always find me

Your sincere friend and hearty well wisher,

MEHETABEL HIGGINSON.

TO MR TIM^O PICKERING, JUN^R.

MARBLEHEAD, May 6th, 1775.

Friendship, the wine of life, but Friendship new

—— is neither strong nor pure.

— YOUNG, N. Tho^{ts}.

SIR, — Before this will reach you it's probable I shall have left all that is dear to me. Permit me again to beg your influence for my friends, and to reconsider your taking a military post. You may wonder at my anxiety, but you may in time be convinced that it may be best for you. We have so often and so warmly disputed on politics that 'tis to me a wonder that friendship has not been shipwreck'd (to use a new language). I bless Heaven this is not the case; and I can say with truth that in general what I have said on that topic has not been the effect of a desire to prate, but the ardent wish of seeing you an espouser of true Liberty. Don't be offended.

After my earnest prayers for the peace of our Jerusalem, your being happy with some worthy lady engages my attention, and here let the friend advise you not to be too hasty in making proposals, but get if possible an acquaintance with y^e temper and *foibles* (for such we all have) of the person to whom you expect to be linked for life, and pray remember what I have often said, that if you find one with a mind capable of improvement, this ought to content you. You know I wish you

happy, but our modern education has very little substance in it. Therefore be satisfied if you find a lady with a *mind*.

I wish not to make my friend uneasy, but this voyage at my time of life, and under these disagreeable circumstances, quite oversets me. Oh, for some favourable turn in our affairs that I may end my pilgrimage among my friends. *I can't stand it*. Well, I'll set the little reason I have to work, and call up what fortitude is left, and make the best use I can of the present affliction, for such this is to me in spite of myself.

Three to one is odds, but I shall not have it in my power to write you again till after my arrival. Accept my thanks for every instance of your friendship, and believe me to be

Your sincere and obliged friend,

MEHETABEL HIGGINSON.

P. S. A bad pen and a mind so torn as mine is must excuse me to my friend.

To MR TIMO PICKERING, JUNR.

HALIFAX, May 18th, 1775.

SIR, — After a passage of four days we arrived here all well, but weak as rats, for tho' we had a fair wind there was a rough sea, & Monday night a bad storm. The vessell was laid too from sunset till Tuesday morn^g. I expected to go to the bottom, and after proper examination of my motives for leaving New England I composed myself, and don't know I ever slept better in my own house then I did that night. Indeed, the God of Nature seems particularly in this to have made provision for the relief of his creatures, for sleep was our cheif support. I don't think our family consisting of eleven all together took one gallon of sustenance from Sabbath even^g till Thursday morn^g. I am much thinner, if you can conceive of it, then when I left you. I had, or rather we had, a friend in M^r White, who I shall ever esteem for his great kindness & humanity, as well as his care and skill as a seaman. We had a good master, a good mate, and a pilot from M. Head. Every thing was as good as one could wish, yet I never (fearful as I was) figured it half so bad as I found it. However, were I sure of peace, I should gladly embark to my native land. I please myself with the prospect of returning this fall, and hope to live to see my dear child landed safe in New England; for tho' neither of us are discontented this is no agreeable place to either of us. I never was fond of the established Church as my way of worship, nor do I chuse to educate my daughter that way. There is a dissenting house here, but no stated minister. There was an evening lecture the night after we came ashore, but that, you know, I much dislike; so had nothing to do with it.

I intended to have kept a journal from my leaving New England till

my return or death, but the fatigues of the voyage, the unsettled state we have been in ever since our arrival seem to have banished every idea but desire of return. That, I believe, will last while the least degree of reason remains.

I long to hear from my friends, and expect good news. *Hope springs eternal*. Nor do I check or controul y^e pleasing guest. I rather think it my duty to caress and cherish her. In some future letter I will endeavour to give you an account of this place, which at present seems much gone to ruin. Please to tender my best regards to all friends. Hitty joins me in best wishes for your health, safety, and prosperity. I am, Sir,

Your sincere & obliged friend,

MEHETABEL HIGGINSON.

M^r Robie & spouse desire their regards to you.

To M^r TIM^o PICKERING, JUN^r.

HALIFAX, March 13th, 1781.

DEAR SIR, — I have your favour of the 5th of Dec^r, 1779,¹ which I rec^d the last summer, since when there has been no opportunity that was convenient for me to acknowledge the great satisfaction it gave me to find your friendship and kindness permanent as mine. When I left my native land it was with regret; but you'll remember it was with the advise of my friends, and if ever you received any of the many letters I wrote in the course of the first year, you could not fail to know I was not happy, to say the least. I could wish to be explicit, but prudence, not for myself but my connections, forbids me to risque it even to my friend. Shall I hope at my time of life to see you again, to weep, to laugh, to scold? Yes, I will; for my fate here allow of all three, — which in the greatest degree, you may then judge. It has been a miserable exile to me, tho' not without its alleviations. And you rightly judge that Major Handfield with his lady and family have made no small part of my happiness. Worn out, as I was, I have shuffled thro' almost six years, and I hope I shall not be called to encounter a seventh. But was every thing here advantageous as my most extensive wish, still should I pant after my native land and former friends; nor do I think it would be in the power of affluence to make me an equivalent. But for a time the reverse of affluence was my portion. I hope I never murmured. I believe I never did. Pride or some better motive put me on exerting myself to support *her* that was much dearer to me than life; to bring her up in idleness, meanness, and dependance my soul abhorred; nor was it the plan I had formed for her, as you well know. What our fate is to be in future I leave, as I

¹ Mrs. Higginson wrote "1780." The obvious error has been corrected in pencil by a later hand.

ought, with that All Gracious Being who has carried me thus far, and I trust will permit me to return to my native land.

I congratulate you on your nuptials, on the birth of your sons, and wish you every felicity the marriage state can afford. I wish for an acquaintance with M^{rs} Pickering, to whom please to tender my best regards, and kiss your little ones for me. I long to see you the *husband* and *father*. I should fancy myself grandmama.

And now my kind friend, shall I say I wish to return this summer, and that you were in the Massachusetts to advise and assist me? Should I be obliged to tarry here much longer, I shall not be worth the transportation. Six years is a long time after one is turned of fifty. I have had many friends who have been extremely kind and attentive to me. Doct^r Prince and Major Handfield have been father and brother to me and my child, and whenever I part with them and their families it will be with great regret. Captⁿ Woodbury no doubt informed you how I was supported. A school and plain work have kept me from being burthensome to my friends for about four of the six years. Believe me when I say I have done my best. It is and has been a great satisfaction that I have done so well. The bread earned by honest industry is sweet. Hitty is now grown up, a tolerably good girl for these degenerate days; and now let me thank you for your attention to her education and the care you took to form her mind. I hope she does credit to all her tutors. Accept my thanks for your letter and the tender and affectionate regard you shew for me and *mine*. I hope to see her safe in her own house, *Hitty Higginson*, as ardently as I wish to return. All our friends here are well. I have not been at M^r Robie's since Oct., 1777; when we meet we are pleasant with each other. This is very *comfortable*, you'll say. Hitty joins me in sincere and best regards to you, and warmest wishes for your health and prosperity. I am, dear Sir,

Your unalterable friend,

MEHETABLE HIGGINSON.¹

I write in haste, and your candour will excuse any thing that is amiss.

M^r TIMO PICKERING.

BEVERLY, May 28th, 1782²

SIR,—I rec^d your favour by Captⁿ Woodberry about eighteen months since, and wrote you acknowledging y^e receipt of it y^e first

¹ This is the only instance in the letters in the Pickering Papers in which Mrs. Higginson signed her name "Mehetable," but the signature is unmistakable.

² Nearly the whole of this letter is printed in "The Life of Timothy Pickering," vol. i. pp. 362, 363. But it seemed desirable to reprint it here in connection with the other letters, as it gives such a graphic description of Mrs. Higginson's feelings in returning to her native land, after a wearisome exile.

opportunity, inclosed to your brother Williams, which I hope you received. Since this I have not heard from you, save that Captⁿ Marston saw you, who told me you intended to write me by him, but that you were called from home on publick business, and he came away in your absence. My desire to return to my native land has been uniform, and as I advanced in life I have tho^t it every year more necessary, as I could not think of leaving one that I ought to provide for destitute, dependant, and absent from her connections, in case I should be taken away. This joined with your desire and y^e repeated desire of many of my friends here, and the ardent inclination Hitty had to revisit and fix here, brought me last fall to a determination to take y^e first opportunity to return, which I should have done then, but the only cartel after that was so crow[d]ed that I could not effect my purpose. My friend and father D^r Prince this spring got permission from S^r Andrew Snape Hamond for the schooner Patty to become a cartel, and after every legal step was properly attended too and the strictest attention paid that nothing that could possibly give offence should happen I embarked, and after a passage of four days arrived in Salem harbor, where I desired the captⁿ to hail a boat, and sent on shore for leave from the selectmen to land with my daughter, which was immediately granted, and I was met on y^e wharf by numbers who gave me a hearty welcome, and the next day I had leave to land my baggage, which, except my bed, was principally our wearing apparel and my house linnen, as I have lived on so small a scale that I brought nothing of furniture of any consequence and not a thread for any friend, nor have I any reason to think there was the least trifle on board but the cloathing of those that came in the schooner. Thus far I was happy; but the next day one or two, for there were no more, made it their business to stir up some, and a certain D^r of Divinity was doing all in his power that I might be sent back. My friends tho^t it best I should go to Boston, and be in the way in case I should be called on by authority. There also I had friends, and waited from Wednesday to Saturday without being notified to appear. On my return to Salem I found that my being there was disagreeable, and my friends and relations in Beverly had been to see me while I was at Boston, and invited me to see them. On Sunday morn^g I went there. When I left Halifax it was judged we were on the eve of a peace, and I knew not of a law that would opperate against me, but hoped to find you & M^r Lowell in the Mass^a, whose friendship I depended on, and whose advice and assistance would have been a support and comfort to me. I came to stay, and am too far advanced in life to take an unnecessary voyage if I can avoid it, without creating a disturbance in the State; for should I be obliged to return to Halifax, if I live I shall use all lawful means to return to Salem so soon as matters are settled; and as

I am sick and very unhappy at sea I cannot bear to think of a voyage, if I may by the interposition of my friends be able to live in peace. I would write Mr Lowell, but it will be only copying this, for I have endeavoured to state my case as exactly as my fatigued situation will permit me, and hope my townsmen will not hurry me to depart out of this State till I can hear from you, which I hope will be by the return of the post. Present mine and my daughter's best regards to your lady, and kiss your fine children for me. Accept our thanks for the friendship you profess in y^e letter [*torn*] too, and believe me to be with great esteem

Your friend.

MEHETABEL HIGGINSON.

P. S. I ought to have told you that I was supercargo, and that there was nothing taken for the trip, not even for y^e necessary papers. The kindness and politeness demand my warmest gratitude.

SALEM, May 19th, 1783.

SIR,—Last evening being in company with your brother, and enquiring after you and your family's health, he told me you had asked in one of your letters what was become of me. I doubt not you expected to hear again from me, and I as much intended to answer your favour of the 19th of June, 1782, as to write the one that occasioned that, but at that time every mail almost was taken, and the hopes of peace, and in consequence of it seing you here and having so much to say that it was almost impossible to put it on paper, I neglected to do it; and now having confessed my fault hope your forgiveness, and proceed to give you some account of myself. In the first place I followed exactly your advice, which was also the opinion of my friends here. I spent my time chiefly at Beverly with my relations, who laid themselves out to make it agreeable to me. My tenant could not, would not, go out of my house till the last of Nov^r, and on the 10th of Dec^r I got into it, where owing to your great care and friendship I have lived very comfortably the past winter. My goods which were at Captⁿ Fuller's came home much better than you could have imagined after seven years and half being in the country. When I unpacked them and settled with our good friend the Doct^r I was amazed that you could possibly find time for such exactness. To say I thank you for so much care, kindness and attention seems flat and little for such friendship, but you must accept my thanks as I have nothing better to offer. As you are still my friend, I think you wish to know how I carry on. As it was long before I could make my appearance in the *world*, it was judged best that no demand should be made of any thing due to me. Accordingly I have never received a farthing intrest or principal since I saw you, save that Captⁿ Bretton wished to take up his note,

and that I paid the chief of [it?] on the bond to Sister Cabot. As I am truly of an *independant* spirit, and would rather wish to do some good (if I could) in the world than to be a burthen (or think myself to be so) to my friends, I purposed keeping a boarding school for young Miss's. It was much approved of, and the 6th of Jan^y I opened a school for reading, writing, and useful needlework. Your pupil writes so good a hand, and makes so good *pens*, that she conducts that part of the business wholly. We live very comfortably and happily. Be it pride or what it will, I have more pleasure in supporting myself and *appearing* a useful member of the community to which I belong than I should in living on the labours of others in all the luxury of wealth. I much wish to have it consistent with your intrest to return to Salem and settle in this. I suppose I am selfish, but I readily forgive myself, as I think this spot where all your connections and former friends are must be more agreeable to you when you return to private life. As an inducement, we have one of the best of men settled in our parish. You may form some idea of him when I say his manners are sweet and his disposition delicately benevolent. I wish very much for an acquaintance with M^{rs} Pickering, from her general character, and because she is your choice. Pray her to take the best care of her health, that if I should live I may have the pleasure of seeing her, and kiss your three fine boys for me. We want you here to stem the torrent of curses that are vended on Sunday evenings by the Rev^d Doct^r. If you recollect Ernelphus's curses in Tristram Shandy, they are weak, insignificant, childish things compared with that patriotic divine's against the poor refugees. Our Saviour says, Bless your enemies; the Doct^r bids all his hearers curse them, and says they'll be cursed if they don't. This was an appendix to the sermon — Curse Meroz — 'tis said; for you know I never hear him. We have nothing new here worth your attention. Hitty joins me in compliments to M^{rs} Pickering, and in best wishes for your health and happiness. That we may meet again is the ardent wish of

Your obliged and affectionate friend.

MEHETABEL HIGGINSON.

To TIM^o PICKERING, Esq^r.

Dr. EDWARD CHANNING then offered some extended remarks on the Causes of the American Revolution, which he thought had been inadequately treated by historians, both in England and America. His remarks led to an animated discussion, in which the Hon. MELLEN CHAMBERLAIN, the Hon. WILLIAM EVERETT, the Hon. EDWARD L. PIERCE, and Mr. A. C. GOODELL, JR., took part.

The Hon. MELLEN CHAMBERLAIN said that some time between 1842 and 1844, while a teacher at Danvers, he was permitted to make some extracts from a brief diary of Samuel Holten, a member of the Continental Congress from Massachusetts, 1778-1783, but not to retain the original, which passed into the possession of Rev. Israel W. Putnam, D.D., who was in some way connected with Mr. Holten's family, and had his papers which, after Dr. Putnam's death, were dispersed by a Boston dealer. Judge Chamberlain said that he had lost trace of the original diary, but he believed that the extracts which he had made were conformable to the original with the non-sequence of dates, and, though not of great importance, were worth being printed, as they gave two or three facts which he had not noticed in print.

1778. I am desired to attend the Loan Office there being no allowance made to the person that attends sd. office, for paying the Int. annually, & the commissions are said to be small.

N. B. Attended to them.

1778, July 14. I let the Hon. Samuel Adams Esqr. have L. 4. 00. 00., of which he is to pay to James Otis (a minor) being my part of what the delegates of our state have agreed to advance to sd. minr. & Mr. Adams is to write to his friends & procure the money, & account with me for the same. N. B. The above in Mass. Cur.¹

1778, June 23. Attended in Congress, and the chief of the day was taken up in disputes on the articles of confederation.

1778, July 11. This day was the first time that I took any part in the debates in Congress. We have accounts of the arrival of a French Fleet in the Delaware. 12 Ships of the line & 4 Frigates.

1778, Oct. 15. A manifesto or Proclamation from Commr. of the British king appeared in the papers of the day, offering a Gen. Pardon, but I believe there is but few people here want their pardon.

1778, Dec. 14. Monday. There was a grand ball at the City Tavern this evening, given by a number of French gentlemen of distinction. I had a card sent me, but declined attending. I think it is not a proper time to attend balls when the country is in such great distress.

1778, Oct. 7. Met a committee on this evening on General Arnold's accounts.

¹ James Otis "had three children, one son and two daughters. The son was named James, after his father; he was a boy of very bright parts and some eccentricity, but his career was terminated before a just estimate could be made of his character. He entered, at the beginning of the war, as a volunteer midshipman, and died after being a short time in the service, before he was eighteen." — TUDOR's *Life of Otis*, p. 19.

The great distress of the country, alluded to by Dr. Holten, December 14, 1778, is impressively illustrated by the following document without date, but, as I believe, in the hand of William Paca, signer of the Declaration, from Maryland. It is signed by J. Nicholson, Jr., and endorsed "Joseph Nicholson, Esqr. Relation of the Conversation at Kent Island, March, 1778."

The "Mr. Wilson" mentioned in the paper was evidently of sufficient consequence to make his views of public affairs of some importance; and though I cannot speak with absolute certainty, I have little doubt that he was James Wilson, signer of the Declaration of Independence, afterwards member of the Constitutional Convention of 1787, and judge of the Supreme Court of the United States. Though chiefly resident of Pennsylvania, in 1778 he practised law in Annapolis, but in that year returned to Philadelphia.

I can give no pedigree of the paper, save that it has long been in a large mass of papers in my possession, regarded of no special value from lack of bearing distinguished names; nor have I any knowledge of the circumstances which led to the record of the conversation in which Mr. Wilson expressed his views in respect to the American cause in March, 1778. The motive does not appear to have been hostile to Mr. Wilson, for his patriotism is recognized; nor is there any doubt that he truly expressed the desperate condition of our affairs in March, 1778, only relieved by the arrival of the French fleet July 11th, as recorded by Dr. Holten. The paper reads as follows:—

"On my way to the General Assembly in March 1778 at Kent Island I met there with Mr. Paca, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Wright & Mr. Thomas. Soon after I seated myself Mr. Wilson asked me what I thought of our public Affairs. I can't recollect what reply I made but it led to a conversation upon that Subject from which I discovered Mr. Wilson thought them in a bad way. Soon afterwards Mr. Wilson was engaged with other Company and the Conversation ended.

"As the Assembly were called to fill up our Quota of Troops we had repeatedly conversation on that Subject the Gentlemen were for a draft. Mr. Wilson was against it and said he thought it would not answer.

"On the subsequent morning Mr. Wilson, Mr. Wright and myself happened to be first up and being seated by the fire side the Conversation turned upon the mode of filling up our Quota and I think Mr.

Wilson and myself differed about the mode. Mr. Wright and myself urged the necessity of a draft and Mr. Wilson said he was of opinion that mode would not be submitted to by the People and said it would be more eligible for the men of Fortune to part freely with their property to raise the men than to make the Experiment by draft and said he would most cheerfully part with his for that Purpose.

"The Conversation continued sometime between Mr. Wright and Mr. Wilson & I heard Mr. Wilson say that he thought we had better make Peace with Britain and obtain the best terms in our Power. I think Mr. Wright asked him if he was for giving up Independence and he replied that he was if thereby he could obtain good terms. This brought Mr. Paca in great haste from his bed which stood very near to us in the next room—he censured Mr. Wilson for that expression and some heat & warm expressions took place between him and Mr. Wilson but it soon ended.

"For the whole of the Conversation that passed I never Supposed that Mr. Wilson wanted attachment to the Cause or that his conduct and expressions proceeded from an aversion to Independence but did apprehend that he was much alarmed at the Situation of our Affairs and the Prospect of a draft being made—I have thought that Mr. Wilson has not appeared of late so zealous in our Cause as he did when he came into the Council of Safety.

"J. NICHOLSON, JR."

DR. SAMUEL A. GREEN communicated some observations on the names of certain villages in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, as follows:—

Near the beginning of the present century there was a group of three villages, far from the sea-coast, lying in the same general neighborhood, on the northerly side of Groton, of which each bore in part the name of Harbor. They comprised the villages of Townsend Harbor, Mason Harbor, and Dunstable Harbor, situated respectively in the towns of Townsend, Massachusetts, and of Mason and Dunstable, New Hampshire. Two of these towns are adjacent to each other; and Dunstable, the third town, now known as Nashua, is but a short distance away. Of these several villages, Townsend Harbor is the only one which continues to bear the name.

So far as my knowledge goes, these are the sole instances in New England where the word "Harbor" is connected with the name of a settlement away from the coast-line, or from a

large body of water, like the village of Centre Harbor on Lake Winnepesaukee.

Names of places all have a history of their own, connected in some way with the neighborhood, though often the origin of the name is wrapped in obscurity. It is never beneath the dignity of an historical writer to throw light on disputed subjects and to clear up doubtful points even in trivial matters.

The question naturally arises, Why were these three villages called "Harbors"? As the local antiquaries do not agree in their answer, I purpose to let them speak for themselves.

Mr. Ithamar B. Sawtelle, in his History of Townsend, gives some facts concerning a pioneer of that town, and then goes on to say : —

Nothing further is known of him except that he was in charge of a log-house made in a defensible manner against losses by the incursions of the Indians. One of these castles was located north of the Harbor and overlooking the same, and another near the meeting-house on the hill, and the same tradition further saith that the log-houses and mill, where the Harbor now stands, and the direct surroundings were called "*the Harbor*," because by signals from these three points, in case of the appearance of any "red skins," the settlers could soon reach these places of safety (pages 61, 62).

Mr. John B. Hill, in his Centennial Address at Mason, alluding to Mason Village, says in a note : —

Then called the Harbor. A word of explanation of this term may not be deemed out of place. In the early settlement of the country, towns were laid out upon the sea-coast, on which in many of them there was a bay, cove, or mouth of a river, used as a harbor for vessels. The meeting-house, where town meetings were held and public business transacted, was at the centre of the town, but it often happened that the "Harbor" was the principal if not the only mart of trade in the place. And when, in an inland town, a locality on its border became the principal mart of trade, it was known by the same name of Harbor, as Mason Harbor, Townsend Harbor, Dunstable Harbor. (Proceedings of the Centennial Celebration at Mason, August 26, 1868, page 42.)

On June 28, 1872, Mason Village was incorporated as a separate town under the name of Greenville.

Dunstable Harbor was a small settlement on the south side of Salmon Brook, near its confluence with the Merrimack

River. At one time in the early part of the century the local Post-office was established there. Allusions to the place are found in Charles J. Fox's "History of the Old Township of Dunstable" (pages 193, 195, and 270).

On January 1, 1837, the name of the town of Dunstable, New Hampshire, was changed by legislative enactment to Nashua, now the second largest city in that State.

It will be noticed that Mr. Sawtelle and Mr. Hill do not agree in their theories as to the origin of the name; and I shall not attempt to decide between them. There is no account on record that Townsend was ever seriously threatened by the Indians,—with possible exceptions during the years 1747 and 1748,—though the inhabitants of the town in early times may have taken precautionary measures to ward off the attacks of the enemy. Within a short time Mr. Sawtelle has written me that formerly there was a tradition that the village was first called "Tory Harbor," on account of the number of tories living there during the Revolution; but he is inclined to doubt it, as there were so few of that class in the immediate neighborhood. Perhaps the present designation is a survival of part of this name. In the town of Claremont, New Hampshire, there is a locality known to-day as "Tory Hole," from the fact that it was a place of favorite resort for tories in Revolutionary times.

All these so-called Harbor villages are situated on small streams: Townsend on the Squannacook River, where there is a mill-pond; Mason on the Souhegan River, where also there is a mill-pond; and Dunstable on Salmon Brook, near the Merrimack River. Townsend Harbor is the oldest of the three settlements; and the name may have been carried, by example or through imitation, thence to Mason, which is only a few miles distant. I am inclined to think, however, that its origin was due to a popular fancy then existing in the neighborhood of giving the additional name of "Harbor" to villages of ambitious hopes.

MARCH MEETING, 1896.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 12th instant, at three o'clock, P. M. In the absence of the President, who was out of the State, the First Vice-President, JUSTIN WINSOR, LL.D., was in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved. The Librarian read the list of donors to the Library, and called attention to a copy of Gov. William Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation, reproduced in fac-simile from the original manuscript, and recently published in London, under the editorship of Mr. John Andrew Doyle, a Corresponding Member of this Society. It is a sumptuous volume, and was given by the President, Mr. Adams. For all practical purposes to the student, the work is as valuable as the original manuscript, which is inaccessible to the great body of American historical scholars. The Corresponding Secretary said that he had received letters of acceptance from President G. Stanley Hall, as a Resident Member, and President James B. Angell, as a Corresponding Member, who were elected at the last meeting.

Alexander Agassiz, LL.D., of Cambridge, was elected a Resident Member.

The Vice-President announced the death of a Resident Member, Mr. Benjamin Marston Watson, who died at Plymouth, February 19, and called on William W. Goodwin, D.C.L. Mr. GOODWIN said: —

This loss touches me too closely to allow me to speak of it even here with perfect freedom. But I feel it to be a duty to make a record of my personal indebtedness to my uncle, Mr. Watson, in a matter which has proved to be of the deepest moment to me through my whole life. When I was preparing for Harvard College in Plymouth, more than fifty years ago, there was one subject demanded by the College in which the High School of the town was unable to give me any instruction. This subject was Greek; and for all my early

knowledge of this language, and indeed for the first intimation that there was anything in it which it was worth while for a New England boy to know, I was indebted to my uncle, with whom I was brought up as a younger brother. For more than three years, during most of which he was toiling like a laborer from morning to night on his brilliant task of transforming a piece of common Old Colony meadow, enclosed by bare stony hills, into the beautiful estate now known as Hill-side, he devoted his evenings to what he deemed the equally important task of teaching me Greek. And he performed this duty well and conscientiously, sometimes even when my boyish spirit was a little inclined to rebel against the strictness of his discipline. He not only prepared me to enter college without conditions in the Greek which was then required (which was nearly as much as is now read in our best schools), but he induced me to read five books of the Iliad besides. To this early training I owe more than I can express.

Mr. GOODWIN then read an extract from a private letter from our associate Rev. Dr. Edward E. Hale, dated at Santa Barbara, California, March 3, 1896, as follows :—

If you are at the Historical meeting next week, and there is a proper opportunity, I wish you would say that I regret that I cannot say something there about the service Mr. Watson has rendered to our whole community.

We were very close friends in college, and have been ever since. He was one of the early members of the College Natural History Society,—eagerly interested in Botany even then. That Society owed everything to his patience and zeal; and I, as a very ignorant lay brother, was specially indebted to him.

We all knew, however, that he was indeed an all-round man, and that he would be a leader, wherever he was, in the best enterprises; and so it has proved. His choice of his life-calling, prompted by his determination to do that which he could do best, was in itself an evidence that he would shrink from no part in life because it involved difficulties. And the place he has earned in the marvellous improvements in forestry, in landscape gardening, and in all those arts which man followed in Paradise and Eden, shows very well how well he foresaw what New England might and must do in the subduing of the world.

He was never one-sided in his enthusiasms. He joined largely in such studies as our Society is formed to encourage. He was well

acquainted with the real standard of what one may call Old Colony literature; and when you could enlist his help in any inquiry as to the earlier centuries, you had a guide on whom you could implicitly rely.

For many of us, the meetings of the Society will lack one of their great attractions now that we cannot hope to meet him there. The Society itself has lost one who connected its studies of to-day with the first and noblest steps in New England History. It was only a pity that he was so modest,—that he said so little as he did. I hope it may prove that he has left on paper some record, however slight, of what he knew.

Samuel Eliot, LL.D., was appointed to write a memoir of the late Martin Brimmer for the Proceedings; Mr. George S. Merriam, a memoir of the late Judge William S. Shurtleff; Mr. George O. Shattuck, a memoir of the late William G. Russell; and Rev. Dr. Edward E. Hale, a memoir of the late Benjamin M. Watson.

Mr. WILLIAM S. APPLETON presented a small silver badge for the Cabinet of the Society, and said:—

In 1862 Mr. William C. Nell gave to this Society a silken flag which had been presented by Governor Hancock to a military company of blacks called the Bucks of America. Up to this time, so far as I know, not a single fact relating to the organization has been communicated to the Society, or appeared elsewhere in print. I have had in my possession for several years a silver badge which was used in some way and for some purpose by the same company, and which I to-day place for preservation in the Cabinet of the Society. It closely resembles the flag, with the same pine-tree and buck and thirteen stars and inscription. It has the initials "M. W.," which I suppose to be those of its former possessor. It has also at one side a small shield with the three fleurs-de-lis of France, as if in compliment to Lafayette. This, however, is mere conjecture. I give it to the Society, with the earnest wish and hope that some member may be able to tell us something about the Bucks of America.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN then said:—

Within a short time I have received from one of our Corresponding Members, Professor Franklin B. Dexter, of New

Haven, a copy of a letter and enclosure which were found in a package of papers, containing for the most part legal briefs, that once belonged to William Wickham (Yale Coll. 1753), an attorney in New York for many years both before and after the Revolution, as well as during that period. The writer of the letter was David Mathews, Mayor of New York from February, 1776, to 1780; and the "old honest Church Clergyman," alluded to in the letter, was the Rev. Mather Byles, Jr., D.D., of Boston. Presumably Dr. Byles was in Nova Scotia at that time, and the articles mentioned in the list, doubtless, were to be sent there for his use. It is often by the flickering of such side-lights, as thrown out by these papers, that the hardships and privations during the War of Independence, whether undergone by patriots or tories, are shown in the clearest manner.

SIR — I beg leave to recommend that Mr^{rs} Blake have permission to take with her on board the Flag (which Mr Joseph Chew has obtained to bring his family from New London) the Articles mentioned in the enclosed paper.

They are for the use of an old honest Church Clergyman who is almost naked —

I am S^r

Your Humble Serv^t

D. MATHEWS

Mayor

April 7th 1780

CAPTAIN ADYE

[Outside address.]

Captain Adye

Aid de Camp

Commandant

[Indorsed in the handwriting of William Wickham, Esq.]

N^o 237 — 7 April 80.

Permit to send Dr Byles
some necessaries.

[Enclosure.]

Mem^o for Doct^r Byles

1 peice of Linnen, with thread & silk

2 doz wire Buttons

2 pair large black worsted stockings

6 skeins black Crewel

6 linnen pocket Hankercheifs

two of them with a Red ground

1 blue velvet cap

a Gown for a Man of 5 feet 6 Inches to be made one side of dark Blue flowered Russet, the other side Green flowered Russet, if not as convenient to send the Gown ready made please to send Russet enough to make it here, with an Account of the Cost

The Hon. GEORGE S. HALE called attention to a privately printed volume recently presented to the Library by Mr. Francis V. Greene, of New York, being a reproduction in photographic fac-simile of the "Succinct Genealogy of the House of Greene, that were Lords of Drayton," published in 1685 under the fictitious name of Robert Halstead. Of the original edition, it is said that not more than twenty or twenty-four copies were printed; and the reproduction is also extremely rare.

Mr. CHARLES C. SMITH, on behalf of Mr. R. C. Winthrop, Jr., who was unavoidably absent, presented to the Society the following manuscripts from the collection of the late Hon. R. C. Winthrop:—

1. A volume containing some seventy-five original letters, mostly between 1801 and 1816, to James Madison from Hon. George William Erving, for many years United States Minister to Spain. These letters, which deal much with the foreign relations of this country at that period, were recovered after the death of President Madison and before the purchase of his papers by Congress.¹

2. Two letters written in April, 1778, by Benedict Arnold to Miss Elizabeth Deblois of Boston, entreating that lady to become his second wife. They were given to Mr. Winthrop by her great-niece Mrs. Florence Dumaresq Wheatland, with the understanding that they should ultimately go to this Society.

3. An autograph page of Washington Irving's *Life of Columbus*, as prepared by him for the printer and subsequently given to Mr. Winthrop.

4. Two autograph pages of Macaulay's *History of England*, as prepared by him to be copied for the printer. This fragment, which by its very numerous corrections and interlineations in some degree exhibits the writer's method of composition, was given to Mr. Winthrop by Lord Macaulay's niece, Alice Trevelyan, now Lady Knutsford.

¹ For an interesting account of Hon. G. W. Erving by Hon. R. C. Winthrop, together with a tribute to Mr. Erving's diplomatic services by Hon. J. L. M. Curry, see 2 Proceedings, vol. v. pp. 6-33.

The Hon. EDWARD L. PIERCE then read the following paper:—

Recollections as a Source of History.

The memory is in a strict sense the basis of historical narrative. The historian draws his materials from records, newspapers, diaries, letters, and other written or oral accounts; and these at first or second hand come from the memory. The diarist, who writes out at evening the transactions of the day, puts in permanent form what he remembers to have seen and heard since morning. The general, who reports a battle a day or a week after it took place, relies on his own recollections and those of others. But the memory, without which there could be little knowledge of the past, is, even when only a short distance of time is covered, a most uncertain and treacherous faculty; and the historian must keep its limitations constantly in mind. He must not, indeed, overlook other things,—the honesty and fidelity of the narrator who claims to have been on the spot, the accuracy of his perceptions, and the advantage or disadvantage of his standpoint; but assuming these conditions to be satisfactory, he must still be critical, even sceptical, in the treatment of testimony; and his scepticism should be the more exacting the longer the period intervening between the transaction and the report.

This paper will deal not with testimony given shortly after the event, but with recollections coming out several years later,—ten, twenty, or fifty; necessarily coming, where the interval is long, from old people whose other faculties may be still fresh and active, but whose memory, failing them before a general decay has set in, makes their accounts worthless, at least in the decision of any question where controversy has arisen.

The honest man as he advances in years confesses his own weakness in this respect. John Adams, whose mood was reminiscent to the last, writing when nearly seventy-nine of the authorship of a Revolutionary pamphlet, said: "The Group has convinced me of the decay of my memory more than anything that has yet occurred"; and later in the same letter he breaks out pathetically, "Help! Oh, help my memory!"¹

One need not be as old as seventy-nine to distrust himself in this respect. If any one of us were to have all his letters

¹ Works, vol. x. pp. 99, 100.

written in youth and early manhood brought to him, he would find in them vivid pictures of some scenes which he had wholly forgotten and could not, even with the assistance of the written account, recall, and of other scenes which lay in his mind very differently from the way in which he described them at the time.

Retentiveness of memory in persons of equal intelligence varies greatly. Some retain only general impressions, while others retain a firm hold on details. When I used in the seventies to ask Mr. Longfellow about things occurring in the thirties and forties, he would often say, "You had better ask Hillard." The latter was remarkable for the freshness and accuracy of his recollections; and the same may be said of the late Judge Hoar.

One frailty which perplexes advancing years is the incapacity to distinguish between what one has seen and what one has only heard; and the result is that the two kinds of knowledge are hopelessly mixed together. The late Henry W. Paine, while still holding a foremost rank at the bar, used to describe a scene witnessed by him when Daniel Webster presented publicly to Charles Sumner, then a youth, a prize for an essay. Mr. Paine on reading Sumner's Memoir (vol. i. pp. 73, 74) discovered that he had fallen into an anachronism, as the presentation took place before he and Sumner met as students at the Harvard Law School. Happening to see his old comrade at the school, Wendell Phillips, enter the court-room, he communicated to him his error, saying, "What a wretched thing, Wendell, the memory is!" The explanation is, that Mr. Paine had in early life heard the story, and, telling it often, had come to believe that he himself was present.

Recollections may have a considerable value when they corroborate each other, as when they are given by different persons testifying without collusion or conference and generally agreeing in details. This test of evidence is familiar to lawyers.

Recollections may be of some use in coloring a narrative, where the substantial facts have been settled by trustworthy evidence; but even to this extent they are to be taken with extreme caution. I have had occasion to relate scenes, as a debate in Congress, which I had myself witnessed and described at the time; and long afterwards descriptions came out with incidents which I could not recall and which were

not verified by contemporary accounts. I have therefore been obliged to suggest that there might be exaggeration in such recollections.¹ Mr. Hay, one of the biographers of Lincoln, once told me that he and his associate rejected anecdotes and narratives not supported by contemporary records or reports.

This paper relates to periods which have been illustrated by abundant contemporary materials, and is altogether aside of the questions which were raised by Niebuhr's treatment of early Roman history. It deals only with periods where twilight has passed into clear day. Nor will any attempt be made to weigh and compare the different kinds of evidence competent to prove historical facts, whether original, secondary, hearsay, or traditionary. Without doubt the best kind is the testimony of intelligent and trustworthy eye-witnesses, promptly and faithfully transcribed on imperishable records; but with something less than this history must often be content in determining the general features of a transaction, or the share in it which belongs to particular individuals.

The view here given of the value of personal recollections invites attention to some instances where they have been shown to be without value, even after they had found credence with investigators.

In October, 1895, I listened at Cornell University to the opening lecture of a course, by Professor H. Morse Stephens, on the sources of the history of the French Revolution, among them diaries of eye-witnesses, memoirs, and public documents; and he assigned small value to memoirs written several years after the events, by persons who had been contemporary with them.²

The "Boston Tea Party" took place December 16, 1773. The date and general features of the transaction are well ascertained; but no one of its members is known by satisfactory proofs. In order to identify them there should be some contemporaneous record, diary, or letter, or, at least, testimonies of responsible individuals, made independently of each other, substantially concurring, and given at least within fifteen or twenty years after the event. There were obvious reasons

¹ Sumner Memoir, vol. iii. pp. 607 note, 610 note.

² Since this paper was read, Professor Stephens's article entitled "Recent Memoirs of the French Directory" has appeared in the "American Historical Review" for April, 1896, in which (pp. 475, 476, 489) he comments on the value of memoirs as historical evidence.

for reticence until the recognition of American Independence in 1783, but they ended with that date. When the contest with Great Britain had been successfully terminated, an avowal of connection with the destruction of the tea could entail no loss, and would insure honor, perhaps pensions, to the participants. Nevertheless, no one, so far as my researches have gone, confessed to any connection with it till about half a century after the affair, — when he had become so old as to be unable to distinguish between what he had seen and what he had only heard. The credibility of his narration would then be no more than that of the depositions of the Bunker Hill veterans hereinafter referred to.

There is no contemporaneous written evidence as to the participants in the "Tea Party." Peter Edes, writing February 18, 1836, of his father, Benjamin Edes, said: "It is a little surprising that the names of the Tea Party were never made public. My father, I believe, was the only person who had a list of them, and he always kept it locked up in his desk while living."¹ This statement, made in the way it is, does not justify the belief that such a list ever existed.

The number engaged in the "Tea Party" has been stated variously, ranging from seventeen to three hundred; and there have been discrepancies in the reminiscient statements as to the wharf where the ships lay and the number of the ships, though these points are now settled.

John Adams, who may have had some knowledge beforehand of what was to take place, wrote to Mr. Niles as late as May 10, 1819: "I now tell you in truth and upon honor, that I know not and never knew the name of any one of them"; that is, of the participants in the "Tea Party." He avoided knowledge at the time, so as not to be a competent witness against any one in a criminal prosecution. Two years before the date of this letter a visitor "blurted out the name" of one member to Mr. Adams, but he would not commit it to writing. Curiously enough, he states in the same letter that he was at Plymouth at the time of the event, whereas his journal and his letter to James Warren, December 17, 1773, show him to have been then in Boston, — another instance of the untrustworthiness of old men's memories.²

¹ Proceedings, vol. xii. p. 175.

² John Adams's Works, vol. ii. pp. 323, 334; vol. ix. p. 333.

Not long after the date of Mr. Adams's letter to Niles, when an interval of nearly fifty years had passed, and the actors may be presumed to have reached an age between seventy-five and ninety, reporters and interviewers began to seek several garrulous persons who pretended to know about the "Tea Party." Family traditions came out of a father or son having tea found in his boots the morning after the affair. Niles's "Principles and Acts of the Revolution," pp. 485, 486, reprints from the "Boston Daily Advertiser" (date not given)¹ a report of conversations with the survivors of the period, who disagreed as to the number of the ships and the wharf where they lay. This interviewer says: "The contrivers of this measure and those who carried it into effect will never be known. . . . None of those persons who were confidently said to have been of the party (except some who were then minors or very young men) have ever admitted that they were so. The person who appeared to know more than any one I ever spoke with, refused to mention names. . . . There are very few alive now who helped to empty the chests of tea, and these few will probably be as prudent as those who have gone before them." This writer gives no names of persons taking part in the affair.

One of the interviewed persons ascribes to John Rowe the words spoken at the meeting at the Old South Church, "Who knows how tea will mingle with salt water?" — language used to instigate the populace to the act. These words attributed to Rowe have been cited on this authority alone by reputable authors. They are on their face incredible, for Rowe was an owner of one of the tea cargoes, and had enough of human nature in him not to exhort others to destroy his own property. And now just a year ago appeared his Diary, which makes it clear that he disapproved altogether the transaction, and could never have spoken the words which have again and again been put in his mouth.² The result is that the anonymous writer in the "Advertiser," who reports the loose talk of other anonymous people, is not deserving of credit.

In 1835, sixty-two years after the event, "The Traits of the

¹ The original communication has, after a search, been discovered in the issue of that journal for November 10, 1821. The first of the writer's series was published October 30, 1821.

² *Ante*, pp. 18, 19, 81, 82.

Tea Party, being a Memoir of George R. T. Hewes," was published. The author withheld his name, but later he was ascertained to be Benjamin B. Thatcher. Hewes was ninety-three, or nearly that age, when his account was taken down; and he had believed himself to be in his one hundredth year. His testimony is impeached by his "positively affirming as of his own observation that Samuel Adams and John Hancock were both actively engaged in the process of destruction" (pages 192, 193); and he said further that he recognized Hancock, not only by his "ruffles," but by his "figure and gait," "features," and "voice," and that he "exchanged with him an Indian grunt." This was too much for even the credulous Thatcher, who remarks, "This is a curious reminiscence, but we believe it a mistake." Whatever Adams, or even Hancock, may have done in advising the destruction of the tea, no sane person believes that they took a personal part in the scene itself; and there was every reason why such well-known leaders of the Patriot cause should have kept away. Now, Hewes states Hancock's presence just as positively as he states his own; and his narrative can be relied on no more as to himself than as to others, as old men so often remember as seen what they have only heard. Thatcher appends to his memoir of Hewes a list of the "Tea Party," fifty-eight in all, — the first list ever printed, and indeed no name of any one connected with it had been before given to the public. He introduces the list with this explanation: "We subjoin here also a list which has been furnished by an aged Bostonian, well acquainted with the history of our subject, of the persons generally supposed within his knowledge, on traditionary or other evidence, to have been more or less actively engaged in or present at the destruction of the Tea." This is in many points a curious statement. "Persons engaged in" are mixed with those who were merely "present at," whether approving or disapproving. The name of "the aged Bostonian" who knew so much is kept back without any apparent reason. It is a list of those "generally supposed" to have been participants or spectators, not of those known to have been of one or the other class. It is based on "traditionary and other evidence," the word "other" being presumably a weaker kind of evidence than even tradition, which is generally thought to be the weakest of all. And yet this

list has been adopted by Lossing, who makes the number fifty-nine, and by Drake, who carries it to one hundred and thirteen; and upon this evidence alone descendants of persons so enumerated have chosen as a coat of arms a ship being emptied by Mohawks or a teapot fuming at the mouth.

Another "Tea Party" claimant is David Kinnison, the supposed last survivor, who died in 1852 at the age of one hundred and fifteen. His account seems to have been given in 1848, seventy-five years after the event, when he was one hundred and eleven years and nine months old.¹ Even F. S. Drake, whose list, given in his "Tea Leaves" is very receptive and inclusive (page lxxxii), admits that, "owing to the great age of Kinnison when this relation was made to Mr. Lossing, it is possibly in some particulars erroneous, and is given only as a piece of original evidence, and simply for what it is worth." This form of expression "for what it is worth" means in plainer English that it is not worth anything. It does not add to the value of Kinnison's account that in middle life he met with a severe injury, — the fracture of his skull and of his collar-bone and two of his ribs.

Drake (page lxxi) prints the account of Joshua Wyeth, who in 1827, fifty-four years after the event, made his narration at Cincinnati. He was fifteen years of age in 1773, and claimed to have been one of twenty-eight or thirty engaged. It is not likely that the real projectors of the affair, who worked secretly and kept their secret well, would have invited a youth of fifteen to join with them.

At this Society's commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the "Tea Party" in December, 1873, Richard Frothingham, a most careful and honest investigator, read a paper appropriate to the occasion, in which he said: "Several of the party have been identified, but the claims presented for others are doubtful"; but he assigned no names to either class. He said of Thatcher's list that it was "not trustworthy as to those who did the work."

At the same meeting of the Society Thomas C. Amory added two names to the list, those of Amos Lincoln and Colonel James Swan; but he gave no proofs except by saying that when a Harvard student he visited Colonel Swan in London, who "recounted the particulars of the destruction of the tea in which

¹ Lossing's Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution, vol. i. pp. 499, 500.

he assisted." As Mr. Amory graduated at Harvard College in 1830, Colonel Swan made the communication fifty-seven years after the "Tea Party"; and Mr. Amory first gave it to the public forty-three years after it had been made to him, — thus carried in two memories for one hundred years. These intervals are too long to admit the two narrations as bases of history.

The conclusion is that no one person has been identified with any certainty as a member of the historic "Tea Party," at least upon any evidence on which a plaintiff or a prosecutor could expect a verdict, or upon the lesser evidence, that of reasonable probability, with which historical writers must sometimes be content.

One inquiry comes naturally in this connection, — why it was that after the peace of 1783 the members of the "Tea Party" kept up their reticence concerning their own share in it, — a reticence which appears in John Adams's letter and in the account reprinted in Niles's book. Those who had borne a part in the civil and military history of the Revolution took pride in avowing what they had done for their country in those spheres. The men of the "Tea Party" were then safe from civil and criminal proceedings, and also from social censure, as most of the owners, the Hutchinsons and Clarkes, were *émigrés*. Was their studied silence due to the instinctive shrinking of civilized people to confess a share in any deed of violence, whatever defences it may have, which lacks the sanction of law, either the civil law or the law of war?

When the corner-stone of the Bunker Hill Monument was laid in 1825, fifty years after the battle, there were present one hundred and ninety survivors of the army of the Revolution, forty of whom had been, or claimed to have been, engaged in the conflict of June 17, 1775. One of the directors of the Monument Association, William Sullivan, assisted by other directors and by Judge Thacher, wishing to preserve the details of the battle and to clear up disputed points, caused the depositions of the survivors to be taken. These or a transcript of them in three volumes were sent to this Society in 1842 by William Sullivan's brother Richard; and a committee consisting of Ticknor, Bancroft, and Ellis was appointed to report on the historical character and value of the manuscripts. This committee came to the conclusion that

they should be sealed up and deposited in the Cabinet as curiosities. It is not clear what became of them. They were supposed to have been returned to the Sullivan family at their request, and to have been burned by them; but some of the originals have been since offered for sale at an auction-room in New York City.¹

A note by Dr. Ellis to the Proceedings of the Society for April, 1842 (page 231), says:—

"I took the books to my house in Charlestown and deliberately examined them. Their contents were most extraordinary; many of the testimonies extravagant, boastful, inconsistent, and utterly untrue; mixtures of old men's broken memories and fond imaginings with the love of the marvellous. Some of those who gave in affidavits about the battle could not have been in it, nor even in its neighborhood. They had got so used to telling the story for the wonderment of village listeners as grandfathers' tales, and as petted representatives of 'the spirit of '76,' that they did not distinguish between what they had seen and done and what they had read, heard, or dreamed. The decision of the committee was that much of the contents of the volumes was wholly worthless for history, and some of it discreditable, as misleading and false."

Such is the testimony of a very competent historical critic as to old soldiers' accounts of battles in which they served, or thought they had served, long ago. It fits well what King Henry foretold of the survivor of Agincourt:—

"Old men forget; yet all shall be forgot,
But he'll remember with advantages
What feats he did that day."

In the Proceedings of this Society for February, 1881, pp. 340-344, there is an account of the Garrison mob of October 21, 1835, contributed forty-five years after the event by the late Ellis Ames, evidently without the assistance of any contemporaneous notes. He describes what he saw of the mob, and then mentions a call at the law office of A. H. Fiske, on Court Street, just after the affair, and then a call on Charles Sumner at No. 4 Court Street, directly opposite, to whom he related what he had just seen. Then apparently intending to give the impression that Mr. Sumner did not disapprove, or at any rate with any earnestness, what had occurred, he adds:—

¹ Proceedings, vol. ii. pp. 224, 225, 230-232, 234, 235; Narrative and Critical History of America, vol. vi. p. 189.

"He did not express such anxiety about the affair as Mr. Fiske did. If Mr. Sumner had gone to the door of his office, and walked by the railing on the left side about twenty-five feet, he would have come to a window which opened on the south side of Court Street, where by looking out in an easterly direction he could have seen all the doings of the mob which took place in State Street."

How Mr. Sumner, whose office was in the rear, lighted only by an inside court, is to be held responsible for not looking at a scene on the street of which he knew nothing till it was all passed, it is impossible to see. Besides, the account which Mr. Ames gives and the suggestion he makes are altogether improbable. His statement of the interior arrangements of No. 4 Court Street, where he was only an occasional visitor, does not agree with the recollection of those who had offices there for a long time, among them our associates Mr. George S. Hale and Mr. George O. Shattuck, and who say that no window looked out from the hall on Court Street, but the windows looking out on that street were to be reached only by entering the front offices. Besides Mr. Sumner, who had inherited his father's anti-slavery sentiments, is on record as expressing like sentiments even earlier than the mob; and about the time it took place he became a subscriber for the "Liberator."¹

I knew Mr. Ames from my youth, being born and living till manhood within four miles of his home. In the winter of 1852-53, I passed three months in his law office at Canton, often dining with him and driving with him to hunt up evidence for trials, and to explore disputed boundaries in woods and swamps; and at this time he presented me for admission to the bar. During this intimacy we talked of Mr. Sumner very often, but he never mentioned the incident about the mob. Late in his life he first mentioned it to me on the street in Boston; but I paid little attention to what he said, treating it as a dream of age, as his faculties were then waning and his mood was unlike that of earlier days. He mentioned at the same interview another anti-slavery leader whom he saw active as one of the mob, but whose name he did not include in the account. I first ascertained that his narrative had passed into print when I saw it noted in the *Life of W. L. Garrison* (vol. ii. p. 25 note), where the biographers, though calling it "a singularly mixed account," interpreted it, so

¹ Sumner Memoir, vol. i. pp. 24-27, 134, 157, 173, 185, 191; vol. iii. p. 69.

far as Mr. Sumner was concerned, in the same manner I had interpreted it. To my note of protest Mr. W. P. Garrison replied:—

“I had no personal knowledge of Mr. Ames, or I might have hesitated to cite him as I did; but I detected his untrustworthiness in relating what took place about the Old State House; for here I had a cloud of witnesses to check him at every point. I have referred in a note to his singularly confused accounts. At a distance from Boston I had to regard him with a certain respect, because the Massachusetts Historical Society admitted him to its ‘Proceedings.’ I think your quarrel is really with that Society.”

Of all reminiscences those concerning public men at Washington are the most untrustworthy. The life of a capital city teems with gossip; it abounds in rivalries, jealousies, calumnies. General Sherman in a letter to President Johnson calls Washington “the focus of intrigue, gossip, and slander.” Stories of public characters have somewhat the interest of fiction, and the mass of readers care little whether they are true or not. Managers of magazines are keen in the search for them; and the result is a medley of tales, with little of truth in them, and that little of truth so compounded with falsehood as to be worse than falsehood entire. They obtain a credence with even intelligent people, who fancy that what is in type must be true. In ten, twenty, or thirty years they are thought worthy of recognition as a source of history. But if any one canon should be rigidly observed by American historians, it is that Washington gossip is not history. I have had occasion elsewhere to deal with some of these irresponsible raconteurs, as Miss Olive Seward, Adam Badeau, and Noah Brooks.¹ Not seldom such writers can be impeached by a record; and they are apt to expose themselves by falling into anachronisms. Now and then a valuable contribution, like that of General J. D. Cox in the “Atlantic Monthly” for August, 1895, appears; but generally reminiscences of Washington life and affairs should be dismissed without consideration by historians.

Mr. Lincoln has been the subject of a vast amount of reminiscences, and will continue to be such for the next twenty years or more. Whether the true Lincoln can ever be dis-

¹ Sumner Memoir, vol. iv. pp. 381–383, 329 note, 613–624; Century Magazine, March, 1895, pp. 792, 793.

covered among the rubbish is doubtful. At a dinner in Washington the host, whose recollections have been published, was relating at length what Lincoln had said to him and even more at length what he had said to Lincoln, when a guest, a witty lawyer of New York City, becoming weary with the monotonous tale, interrupted with the question, "Will you not now tell us of your talks with Washington and Columbus?"

Webster's memory has been the victim of reminiscences by one who understood him not half so well as Friday understood Robinson Crusoe. Mr. Lodge says of Peter Harvey's book: "A more untrustworthy book it would be impossible to imagine. There is not a statement in it which can be safely accepted, unless supported by other evidence. It puts its subject throughout in the most unpleasant light, and nothing has ever been written about Webster so well calculated to injure and belittle him as these feeble and distorted recollections of his loving and devoted Boswell. It is the reflection of a great man upon the mirror of a very small mind and weak memory."¹ And yet, as I happen to know, the book is not nearly so bad as it would have been without the revision by a most accomplished proof-reader of the University Press at Cambridge.

General Grant's "Personal Memoirs" reveal a remarkable inaccuracy of statement in an affair where Secretary Stanton, with whom his relations were not pleasant, was concerned. President Lincoln visited Richmond immediately after its evacuation; and while there he issued an order to General Weitzel to give permission to the Legislature of Virginia — or rather, as the order read, "to the gentlemen who have acted as the Legislature of Virginia in support of the rebellion" — to assemble at Richmond. He then returned to Washington by the Potomac, reaching there the last Sunday evening of his life. From Washington, April 12, 1865, two days before his death, he himself revoked the summons to the above body, giving his reasons. It was his own act, and his last important official act. The circumstances were well known at the time, and shortly after became the subject of considerable discus-

¹ Lodge's Webster, vol. i. p. 95 note.

sion.¹ Nevertheless, twenty years afterwards General Grant, in illustrating what he calls Stanton's "characteristic" as "a man who never questioned his own authority and who always did in war-time what he wanted to do," wrote that Stanton countermanded the above-named order, "notwithstanding the fact that the President was nearer the spot than he was," — meaning that Stanton did at Washington while Lincoln was in or near Richmond what in fact Lincoln himself did at Washington.² The publishers and editors of the recent edition of the "Personal Memoirs" have not seen fit to note this manifest error. This criticism is limited to General Grant's correctness as a narrator of civil affairs; but his accuracy as a narrator of military affairs has also been much questioned.³

American magazines have of late years teemed with descriptions of the campaigns and battles of the Civil War, contributed by officers who had taken part in them. I cannot speak in detail of this literature; but it is worthy of note that Colonel Robert N. Scott, who had charge of the published "Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies," took a certain satisfaction in calling the attention of these magazine contributors to the disagreements between their official reports and what they now wrote after an interval of years. They had not even taken the pains to verify what they communicated for popular reading by recurring to what they had written at the time on official responsibility.

It happened to me to read Wilberforce's Life when I was in college; and, Butler's Analogy being then one of my textbooks, I noted what Pitt had said to Wilberforce, — that "the work raised in his mind more doubts than it had answered" (vol. i. p. 95). I remember to have used this extract in my examination, and I have kept it in mind ever since. The biographers

¹ Nicolay and Hay's Lincoln, vol. x. pp. 222-228.

² Personal Memoirs, 1st ed. vol. ii. pp. 505, 506; 2d ed. vol. ii. pp. 355, 356.

³ "From Chattanooga to Petersburg," by W. F. Smith; "Grant *versus* the Record," by Carswell McClellan; Gen. J. D. Cox's review of the "Personal Memoirs" in the New York "Nation," February 25 and July 1, 1886; "The Mistakes of Grant," by W. S. Rosecrans, North American Review, December, 1885, pp. 580-599; "Misunderstandings: Halleck and Grant," by J. B. Fry, Magazine of American History, vol. xvi. p. 561.

include this remark of Pitt among conversational memoranda which they had picked up from one source or another, and represent it to have been made in 1785, while Wilberforce's *Life* was published in 1838. But now, one hundred and eleven years after the remark is said to have been made and fifty-eight years after it was put in print, Mr. Gladstone, in a recent paper in the "*Nineteenth Century*," November, 1895 (pp. 721, 722), disputes the authenticity of Pitt's reported remark, as being from a source "neither contemporary nor first hand," and "in conflict with another account of a directly opposite tenor," according to which Pitt commended the book. If Mr. Gladstone is right in his contention, what credit is to be given to the conversations with which biographies abound?

Conversations are with difficulty recorded by a listener, and reports of them must be taken with much allowance. In ordinary talk there are many omissions to be filled by the context, — by what has been said before, either on the same or an earlier occasion. Then, too, expression and gesture are left to correct an imperfect sentence or complete an unfinished thought. Much depends also not only on the narrator's skill, but also on his abstinence from the natural disposition to color his record by his own feelings and ideas. The late Henry Wilson, just after reading a well-known diary containing much reported to have been said by public men, said to me that he would not talk with any one whom he knew to be keeping a diary. Perhaps he had premonitions of similar records concerning himself; for his own conversations as to public men and events were singularly free and unguarded. The late Nassau W. Senior often visited Paris, where he mingled freely with scholars and public men; and his notes of the "*Conversations*" he listened to have been published. I once mentioned these to Michel Chevalier; and he said that there was a good deal of Mr. Senior in them, — meaning that Mr. Senior in undertaking to report others had fallen into the habit of recording his own thoughts.

Somewhat kindred to the topic in hand is the credibility of diaries. These must often be taken at a discount. Assuming the veracity of the writer, he is apt not to confine himself to what he really knows. For instance, J. Q. Adams in his *Diary* (vol. xii. p. 274) attributes to Webster the authorship of Whig

resolutions in September, 1846 ; but intrinsic as well as outside evidence points to another author, — J. Thomas Stevenson, a merchant of the time, who reported them to the convention. They lack terseness and vigor, — qualities which predominate in Webster's style.¹

But whatever may be the value of diaries, greater or less according to the moral and intellectual character of the diarist and his opportunities of observation, no credit should be given to anonymous diaries. Those which cannot be tested by the character of the diarist are worthless, and should never be cited except to be repudiated. No honest narrator will withhold his name from what he declares to the world he has seen or heard. A single instance must suffice. The "North American Review" in 1879 (vol. cxxix. pp. 125, 375, 484) printed what purported to be the "Diary of a Public Man," describing, with personal details of various public men, what was going on in New York City and Washington in the winter of 1860–1861, just before the outbreak of the Rebellion. The editor, A. T. Rice, refused to give the name of the writer to George T. Curtis, the biographer of President Buchanan.² Other persons have sought to learn the authorship of this "Diary," but without success ; and perhaps, Mr. Rice having died, it is unknown to any living person. Several names have been suggested, but probably without reason. The latest theory is that the "Diary" is a pure invention, — a fictitious narrative by an adventurer recently deceased, who had much to do with newspapers and magazines, who had a career both in this country and in England, and who late in his life figured in a scandalous trial in London. He was able, by a general knowledge of social occasions and of the presence of public men in the two cities, to give an air of probability to his narrative ; but a close scrutiny reveals his untrustworthiness.

This diarist makes himself the most remarkable personage of modern times. His counsels and mediation were eagerly sought by men of adverse opinions and positions, and he was admitted by them to most confidential interviews. Among these were Douglas, Seward, Sumner, the British Minister, and the Confederate chiefs Orr and Forsyth. He was solicited

¹ Memoir of Charles Sumner, vol. iii. pp. 124 note, 125 note.

² President Buchanan's Life, vol. ii. pp. 391 note, 394, 395.

to assist in making the Cabinet; all the departments were open to him; and Lincoln, as soon as he was in office, though weighted with unexampled burdens, put aside all other duties to receive him and listen to his wisdom. Who could be this marvellous man, so miscellaneous in his affiliations, whose thoughts statesmen yearned to hear in those dread hours? It is easier to suppose that he did not exist than to point him out among the characters of that eventful period.

The "Diary" bears in some entries intrinsic evidence of not being genuine. In the first place it attributes to Mr. Sumner activity in cabinet-making,—a function from which by taste and habit he kept aloof. In the next place it states that the diarist and another person held by appointment a conference with President Lincoln March 7, his third day in office, and in the afternoon of that day. Now it appears, by the public journals of March 8, that on the afternoon of the 7th the President gave a formal reception, his first one, to the diplomatic corps,—a protracted ceremonial. After its conclusion there would not have been time before dinner, which then came at an early hour in Washington,—that is, about six,—for such a conference as the diarist pretends to describe. Again, he substitutes blanks for names; and this eighteen years after the date, when the prominent actors, long since dead, could not be compromised by publicity. The suppression of names is an obvious mode of securing a fictitious narrative against detection.

In 1886, seven years after it appeared, I undertook to test the "Diary" as well as I could. I found only one person living with whom its writer described an interview,—indeed, I think the only person named in that way who was living when the "Diary" appeared; and it is not unlikely, as that one had retired from active life, that the diarist thought him dead also. This was Hiram Barney,¹ who became, a few weeks after the reported interview with him, Collector of the Port of New York. I had become intimate with Mr. Barney as early as 1856, having formed an acquaintance with him still earlier. He lived till May 18th of last year. The Diary reports a conversation with him February 20, 1861, just after he had come from a breakfast at Moses H. Grinnell's, given to Mr. Lincoln, who was then on his way to Washington. The break-

¹ Diary, etc., pp. 137, 138.

fast did indeed take place, and is mentioned the next day in the "New York Tribune," with the names of several of the guests; but Mr. Barney is not named in the list, and in fact did not attend, contrary to the statement of the "Diary." In answer to my inquiry as to his presence and the conversation alleged to have taken place immediately after, he replied, October 5, 1886:—

"I recollect the article in the 'N. A. Review' to which you refer, — 'Diary of a Public Man'; and as I could not recollect his interview with me to which he refers, was anxious at the time to know who he was. I applied to Appleton & Co., the publishers, but they could not or would not inform me. I do not think that his statement, so far as it regards my calling upon him at his hotel, or the breakfast at Grinnell's, or Mr. Lincoln, had a particle of truth in it. There was no such breakfast, and no such interview, and no such statements, and probably the author was a romancer. If you should ever find out who the author was, I wish you would tell me."

I replied promptly to Mr. Barney that there was a breakfast at Grinnell's, repeating the names of guests mentioned in the "Tribune"; and he answered, October 7:—

"I have yours of the 6th. I am sure that I did not attend the breakfast at Grinnell's Feb. 20, '61. It was not such a gathering as at that time I would probably be invited to or would care to attend. There are some of my special friends in the list, such as Charles H. Marshall, H. Fish, and T. Tileston; there are others, such as John J. Astor, John A. Stevens, Aspinwall, and Minturn, with whom I was on friendly terms enough, but not very intimate; then there were others with whom I was never on any terms of cordiality. It was, with few exceptions, a Seward crowd; and such people were wholly unsympathetic with me. I may have heard of the breakfast at the time, and it now seems probable that it really occurred; but it does not seem possible that I called on the writer in the 'N. A. Review,' whoever he was, and had with him any conversation, certainly not the conversation which he reports. I have tried to find out the writer, but *stat nominis umbra* in spite of all my efforts to uncover him. I do not even suspect who he may be."

It is not difficult to explain all this. The "romancer," as Mr. Barney calls him, knew from the public journals that there was a breakfast at Mr. Grinnell's; he imagined that Mr. Barney, as a friend of Lincoln and Chase, was likely to have been

one of the guests; he supposed, in 1879, that Mr. Barney, who had passed out of sight, was no longer living to dispute his statement, and that it was therefore safe to put into his mouth any words he pleased. As the facts now appear, the "Diary of a Public Man" must be regarded as a fiction,—nothing more nor less.

The reading of Mr. Pierce's paper was followed by an informal discussion, in which MESSRS. GEORGE S. HALE, JUSTIN WINSOR, WILLIAM EVERETT, BARRETT WENDELL, WILLIAM W. GOODWIN, SAMUEL A. GREEN, SAMUEL F. MCCLEARY, and ALBERT B. HART took part.

Mr. ALBERT B. HART communicated an original autobiographical letter written by General William Chamberlin, of Peacham, Vermont. General Chamberlin was born in Hopkinton, Massachusetts, April 27, 1755. This outline of his earlier life was written in his seventy-second year, about eighteen months previous to his death, and was left unfinished. It may be interesting to the reader of the following pages to know something of his later life. After his removal to Vermont in 1780, he retained his connection with military affairs, and five commissions are still extant, the latest of which is dated October, 1799, appointing him Major-General of the State forces. General Chamberlin was also prominent in civil affairs, holding many offices, some of which were as follows: Justice of the Peace twenty-four years; a member of the State Legislature twelve years; Chief Justice of Caledonia County seventeen years; Councillor of the State seven years; Lieutenant-Governor from 1813 to 1815; a delegate to the Constitutional Convention, 1791; Presidential elector in 1800; and a member of Congress, 1803–1805 and 1809–1811. He died September 27, 1828. In private life his biographer states: "He was upright; a friend of order, learning, and religion. Any one who visits his tombstone in a quiet country cemetery in sight of the White Mountains of New Hampshire would be impressed with the fact that his friends were less modest than he had been, before they had finished reading the long list of virtues that are now clear and distinct on the old stone table that covers his grave."¹

¹ Records of the Governor and Council of the State of Vermont, by E. P. Walton, vol. iv. p. 105.

The son to whom this biographical account was addressed, Mellen Chamberlin, at that time a lawyer in Castine, Maine, was later a companion of Professor Morse in a trip to Europe, and was drowned in the Danube, May, 1839.

The letter is as follows :—

PEACHAM, March 2^d, 1827.

MELLEN CHAMBERLIN.

MY DEAR SON, — In one of your letters to me you mentioned that it would be a matter of gratification to you to see some sketches of my own history, and, having but little buisness on my hands, I have thought, upon reflection, that taking a retrospective view of the various scenes through which I have passed might not be unprofitable to myself or altogether uninteresting to you or the rest of my children.

In taking a review of my long and eventful life I find very much to censure and very little to approve. You need not therefore expect any splendid accounts of my own atchievements, or anything which would be peculiarly interesting to any but my own family. Yet if by giving you an impartial account of the various incidents which have occurred in the course of my past life, you may perhaps learn to shun the rocks and shoals upon which I have been shipwrecked. My infancy like that of most others in the lower walks of life. My father you have heard, though not poor, was not in very affluent circumstances, & was able by dint of industry to bring up a large family in a reputable manner, or, in other words, above meanness and contempt. I had from my earliest recollections a fondness for reading everything that came in my way, & having a very retentive memory of everything I read, I was noticed as studious, and careless of everything else. An instance of this, to my great mortification, occurred when I was about nine or ten years of age. Being at my uncle Joseph Mellen's, with whom I lived, or with my grandfather Mellen,¹ a considerable part of the time, they sent me to the pasture to get a yoke of oxen through a pair of bars which had all been taken out except one of the upper rails. Being charged to go quick, I went as fast as I could, but, falling into a deep study about something which then struck my mind, with my eyes on the ground, I ran my nose against the upper rail, which bruised it very badley, & knocked me down backwards. This being done in sight of a number were looking on, occasioned a great laugh at my expense, which hurt my feelings much worse than my wounded nose. My love of books however continued, although I had but very few to read except the Bible and some old books on Divinity of which I have much reason to regret that I have not mad[e] a better or more practical improvement.

¹ Deacon Henry Mellen, of Hopkinton, Mass.

I had no opportunity for s[c]hooling more than two months in the year, but made good proficiency in reading, spelling, writing, and arithmetic. When I was at the age of twelve years, my oldest brother Samuel was taken sick with a fever of the typhus kind in the month of September, and lay a number of weeks in a very distressing condition both in body and mind.

About the 1st of November my eldest sister was taken down with the same disorder, and after languishing twenty days, decesed on the 21st of that month, being in the year 1767. Soon after my brother Moses was seized with the fever, and lay for a long time apparently at the point of death. My mother in the mean time took the fever, and my father, who through the whole time previous had watched his distressed family with unremitting care and attention, was taken violently with the same disease, and having been worn down with fatigue and anxiety of mind, he soon became delirious, and little hopes were entertained of his recovery for a long time. Thirty days his fever continued unabated, and then began to abate slowly. He recovered strength, but his delirium continued untill he was able to walk about. This terrible fever continued to rage in the family from the fore part of September untill March. All except myself who continued at home had it severely. My sisters Sibel¹ and Betey were removed to their uncle Jacob Chamberlin soon after the family became sick, and escaped the disorder. This distressing sickness had a considerable effect upon my mind, and caused me to pray earnestly that I might be delivered from it. After my father and the family had recovered from the fever, my mother at the birth of my sister Patty was very sick; her life was for a considerable time despaired off, but she at length recovered, though always feeble & complaining. The year following, 1768, my father, finding himself embarrassed by the long & severe sickness, — the doc^r bills were large, and other expenses of nurses and hired help amounted to large sums, and the creditors were in want of payment. In this situation he had no other resource but to leave the management of the farm to the care of my brother Samⁿ & Moses,² except in hay-time and harvest, & having a number of lots of cedar timber in the swamps at Hopkinton from which shingles were made, he took me with him into the swamps for a great part of the time for two or three years; & day after day and month after month I was doomed to follow him as soon as it was daylight in the morning, sometimes two and at others 3 miles to the swamps, and to return in the evening, frequently after dark; and although he was always kind and willing to take every burden on himself to relieve me that was possible, yet his rapid movements in

¹ Sibel married Capt. John Eastman of Concord, New Hampshire, a soldier of the Revolutionary War.

² Moses, grandfather of Judge Mellen Chamberlain, of Chelsea, Massachusetts.

going and returning morning & evening kept me on the trot behind him, and many a hearty spell of crying I had when looking back he would call me, "Come, Billy." Tired of this kind of life, I looked forward with the pleasing but delusive hope that my uncle Joseph Mellen, who had no children and a pretty large estate, would take me home and give me an education, as he had frequently intimated he should do; but in this hope I was grievously disappointed by the sudden death of this favorite uncle, who was suddenly seized with a disorder in his head which produced a high delirium and carried him off in a few hours. As he died inte[s]tate, his estate was divided between his ten brothers & sisters, and my hopes from this quarter were entirely frustrated. I did not, however, relinquish the hope of obtain[ing] an education by some means or other, although I knew that my father was unable to give me the necessary means of obtaining it. But I had procured some Latin books, and committed them to memory with great rapidity, and a Mr. Hutchinson, the father of the present Judge Hutchinson, offered to take me and fit me for college if my father would let me go, and I might work for him to pay my tuition, and I flattered myself that my father in a year or two would give me my time, and that I could work half my time and prepare myself for college as soon as other students who devoted their whole time to study, and in this way accomplish the object I had so much at heart. But in the year 1772 my father took a journey to Concord, in New Hampshire, on a visit to his friends there; & he was persuaded by Capt. Eastman to purchase a tract of land in Loudon, which he did in company with my uncle John Chamberlin, and in the summer of 1772¹ my father sent my brother Sam^l and myself, with my uncle John Chamberlin, who had previously sold his farm, to work on the land. We cleared up and sowed a field of wheat, and returned to Hopkinton. My father and my uncle during this period had made a bargain by which my uncle took my father's farm and my father the land in Loudon, amounting to about six hundred acres, and moved from Hopkinton to that place in March, 1774. During the period between 1770 & 1774 the dispute between Great Britain and the Colonies was becoming very serious and threa[t]ning. General Gage, about the year 1770, was appointed Governor of Massachusetts, and had a considerable body of troops under his command stationed in the town of Boston.² A number of boys and others collected in the streets with some kind of pageantry, which was offensive to the British officers. A Captain Preston, at the head of a millitary band, fired on the promiscuous croud, and killed five persons and wounded a number of others. This massacre, as it was called, rekindled the flame which had

¹ Written 1872 in the manuscript.

² Gage was not appointed Governor until 1774, four years after the "massacre."

for some time been smothered after the repeal of the Stamp Act. The newspapers now teemed with publications tending to alarm the public mind, & to arouse the people to open resistance to these wanton acts of aggression. Essays on the rights of man and of Englishmen, in which the right of the British Parliament to tax the Colonies without their consent was denied, the people were called on to defend their natural and inalienable rights against the encroachments of lawless power. The militia were formed into volunteer companies of minute men, as they were called, ready to appear in the field at a moment's warning, to defend their bretheren against future attacks. Committees of correspondence, inspection, and safety were appointed, and every measure in the power of the people taken to defend their rights. This state of things continued until the 19th of April, 1775, when the attempt of the British forces to destroy the military stores at Concord belonging to the Province terminated in open war. During the period from 1770 to 1775, — that is, from the 15th to the 20th year of my age, — I read with deep interest and feeling all the essays in newspapers and pamphlets in which the natural rights and duties of man in society were explained and vindicated, and in which the act of the British Parliament declaring their right to bind the Colonies by their legislative acts in all cases whatsoever were denounced as arbitrary & tyrannical, repugnant to every principle of natural or civil liberty. Having, like most other young men of thought, imbibed the most enthusiastic ideas of liberty and the rights of man, I was prepared in my feelings to engage with ardour in the contest. Although from my father's moving as he did from Massachusetts at the time he did, I had never been enrolled to do duty in the militia, & I was for the first time called upon on the 21 day of April, two days after the Battle of Lexington, to take arms as a soldier. A Mr. Magoon, who was a sergeant at that time in the comp^y at Loudon, rode up to my father's door in the dead of night, and knocked with great violence, and demanded to know if Willam Chamberlin was there. On being answered in the affirmative, he said in a very audible voice, "I warn him to appear to-morrow morning at the place of parade compleat in arms and ammu[ni]tion, to march and (as he expressed it) to defend our enemies [*sic*]." He then informed us that an express had arrived with the news that the British troops had penetrated into the country in great force, and were burning and butchering all before them; that they had got up as far as Sandown, in New Hampshire. Orders were to march immediately to meet them. In consequence of this horrid news, the remainder of the night was spent in equipping me for the march, and in the morning I swung my pack and took my leave of the family, but not without some dismal forebodings that I should never return, which I concealed as much as possible from my anxious friends. But having to march for two miles alone through a piece of dark pine woods before I joined any company, I could not help reflect-

ing on the horrid news I had heard, and on the doubtful issue of the contest, & that if I should not be killed in battle, that those who had taken up arms, if overcome, would be executed for treason. It operated as a damper to my courage, and brot me to a full halt for a moment: but reflecting again on the gross injustice of the claim of the British government in asserting that they had a right to bind the Colonies in all cases whatsoever without our being represented in their Parliament; that this claim, if admitted, not only extended to our property but to our persons and everything dear or valuable; that life under such circumstances or conditions was hardly worth preserving, and that I, being at a proper age for a soldier and nothing to prevent me from engaging as such, that it would be mean and pusillanimous in me to decline the contest, — I therefore dried up the gush of tears I had involuntarily shed, and marched on and joined the company with a tolerable good grace. But on the morning of the second day news reached us that the British troops had retreated back to Boston; and on hearing this we returned home. But orders were immediately issued and officers appointed to raise recruits for a standing army for eight months. Capt. Jeremiah Clough, who was recruiting a company, solicited my brother Samⁿ and myself to join the company. My brother Samuel was very anxious to go as Orderly Sergeant, being promised that place if he would enlist; but having been just married, and moved away his wife from all her friends, he could not think of leaving her alone for the whole term. Upon which, Col^o Clough agreed with him and me that if he would join the army for six weeks, I might come down at the end of that time, & he would release him, & I should take his place as Orderly Serg^t. He accordingly enlisted, and I went on to take his place at the time stipulated. Clough, however, refused to release my brother unless I would enlist as a private, alledging that I was too young to be appointed to that office over men who were as old as my father. But he had a brother in the comp^y who was just my age whom he appointed a Sergeant who could not write, and I was compelled to enlist upon condition that I was to be exempted from other duty to do the writing for the comp^y. I continued through the campaign to do the writing and all the dutys of Orderly Ser^{gt} untill the last six weeks, so far as making out the returns, receiving the orders and all the necessary writings, when the person who claimed the rank of Orderly Serg^t very modestly hinted to me that, as I was exempted from ordinary duty & had an easy time of it, that it [would] be very proper for me, when it came to his turn to cook for the mess, that I should cook for him. Although I had frequently done this voluntarily and unasked, yet when it came to be enjoined on me as a matter of right, it wounded my pride; I told him I was never made to be a waiter to a sergeant. Upon this, he threatened to call me out on the Piquet Guard unless I

complied, but on my refusal he called me out the next day for that guard. I turned out the first man, & though in truth I spent the night very uncomfortably, yet on being asked when I returned by the Serg^t how I liked the Piquet Guard, I told him, "Very well." He then informed me that if I would continue to do the writing, he would call me on guard no more. I told him I would see him in Purgatory before I would put pen to paper for him again. From this time to the end of the campaign I experienced every degree of persecution which petty tyranny, limited as it is in the army, could inflict, both from the captain & his junto. But a few days before campaign closed, the Captain and this Sergeant had taken listing orders, & were to have commissions if they could enlist companies for the next campaign. A few days before the campaign closed Gen^{ls} Lee and Sullivan paraded the troops daily, & haranged them on the necessity of engaging in the service another year. Their eloquent appeals to their patriotism to induce them not to desert the cause and leave the forts naked and their country exposed to the ravages of an infuriated enemy, prevailed on many to turn out of their ranks and shew themselves ready to enlist under such officers as they might afterwards select. I at that time took orders and enlisted six or seven men out of Capt. Clough's company, and the day before our time expired Clough came to me, and in a very flattering manner said, "Chamberlin, I observed you turned out as a volunteer for the next campaign. I presume you wont leave my company; I should like to have you continue in it." I told him I should consider of it. The next morning, however, I paraded the men whom I had enlisted, and marched them back and forward before his tent 2 or three times, and marched them off in triumph to Col^o Stark's regiment, to the great mortification of M^r Clough, as the men which I had enlisted were most of them from the town of Canterbury, to which Capt. Clough belonged. We continued at Winter Hill untill the 18th of March, 1776, when the British evacuated the town of Boston, & on the 19th or 20th marched for Norwich in Connecticut, tarried there two days, and marched for New London, and embarked on board of sloops for New York. After sailing part of the way up the Sound, the wind shifted and blew ahead so strong we could not proceed, and we lay tossing and rolling two or three days, and were at length driven back into New London. We had at this time four companies, consisting of about 280 men on board the sloop on which I was, and being all or nearly all land lubbers, were in the most distressing seasickness the whole time. There was no eating, drinking, or sleeping, but the violent tossing of the vessel kept up as violent a pukeing, untill some seemed almost willing to be cast overboard. But after landing in New London, and continuing an hour or two, the wind shifting, we reembarked, and landed in

New York the next morning, March 29th. There we passed the time very agreeably untill the 29th day of April, when six regiments were ordered to Canada,—Stark's, Poor's, Greateon, Nixon's, Read's, and one other. We embarked in sloops for Albany, but being retarded by contrary winds, were 7 days on the passage. The latter part of the journey we left the sloop and marched on foot to Albany, tarried at Albany several days, and marched for Lake George, and embar[k]ed on board batteaux for Ticonderoga; here we tarried one or two days, and embarked for St. John's; landed at Crown Point, but tarried but an hour: we again embarked with a strong south wind, our course being northward. We sailed at a great rate for an hour or two, when the wind became boisterous; the waves were so high that forward boats were only to be seen when both were on the swell. Part of the company put ashore and encamped. Ours at length put ashore, where we lay two days on the western side of the lake. After stopping at several points and islands, we landed at St. John's on the 29th day of May, 1776. As soon as we had landed news reached us that the American fort at the Cedars on the S^t Lawrence was attacked, and volunteers were called for to march immediately for their relief. We marched the next morning for La Prairie, where we met our friends who had been captured or rather capitulated by giving up the fort on condition of their being permitted to return on parole as non-combatants for one year. They were, however, stripped almost naked by the Indians, and of every thing valuable about them.

We were then ordered across the S^t Lawrence to Montreal, and continued there two weeks; the small-pox being prevalent everywhere in the city and among the troops, we tho't it useless to try to avoid it. I observed myself the most severe regimen, abstaining from eating anything that contained grease or salt, & lived wholly on milk and water porridge & bread. This dieting was continued after we had left Montreal, and was ordered to Sorrell. After tarrying there two days, Burgoy[n]'s armada hove in sight, and we were obliged to retreat with the utmost rapidity day and night untill we arrived at Chambly Fort. In this fort a large quantity of provisions and ordnance stores had been deposited, which rendered it necessary, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy, to destroy all that we could not carry with us. But while troops were engaged in loading and towing up the boats up the falls, a large party which had been detached on another service made their appearance, and marched rapidly around the bason of Chambly towards us, which were mistaken for a party of the enemy. The troops were immediately formed to receive them, and a battle was expected, but on their nearer approach they proved to be a part of our own retreating army.

The surprise being over, the boats were loaded as deep as they could

swim with provisions and ordnance, and the fort set on fire. Every commissioned officer in the company to which I belonged had been innoculated for the small-pox, and had previously left the company for the Island Aux, and the immediate command of course devolved on me. With the assistance of four or five men I towed up two batteaux up Chambly Falls. The men went on the shore or bank of the river with a long painter or rope, and one stood in the boat with a setting pole to keep it off the bank. We arrived at St. John's just as the sun sett, and I was ordered immediately to the Island Aux. While at St John's, Gen^l, then Col^o Hazen had a large house on the opposite side of the river, which he orderd to be set on fire, and it was bur[n]ing when I left the place. We rowed up the river towards the island untill the darkness of a foggy night prevented our further progress. We landed on a point, but dared not make a fire for fear of discovery by the enemy. As soon as daylight appeard we again took to our oars, and landed at the island. When we arrived we found the island coverd with the people sick with the small-pox in its various stages, and there was no possibility of escaping the contagion; and although the officers, the whole of them in the comp^y to which I belonged, had previously been innoculated and left the comp^y for the island, yet it was not permitted to soldiers to innoculate. I took some of the infection, made an incision in my own arm with my knife, and we proceeded up the lake for Crown Point with a number of patients in the same boat, one of whom was blind with the disorder, and two or three afterwards died. Believing, as we then did, that the only method we could take to prevent the fatal effects of the disorder was to avoid eating any thing greasy or salt, although I had been upon the starving regimen for a month, I still continued it, although we had nothing provided for subsistence but salt pork and flour; there being no inhabitants at that time on the lake, it was impossible to get any other supplies, either of food or physic. I happend while at Montreal to have got some tea, but without any sweeting. I lived on this tea boiled in an open-topped tin kettle, and a cake baked on a chip made of flour, untill in about five days of hard rowing we arrived at Crown Point, or rather at Chimney Point directly opposite. Here was a scene of suffering not easy to be described, The whole of the retreating army who had not previously had the small-pox, of which there were but a very small number, not more than two in our com^y, were taken down at once with this disorder, destitute of suitable food or medicine, encamped in a tow tent on the cold ground, without any to nurse or provide for them. I was not myself, however, so sick but that I crossed the lake every other day, and drew provision for the comp^y and served it out. Although at several times my eyesight left me, and I fell down while travelling about in a kind of swoon or fainting fit, and when the news of the Declaration of Independence

reached us in the papers, my sight was so injured by the disorder that I was unable to read it more than two minutes at a time, and several of my companions entirely lost the sight of one or both their eyes. In this situation, had the British persued us immediately, little or no resistance could have been made by us, and the whole northern army must have fallen an easy prey. After recovering in some measure from this epidemic, we retreated to Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, where a stand was made and the army was reinforced by the militia of the neighbouring States. My recovery was very slow, & the health of the troops generally was far from being good. The lake air and water was very unhealthy, and the militia from Massachusetts, New Hampshire died in great numbers. From 76 men who landed at St John's, our company, on the 29 of May, 23 were dead before the 16th of November. Some time in the latter part of Aug^t or the first of September, while lingering under the effects of the climate and bad water, Serg^t Spring, now Capt. Seth Spring of Saco, Maine, and myself made an excursion across the lake, and procured some boughs of spruce with a view to make some spruce beer. We gathered a quantity of indianroot or spicknard, and with two q^{ts} of mollasses made a barrell of beer, which proved to be very good; but before we had drank up and given away the first barrell, we made another, and we sold the 2^d barrell by the mug, as every one who had drank of it was calling for more. Finding it to be in good demand, we concluded to persue the buisness. Spring was despatched to Fort George and bought two barrells of molosses, and as my duty required me always to be in camp, I hired the soldiers to bring water to my hut, procured spruce and spicknard, and with a kettle which held about 4 or 5 gallons, I boiled my spruce and roots, filld my barrells with cold water, and mixing this warm liquid with the mollosses, we produced a barrell of exellent beer, which we sold as fast as we could make for three dollars a barrell. This not only recruited my own health, but the health of almost all who used it. We made and sold from three to five barrels per diem, and at the end of six or seven weeks Spring and myself divided 300 dollars, which we had cleared by the buisness. By this time many others had engaged in the brewing, and in this way the army was generally supplied with beer, instead of bad water, which greatly recruited the emaciated army, & tended to set them on their legs. But the commanding officers thinking that the brewers made too much profit, they undertook to regulate them by appointing inspectors, & stipulating the price at which it should be sold. This, like all other attempts to regulate prices by law, did not succeed, the price being fixed so low that the brewers could make nothing by their labor, the whole was discontinued. This supply of cash opperated very much in our favor. It enabled us not only to

supply ourselves with comfortable subsistence while on our march to Pennsylvania, but to purchase us horses to ride home after our time had expired; & I have reason to believe that had it not been for this fortunate circumstance I should never have reached home. On the 16th day of Nov., about six weeks before our time was out, when we were about 120 miles from home, expecting soon to return to my friends, from whom I had been absent almost two years, we were ordered to march to Fort George at the south end of that lake, where we tarried about a week. From thence we were ordered to Albany, tarried several days, rec^d two months pay, and expected every day to be dismissed; but, to our great disappointment, on the 3^d day of December we were ordered aboard some Albany sloops to go down the Hudson to Kinston. We were crouded into a small sloop, the hold of which was half filled with rails, so that no person could stand upright. The weather being cold and boisterous, it was necessary to croud into the hold or pass the whole night on the deck. To get out of the croud I crawled forward to the bow of the vessel, and seated myself with my back against it; but the hold was soon crouded, and a row of men seated on my legs and leaning back against my body, some drunk, others spewing, others fighting and kicking those who trod upon them, so that there was no possibility of retreating from my station. Here I was compelled to pass the night without closing my eyes in worse than Egyptian darkness, amidst the stench of bilge water, drunken breaths, fighting, cursing, and prophanness, and suffered more for the same space of time than in any period of my life; and had I been awaked from sleep without knowing how I came there, I should surely have tho't myself in the infernal regions. We landed at Kingston the next day, & passed the [there?] a day or two very pleasantly among the Dutch inhabitants of Esopus. Were then ordered to march through West Jersey to Pennsylvania, the ground being frozen, our cloaths worn threadbare and many of them to rags, our shoes scarcely sufficient to keep our feet from the frozen ground without wrapping them in rags, the allowance of provision being poor, fresh beef without salt to season it. As I had money, I lived upon it without tasting the government allowance. We arrived at Newtown in Pennsylvania on the 20th or twenty-first of December, four days before the battle of Trenton. On the 25th, Christmas morning, we were paraded, and kept the field untill sunsett, when we marched for Trenton, distant 18 miles. We reached the river nine miles above Trenton, where we crossed. The anchor ice in the river so obstructed the boats that we were a long time in crossing. Marched about two o'clock for Trenton with the most profound silence. Just before sunrise our advance guard was fired on by the advanced guard of the enemy, and the battle soon commenced which lasted but a few minutes. The enemy surrendered in a body to the amount of 919 in number. I

was near the gen^l when he took possession of the standard of the enemy.

Being one of a party who went in pursuit of the party who escaped, I neither went into a house nor took any refreshment. When we got back into the town, the rear guard was just passing out with the prisoners in front of the whole. From the time we left the river the preceeding night it began to snow, and continued to snow moderately untill the attack was made; but soon after it began to rain. I had got thoroughly wet before we began our retrograde march, and the rain and half-melted snow and water was almost over shoes — our feet was drenched in water at every step. I was seized with a kind of ague fit, which lasted for half an hour. I went into an house with my teeth chattering in my head, but though my kind host made a good fire and did everything to favor me, the fire failed to warm me for some time, and I expected to have been taken down with a violent fever. After a while, however, I got warm, and made shift to get back to the ferry; here we had to stand by the river untill the prisoners were first got over. The wind by this time had shifted, and blew a keen northwestern blast which chilled me to the heart. I at length went into an house at some distance from the ferry, where was a girl which was called Miss Chamberlin. On the score of namesake I ventured to scrape acquaintance with her, and by her assistance I got a bowl of warm, fresh meat broth, which was of great service to me. I then went down to the river to wait for the boats. The ice was so thick near the shore as to bear for a rod or two. I went on the ice with a view to jump in, but it broke and let me into the river up to my waste, and the boat was filled before I could recover myself. The next boat, however, that struck I waded into the river to meet it, threw my gun into it, made leap with all my strength. I got in, and got over to a fire, but almost dead with cold and fatigue. When we got back to Newtown to headquarters, we had to shift for ourselves. The remains of our company, consisting of five or six besides myself, went back about a mile to a Dutch house, and hired a room for a week and our board untill the last day of Dec^r. I then went to the quarters of Gen. Stark, and requested a discharge for myself and men. He told me he had no orders to give a discharge, but expected he should have orders in a day or two, and we must wait. I told him that I and some others had bought horses and were there upon expense, and wished to be off the next day. He said we must wait a day or two, as he could give no discharges untill orders arrived. Finding ourselves under the neces[si]ty of waiting, Spring and one or two others, with myself, took horses and rode to Philadelphia to see this famous city, thinking we should never have another opportunity. We were absent two or three days, and when we returned the whole army had moved across the river, and left no one there that we knew, or that had any

knowledge of us. We understood that guards were place[d] at all the ferrys on the river, and no one was permitted to pass without orders.

In this situation we concluded to ride up the river untill we got above the guards. As we mounted our horses on the morning of the 3^d of Jan^y, 1777, we heard the firing both of small arms and of cannon at the battle of Princeton. We rode up the Delaware that day, and was informed that we could pass the next morning at ferry above, where there was no guards. We proceeded next morning before breakfast to this ferry; but when we arrived we found a subaltern's guard had taken possession, with orders to permit no one to cross without a pass. In this delima we had recourse to a measure which has made me tremble every time I thought of it; which, though there was no moral evil in the act, was altogether unjustifiable, if we had been detected before we could have seen Col^o Stark, who we knew would recognize it, yet we run a great risque, & we ought not to have done as we did. After taking breakfast at a tavern by the ferry, we called on the officer & showed him our pass, and he ordered us into the boat; but before we had got half way over the river the rest of our comp^y hove in sight which were travelling home on foot. We had parted with them the day before. When they saw us in the boat they came running, and beconing to us to stop. We as zealously beconed them to keep back and not expose us, as they knew we had no pass. The boatmen however kept on, and landed us on the Jersey shore; and you may presume we did not loitre long on the bank, & we were not afterward interrupted on our return home. Having got tired of the army, in the spring following purchased a hundred acres of land and went to work. I turned out a pair of young cattle which I had raised before I went to the army, and about 80 dollars, which I had saved while in the service, although my wages, and thirty or forty dollars besides, had been necessarily expended while in the service. I continued to work on the land I had purchased untill July, when the report of Gen^l St. Clair's defeat at Ticonderoga reached us, and the State of New Hampshire ordered Genl. Stark's brigade to march to Vermont in defence of the frontiers. This brigade was composed of volunteers, & by the persuasion of Capt. Scias, who commanded a comp^y of millitia in Loudon at that time, I turned out as one. Here I retained my old berth of orderly serg^t, but when we arrived at Manchester, where we tarried about a week, I did the duty of adjutant to Col^o Stickney's reg^t untill the adjutant of the millitia arrived, & was then appointed ser^t-major, but declined serving after the battle of Bennington. The quarter master was wounded and went home, and I was appointed q^r master the rest of the campaign, which was but a short time. Of course I was not commissioned.

The Hon. Mellen Chamberlain said that he had long been familiar with this letter, and that he regarded it as of considerable interest and value. He hoped it would be carefully studied by persons dealing with the events which it describes.

Since the meeting Judge Chamberlain has kindly furnished some further extracts from General Chamberlin's manuscripts, which were copied by him many years ago, and are here inserted:—

As the anniversary of the Battle of Bennington draws near, which happened on the 16th of August, 1777,—a day memorable in the annals of our Revolution,—and has been frequently celebrated as a day which was ever to be had in grateful remembrance by the inhabitants of this State, more especially by the western counties, for this signal interposition of Providence in their favor.

The victory obtained that day gave an effectual check to the ravages of an infuriated enemy, who, flushed with victory in the conquest of Ticonderoga, were marauding through the counties of Rutland and Addison, and driving the few inhabitants from their homes and plundering them of all their effects. General Burgoyne, at the head of eight or ten thousand troops, had already penetrated into the State of New York as far as Saratoga, on the Hudson, from whence he detached a body of troops, Germans, British, and Tories, and Indians, with orders to proceed to Manchester in this State, thence across the mountains to Rockingham, on Connecticut River, thence down the river to Brattleborough, and thence by the most direct route on the great road to Albany. These orders were found in the orderly book of the major of brigade, and came into the hands of the writer, being picked up on the field of battle after the officers were killed to whom it belonged. By these orders Gen^l Burgoyne explains to Col. Baum, the commander of the detachment, the object he had in view in the following words, viz.: "The object of your expedition is to try the affections of the country, to mount the Redeisel's dragoons, and to obtain large supplies of cattle, horses, and carriages. The number of horses you are to obtain must be at least 1,300." He then gives the direction for the remainder of the route as above. Thus confident was the British general of subjugating the country, and of meeting the southern British Army from New York in a few days after issuing these orders. But the victory at Bennington, though not in itself decisive, nor of great importance, yet it not only gave a complete check to the towering hopes and the depredations of the enemy, but it gave fresh courage and spirit to the militia of our almost desponding country, and caused them to rally round the standard of standing army in such numbers as to effect the capture of the whole northern army of the enemy, and secured

to the northern States an exemption from the further attacks of the enemy.

The following doggerel lines descriptive of this battle were composed and [?] a day or two after by one of the actors in this scene, as a counter-part to the vaunting British song describing the Battle of Bunker Hill. This British song was sung frequently with great glee and triumph by Tories and British agents, even in the environs of the American camp but just before the battle, in ridicule of the Yankees, to the tune of Yankee Doodle, and the following was composed and sung to the same tune by one who was an actor in the scene a day or two after the battle.

Battle of Bennington Described. A Song.

On the 16th day of August last,
'T was early in the morning,
To hold ourselves in readiness
Bold Stark he gave us warning.
By six o'clock an order came
An order for our marching
To meet our foes in their stronghold,
To rout and to dislodge them.

Chorus.

Sing Yankee Doodle's victory,
Sing Yankee Doodle Dandy.
See the Britons flee,
From Yankees see the British flee;
They left their kits quite handy.

A disposition then was form'd
To attack them on each quarter,
And men with heroic ard[or] warm'd
Rush'd on to blood and slaughter;
For although the cannons loud did roar
And the grape shot flew like hailstones,
We storm'd their works and made them fly
And quit their former stations.

Sing Yankee, &c.

Brave Col^o Nichols on the right
Behaved very gallant,
And Col^o Stickney on the left
Display'd his martial talents;
For through a hot incessant fire
Both from small arms & cannon
We rushed on and forced them
The ground for to abandon.

Sing Yankee, &c.

Seven hundred prisoners with their arms,
 Baggage, and ammunition,
 Then fell into our conquering hands
 And made a full submission.
 Besides upon the battle ground,
 Slain in this mortal duel,
 Two hundred carcasses we found,
 The prey of death so cruel.

Sing Yankee Doodle's victory, &c.

But while our soldiers busied were
 Securing prisoners taken,
 They being strongly reenforc'd,
 We found them towards us making.
 Brave Warner then with corps reserve
 Gave them a warm reception,
 And quickly made them retrograde
 With great precipitation.

Chorus.

Sing Yankee Doodle's victory,
 Sing Yankee Doodle Dandy.
 From Yankee Doodles Britons flee;
 We see them make the sand fly.

But Night her sable curtain spread,
 And our pursuit prevented,
 Or otherwise we sure had made
 Their coward hearts relented;
 For had bright Sol delayed his race
 And shin'd an hour longer,
 We'd taken and kill'd them in the chace
 Had they been three times stronger.

Sing Yankee Doodle's victory, &c.

New Hampshire boys this victory won,
 Which does them lasting honour,
 Commanded by Gen'l Stark
 And the intrepid Col^o Warner.
 And sure we'll [?] for liberty
 With How or Alexander,
 And never fear the face of clay,
 If Stark be our commander.

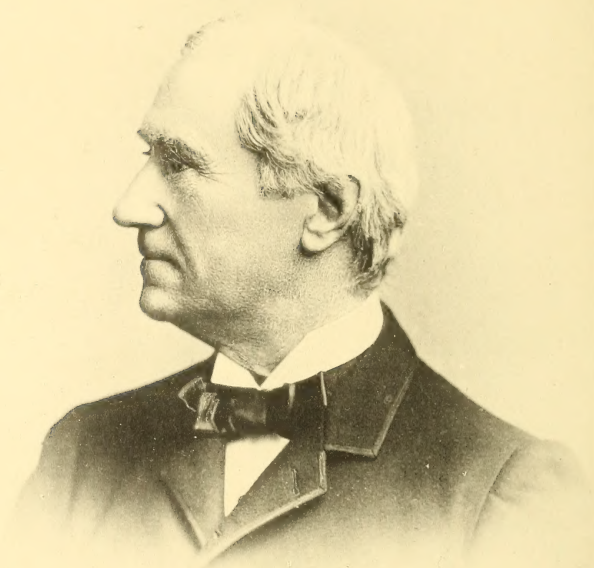
And now my verse is nearly clos'd;
 And to conclude my story,
 'T was Heaven that kindly interpos'd,
 And crown'd the day with glory.

Our officers and men all fought
With bravery and spirit;
Their active services that day
Immortal honors merit.

Chorus.

Mr. JOSIAH P. QUINCY communicated the memoir of the late Rev. Octavius B. Frothingham, which he had been appointed to prepare for publication in the Proceedings.

A new serial was on the table for distribution, containing the proceedings at the January and February meetings.



Yours sincerely

T.B. Frothingham

MEMOIR
OF
OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM,
BY J. P. QUINCY.

MORE than half a century ago, the writer of this Memoir, then a school-boy, was present in the King's Chapel on a certain Sunday when Dr. N. L. Frothingham ascended the narrow stairway that leads from the reading-desk to the pulpit. He was a preacher who always compelled attention by a sumptuousness of manner as well as by the fresh force that he frequently struck into familiar language. If his speech occasionally ran into the over-emphasis of the elocutionist, it was to him a natural utterance, and at times gave familiar words a felicitous lift to a higher plane of meaning. There are petitions in the Litany of which I can feel the full force only by remembering how Dr. Frothingham used to read them. On the Sunday referred to, the preacher announced one of those out-of-the-way texts that he was fond of selecting: *The Lord shut him in*. To few readers of the Biblical account of the deluge will this statement present itself as one of those five-word-long jewels of whose perennial sparkle the poet assures us; but the emphasis upon the second word, and the sudden springing of the bolt that was suggested by the rapid, metallic utterance of those that followed it, left a ringing in my ears that is yet distinct. The sermon which followed is irrecoverable from the subliminal consciousness held by modern psychology to be the capacious waste-basket of lapsed sensations. But what might well have been the purport of a discourse preached from that scripture to the King's Chapel congregation of the day, easily suggests itself. It might have been a reminder that we were shut in, doubtless by divine appoint-

ment, to a very limited field of responsibility, and that our duty consisted in cultivating whatever was graceful, beautiful, and of good report within that contracted area. Members of the sect to which Dr. Frothingham belonged were then the leading influences in cultivated Boston society, which was not surpassed in propriety, refinement, and intellect by any society in the world. These prominent men deserved whatever encomium is conferred by the familiar term "Christian gentlemen," — and it is scarcely worth while to recollect that the substantive sometimes limits the adjective, or that the expression would be decidedly inadequate if applied to Paul or Augustine, to Latimer or Wesley.

"All this, brother, and Heaven too!" was the exclamation of one of these genial Boston divines upon entering the exquisitely appointed library of a fellow-minister. And why not? All seemed stable and quiet; the Whig party, with Webster for its prophet, if not infallible, could not go far astray; the distant rumble of agitation — whose roar is now forever in our ears — was countenanced by no respectable person, and would soon be quieted. The government of the world, as taught in the home and Sunday-school, accorded more nearly with human notions of propriety than many of us have since found it. The infinitely complex action and reaction of things, involving to our eyes so much indiscriminating cruelty, admitted of a simple and satisfactory explanation. Paley's teleology was then as rational as it is always attractive. Did a frosty night snap one's water-pitcher (the illustration is taken from the sermon of an eminent Unitarian divine), the circumstance "called for an adoring acknowledgment of that all-pervading design which departed from its own method by causing water to expand at the moment of congelation." It is doubtful whether we have gained much by the more Darwinian reflection that the incident might now occasion; a wrench from customary thought is never agreeable, though it may prove ultimately advantageous. No doubt the society in which this honorable phase of Unitarianism was a leading factor had advantages over that which has succeeded it. Knowledge, if limited, was surer, — as there was not so much to be known. There was thorough and repeated reading of the best literature, and time to assimilate it. This resulted in a standard of conversation from which we have grievously

fallen away, and for which the listening to a paper read by a specialist, with a sequent liberty to ask him questions, is no substitute. The family reading on Sunday was the Bible, followed by works of the character of Law's *Serious Call* or Jeremy Taylor's sermons, with perhaps an allowance of poetry of no lighter character than the *Paradise Lost*; and this has not been profitably exchanged for scattered and unrelated fragments of information that may be picked out of a mammoth newspaper. It remains to be said that the representative men of the sect which then stood for the extreme of liberalism would have been shocked at utterances that have since been heard from the Episcopal pulpit, and doubtless would have considered Cardinal Manning's championship of the London dockers a highly unclerical proceeding. Into such an environment as has been faintly indicated, Octavius Brooks Frothingham, the third son of Nathaniel Langdon Frothingham and his wife Ann Gorham Brooks, was born November 26, 1822; but, as will be seen, he was not shut in by it.

Dr. Frothingham the father was a man of taste and feeling, and a part of all that was best in the city. His son's "*Recollections and Impressions*," published in 1891, give a charming picture of his personality. A delicately organized man, happy in temperament as well as in his clerical occupation, and appreciative of the social position that then went with it. He loved the warmth and color of sentiment, was easily moved by the flow of eloquence and the attractions of a vivid, dramatic style. He was so captivated by the brilliant manner of Macaulay, for example, that he did not care to criticise his philosophy. He read the works of Carlyle with pleasure, though his sympathies were as strongly conservative as were those of his neighbors Ticknor and Prescott, to whom he was bound by all the ties of elegant scholarship. He was universally respected, and passed his uneventful days in a round of ministerial duties which were not so arduous as to deprive him of precious hours in his library in companionship with the great writers of all countries and times.

His mother, in the mind of her son, was associated with the sincerity, kindness, and simplicity that are the best graces of woman. Her household cares -- which included the nurture

of seven children, parish calls, and missions among the poor — filled her days. Her religious faith was of the heart, creeds being affairs of criticism with which she did not concern herself. She cared nothing for decoration or display, and was fond of the solid things in furniture, though their fashion had gone by. She had a passion for practical accomplishments, and did a good woman's work in the somewhat contracted sphere to which she was confined.

Short courses of primary instruction fitted young Frothingham for such education as was then furnished at the Boston Latin School. This was no doubt good of its kind, but the kind was grimly classical. One precious year, as I remember, was devoted to memorizing the Latin Grammar, and resulted in the fluent rattling off of long lists of exceptions to its incomprehensible rules. This accomplishment many of us, in after life, would have willingly exchanged for information bearing more directly upon the existence we were to enter upon in the sad, post-classical period wherein our lots had been cast. But the minister's son was apt at his books, and doubtless received from them whatever light they were capable of shedding upon his path. He confesses, however, that the best part of his education came from the atmosphere of elegant literature which surrounded him out of school hours. Ticknor, Prescott, and Hillard were familiar friends of the father, and the advent of still fresher inspiration was suggested by the young law student, Charles Sumner, as he strode along the Boston streets, and by Ralph Waldo Emerson as he radiated his serene ideas at the family dinner-table. A neighbor, Daniel Webster, frequently passed the house, looking like "the embodiment of the Constitution, the incarnation of Law, the black locomotive of the train of civilization."

Then came in natural sequence Harvard College, with its distinguished teaching corps of Longfellow, Felton, Lovering, Peirce, Walker, Beck, and others of inferior note. There were neither athletics nor boating to distract attention from the intellectual pursuits of the place, and Boston was not so temptingly accessible as at present. Physical exercise was generally confined to walking, with an occasional swim in Charles River.

"He was a close and conscientious student," writes a classmate, "and was one of the first eight in the class. But he was far from being a

mere 'dig,' and gave and took his full share of social enjoyment. He sang favorite songs with capital effect, and there were very few genial occasions of the A Δ Φ, or other undergraduate festivities, that he did not set the table in a roar by a ballad called 'Hamlet,' or delighted us more soberly by singing Dickens's song of the 'Ivy Green.' He was bright and cordial in his manners, always greeting you with a smile. This delightful cordiality of demeanor he retained to the last time I saw him."

It had been assumed that young Frothingham would enter the clerical profession. It was a scholarly calling. Men of exceptional ability like Everett, Bancroft, and Palfrey had entered it, and found it a convenient stepping-stone to the wider careers they afterwards adorned. The pulpit still preserved some of the aristocratic aroma that it so abundantly enjoyed in the earlier days of New England. The Divinity School attached to the College was considered unsectarian by those within its enclosure, and something resembling the reverse of this by those who were not. It gave instruction in ecclesiastical history, natural theology, pastoral duty, and the composition of sermons,—but sermons written within the limits of Unitarianism were alone contemplated. Orthodoxy was held to have made its fight and surrendered; but, perhaps out of courtesy to the vanquished, conservative methods of Biblical interpretation were alone countenanced, and the wolf of "free thinking" must do his prowling distinctly on the outside of the sheepfold. Hebrew was the sole language studied,—it being assumed that the long years of school and college so largely devoted to the study of Greek had imparted a knowledge of that tongue which would suffice for the reading of the New Testament. No "experience of religion" was required for admittance to the semi-monastic life of Divinity Hall. Then, as now, there was a weekly prayer-meeting, and the students were cautioned against "excessive intellectualism." The instructors were men of zeal and ability, and the atmosphere of the place was cheerful. The *via media* between the Orthodoxy of Andover and the Rationalism of Germany had been discovered, and nothing remained but to walk therein with steady and grateful steps.

Of his life in the Divinity School I have two notices, both characteristic. This is from Colonel T. W. Higginson:—

"Frothingham and I were not intimate, not being classmates, but I remember that after some discussion at a public meeting, whether Theodore Parker was entitled to the Christian name or not, Frothingham and I met in the woodshed whither we went for our fuel, and I said that I did not see why any one who regarded Jesus Christ as a man should care to call himself by the Christian name; that each man should be content to stand as an individual thinker without a label; upon which he said, 'That is the way I view it; *I am perfectly willing to be called a Frothinghamian.*' This illustrates his character as exhibited even at that time, when he was classed as a conservative. His so-called conservatism was, I think, only a matter of temperamental caution, with no real narrowness and not a trace of worldliness. He was personally intimate with Johnson and Longfellow, who were the radicals of his class, and much the most gifted and cultivated men in it; they called each other by their Christian names, I remember, and he wrote hymns for their Book of Hymns."

The following incident comes from a Christian minister whose life has been spent in efficient work among those most needing the comfort of religious support. He has preferred to write in the third person: —

"In the Divinity School at Cambridge, and in the same class with Mr. Frothingham, was a young man who had inherited the creed of the Calvinistic branch of the Church. He began to doubt. After months of investigation he found himself not only outside the limits of that creed, but emphatically outside of Christianity itself. The very God in whom he had believed failed him, and this notwithstanding the most earnest desire to know the truth. Having a profound respect for Mr. Frothingham's mental ability and loyalty to his conviction, he went to him with the living question, 'What are the evidences of the existence of God?' The inquiry was met by an order to leave the room. Having suffered no little social coolness on account of his changing views, the questioner attributed the command to a sense of shocked reverence, and consequently wrote a note of apology. This at once elicited an answer in the most courteous and cordial spirit. From that time Mr. Frothingham showed to this young man the utmost kindness, and on one or two occasions the most generous consideration. No one can have a fuller appreciation of both the head and heart of Mr. Frothingham than he of whom this incident is related. It may be added that he soon found the Father, and that his life has been made joyous in serving his children."

At the end of the three years' course of study came the trial sermon preached in the village church. Edward Everett was

present; he was at that time President of the College, and always an expert in whatever pertained to pulpit oratory. He spoke cordially of his nephew's performance, and advised him to adopt his own former practice of committing his sermons to memory. Then the diploma was awarded, and the candidate known as a young man with conservative ideas was received into the simple fellowship of the Unitarian body of Christian believers. "The old," he tells us, "commended itself by its venerableness, the solidity of its traditions, and the authority of its great names, while the new was still vague and formless. I then and there decided to follow in the footsteps of my fathers,—a course more in sympathy with the prevailing temper of the age, and with the current of thought at Divinity Hall, though Emerson had delivered his address some years before, and the New Jerusalem was even then coming down from Heaven." But for all this, there is a curious bit of evidence that he was already moved by the anti-slavery agitation which disturbed so many placid relationships. Among his papers is the copy of a hymn written for the anti-slavery fair, to which he has affixed the date July 4, 1846. There are eight stanzas, of which the first three, on the whole the best, will give a sufficient estimate of the composition:—

" God of the Free, whose mighty hand
Delivered us from English Kings;
In whose high name this growing Land
Her gathering notes of Triumph sings,—

" Be patient with us in our shame;
Forgive us, Father, that 'Thy race'
Can still that sacred title claim,
And sully it before Thy face.

" Oh, touch our whitening lips with flame,
Oh, smite our hard hearts with Thy rod;
That we may dare to speak Thy name,
That we may dare to call Thee God."

On the 10th of March, 1847, Mr. Frothingham became the settled pastor of the North Church in Salem, Massachusetts; and, thirteen days after, a still more memorable event influenced his life. This was his marriage to Miss Caroline E. Curtis, daughter of a well-known and respected citizen of Boston. The period of preparation was passed, and what

remained of existence, suffused by the glow of affection in the happiest of human relations, was to be devoted to such practical ends as conscience might approve and circumstances indicate.

Salem, before the present century had accomplished its half, preserved many of the characteristics of an old Colonial town. It was a shady, quiet corner of this bustling earth, with a reminiscence of better days in its atmosphere. There were still old-fashioned shops where a bell jingled an alarm when a customer passed the threshold. There were doors opening upon the street, half of wood and half of glass, and capable of division in the middle, after the common usage of earlier days. There stood the mansions of the merchants, embodying all that to the time seemed admirable in comfort and stateliness. Upon this respectable background there moved an intellectual society, with something of stiffness in its good-breeding, and a feeling that candidates for its favor should show undoubted grandfathers.

The first years of the new ministry passed pleasantly enough. The claims of the parish were not exacting, and there was time for study and recreation. There were interesting people in the congregation, and agreeable friends were made among those who attended other churches. Social meetings were numerous and animated; the women were bright and well posted in current literature. The outlook was placid and prosperous. Pulpit service, acceptably rendered on the line of accepted beliefs, should produce pleasant vibrations that keep body and mind in healthy exercise, and give all that a majority of us require of life. That North Church might have sent its call to many men adapted to its conditions, and able to persist in them till the years ended their work with a laudatory obituary. But it had summoned a minister sensitive to the *Zeitgeist*, and with courage to follow any path it might indicate.

The anti-slavery agitation, to which the young preacher had already contributed, soon began to array society in hostile camps. Every one was exhorted to choose his side in the contest, and hard blows were given as the opposing forces dashed together. The Abolitionists denounced the Union as "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell," and pelted with bitter personalities those to whom its preservation

was a paramount consideration. Their leaders were men of spotless lives and noble aspirations, who had, or seemed to have, the New Testament, as well as all the watchwords of Democracy upon their side. They exercised the magnetism that men of ability will always exercise who are devoted to one idea, provided that idea is consonant with the highest ethics humanity can reach.

"It was a period of passionate war," says Mr. Frothingham in his "Recollections." "In every department of the Church and State the irrepressible conflict went on. It was no time for the calm voice of the loving spirit of Wisdom to be heard. It was no time to propose that the local laws respecting slavery should be remodelled, and the relations between whites and blacks readjusted on more equitable principles. The science of anthropology had no weight in America or anywhere else. No exhaustive study of race peculiarities could be entered on. The combatants had the whole field, and between the combatants there seemed to be no room for choice by a minister of the Gospel, an enthusiastic friend of humanity, a democrat, and a transcendentalist."

The above sentences, written in the decline of life, show a conception of a more conservative position which could not at that time be realized. A man whose name has gone into American history had pointed out the thing to be done could the North have accepted the proposition with the practical unanimity with which it supported the Civil War. In 1844 Joseph Smith, the prophet of the Mormon church, declared that Congress should be compelled by petitions from all the free States to pay for the slaves from the proceeds of sales from the public lands; and eleven years later Ralph Waldo Emerson indorsed this proposal as "in accordance with the interest of the South and the conscience of the North." But this wise plan of settlement met with no adequate response; other methods were preferred, at what terrible cost we all know. Yet even so, something ennobling would have been missed out of many New England lives; and this, to quote again from the "Recollections," would have been "an education in the broadest faith, in which dogma, creed, form, and rite were secondary to love; and love was not only universal but warm." Thus it came to pass that the pastor of the Salem church laid his gifts upon the anti-slavery altar, ready to accept whatever penalties might follow this act of devotion. He was then, and ever after, a transcendentalist, though he

subsequently supposed himself to be free of that philosophy. He came to repudiate the name, but never limited his thought to the confines of experience: mind was to him more than the synthesis of biological functions.

A bronchial affection, the result of six years of parish duty, rendered advisable a vacation under other skies. The summer and autumn of 1853 were passed by Mr. Frothingham in Europe; he went alone and reluctantly, although capable of enjoying in the highest way all that such a visit implies. The route was the usual one, comprising something of England and Scotland, and then Holland, the Rhine, Switzerland, and the wonderful cities of Italy. Experiences in these places are fully chronicled in an admirable series of letters. The vulgarized Europe of the tourist appears through a charming haze of individual temperament and refined sensibility. The limits of this memoir will admit only a few extracts indicating something of the personal angle from which the observations were made. It is fair to say that they give no adequate impression of the delightful mingling of description, fancy, and reverie found in the letters from which they are taken.

"Liverpool agreeably disappoints me in that it is a large, handsome city with broad streets and noble buildings here and there. It looks as if it were made for wear, and yet there is an architectural finish upon most of the houses that surprises me. Everything is solid, — everything, both mean and great. The dwellings of the miserable look sadly permanent. The very shanties do not appear evanescent like ours. The lanes and alleys are paved, as if they were to be lanes and alleys forever. A one-legged beggar with his hat off stood in the same spot, in the same position, with the same expression of countenance all yesterday afternoon, and had probably been standing so all the morning, and is doubtless standing so still. Everything is permanent. People all say that Liverpool is black and smoky. I am not struck with that, but I *am* struck by the many streets that look solitary and forsaken, and the many that are dark with poverty, and by the old deep shadow of wretchedness that falls on me everywhere, whether I walk or stand still. I have seen women cursed and smitten on the sidewalk by men, and weary girls kicked into the gutter by brutal cab-drivers, and little ragged boys following the passers-by clamoring for a penny. This I have seen, and it has struck me because I saw it all in the course of an hour's stroll along the main street, and I am sorry indeed to say that the brighter side of all this did not appear to my eyes. These were sorrows, but I have had joys too. In particular this day has been one

of excitement and delight. In the first place I—even I—have listened twice to the preaching of James Martineau, nay, more, have taken him by the hand, nay, further still, am to take the cars with him and his family for Chester and Wales to-morrow.”

“In England everything which is not city is country, the land being in the hands of a few large proprietors who ornament but do not people it. Hence England’s rural beauty; hence, too, her evils many. I could not help feeling, while driving through her delicious plains, that Nature smiled at the expense of man’s tears. Were this land cultivated by freeholders, it would be clotted with villages like our own at home. Now the apparent difference between an English and a New England farmer is almost as great as that between a brute and a man.”

“The Cathedral of Cologne! how beautiful! Were it only finished it would be the wonder of the world. Nothing that I have seen compares with it. Even the Minster at York is small and imperfect beside it. The miserable humbugs in the shape of the ‘Three Kings’ whose skulls are done up in jewels and gold, and the other absurd and tawdry relics cannot mar its incomparable beauty. So far as it is finished, it is the perfection of Gothic architecture. But it is so far from being finished. Not a single one of the towers is by any means completed; one is scarcely begun. The nave is but half built, and it is wholly unroofed, and as you follow up the superb columns within, after aspiring two hundred feet, you come upon an unsightly ceiling of rude woodwork. The work still goes on. Three hundred men daily are employed upon the structure, and hundreds of thousands a year are spent upon it. The King of Prussia makes a large annual appropriation, and from other quarters princely and miscellaneous funds come in: the fees exacted by Gaspar, Melchier, and Balthazar, which are not small, go to swell the amount of contributions; and besides all this little boxes for donations are placed in conspicuous parts of the church soliciting silently the visitors for gold and silver. Into these receptacles fell no coin of mine. Not, you will believe me, because I grudge the groschen, but upon principle. I love architecture, and Gothic architecture such as this my soul delights in. I love towers and arches, the fluted column and fretted roof; but I love a simple faith more. These magnificent buildings, above anything else, perpetuate the pride and pomp of a stupendous and brilliant imposition. They make imposing and gorgeous the ritual of the world’s most idolatrous worship. And when I look on the ignorant famishing people, on the crafty well-fed priests, I think I would rather behold the ruins of this majestic cathedral than its perfect beauty. Once a pure sentiment

of worship moved the mountains, and piled the wrought stones one upon another. Now it is done by a false reverence for the past or by a miserable love of display. Once it was a noble, self-denying, and godly deed for barons and kings and wealthy nobles and fervent bishops to consecrate their revenues to the building of God's House instead of investing them in munitions of war; but that time has gone by, and religion demands now that men should put their money to other uses. It is not a noble or self-denying thing for a modern king to give his hundred thousand thalers a year towards building up an old temple for fame's sake while his people want education and bread. And it would be a very absurd thing for a young American, with sentiments like mine, and feelings such as those I entertain, to be giving his earnings to enrich and beautify buildings like this."

"I often stop and ask myself whether all this journeying is going to profit. I hope it is, but really cannot see how. In health I believe I am better; in spirits certainly I have improved. But whether my mind is refreshed or enlarged yet remains an unsettled problem. I do my best to improve; but a travelling life is of necessity a hurried, thoughtless life, a life of amusement and of novelty to the senses more than of substantial benefit. Truly I cannot comprehend how a person can justify himself in spending many months in such a way, nor how, having once been to Europe, he should desire to repeat the experience."

During the Salem pastorate came what Mr. Frothingham calls "the crisis in belief." He had come under the influence of Theodore Parker, and there followed an intimacy with that remarkable man which deflected a career from the path that had been marked out for it. It was a new education to receive the beams emanating from this warm personality, to feel the enormous force of his goodness, to be lifted to the level of his strenuous efforts in the service of humanity. His articles of faith — for which he offered no better evidence than he conceived to exist for the faiths of others — could not to-day be accepted, as he expressed them, by any one of half his intellectual vigor. His new reformation, if as much needed as that of Luther, was, in many of its aspects, quite as illogical. Granting the most fundamental of the ecclesiastical premises, — and Parker did grant them heartily, — the argument of Butler's Analogy, if not conclusive, is certainly impressive. Yet after knocking away their customary supports, this stalwart minister proclaimed, as it were *ex cathedra*, his

splendid assumptions of the personality and fatherhood of the Infinite, of the persistent existence of the individual, and of the absoluteness of the moral law. Of these ideas he made living powers, though he could never give any process of reasoning by which he had come by them. His influence upon Mr. Frothingham, as upon others, was of that personal kind which communicates a tremendous moral impetus to those sensitive to its touch. Attention was directed to books which threw a flood of light upon the difficulties of the New Testament. Schwegler and Baur, founder of the so-called Tübingen School, were then in vogue. The "Theologische Jahrbücher," the organ of the Professor of Historical Theology, was imported from Germany and faithfully studied. This ended in the adoption of what seemed a firmer basis for the higher aspirations of our race. The mild tenets of the Unitarians were discarded, but only to make a more rigorous affirmation of the religious needs of man. The new position is thus given in the "Recollections": —

"I contended that man had a spiritual nature; that this nature, on coming to the consciousness of its powers and needs, gave expression to exalted beliefs, clothing them with authority, building them into temples, ordaining them in the form of ceremonies and priesthoods. In support of this opinion, appeal was made to the great religions of the world; to the substantial agreement of all sacred books; to the spontaneous homage paid in all ages to saints and prophets; to the essential accord of moral precepts all over the globe; to the example of Jesus; to the Beatitudes and Parables; to the respect given by rude people to the noblest persons; to the credences that inspire multitudes; to the teachings of Schleiermacher, Fichte, Constant, Cousin, Carlyle, Goethe, Emerson, — in fact, to every leading writer of the last generation. All this was so beautiful, so consistent and convincing, so full of promise, so broad, plain, and inspiring, that, with a fresh but miscalculated enthusiasm, over-sanguine, thoughtless, the young minister undertook to carry his congregation with him, but without success; so he went elsewhere. This action proceeded from the faith that Parker instilled. Parker was pre-eminently, to those who comprehended him, a believer."

Little can be added to this frank statement. A change in conviction necessitated, in some sort, a change in the purpose of life. The young minister now found himself charged with the message that a Divine inspiration, acting through the reason and conscience of man, was as natural as the blood

that coursed in his veins, and quite as independent of his intellectual opinions. The pulpit was no longer to be distinguished from the broad platform of human brotherhood; the fervor, the eloquence, the scholarship lately given to one of many religions, must now be put to the service of Religion, comprehensive and universal.

But Mr. Frothingham's zeal in the anti-slavery cause was alone sufficient to bring his Salem ministry to a close. There had been a memorable scene in Boston, attending the return of a slave to his master. Intense indignation was excited by the surrender, which was, nevertheless, approved by a large part of the North Church congregation, as a necessary homage to the majesty of law. Thinking that during such a state of feeling the service of the communion would be a mockery, the pastor declined to take part in the administration of that ordinance. This brought the growing discontent to a climax. Separation was inevitable; and the minister accepted a call to Jersey City, there to organize a society where any word might be spoken, so it came from one of intellectual competency and honest life.

In the spring of 1855 Mr. Frothingham found the suburb of New York known as Jersey City substantially rural in its character. There were pleasant meadows and broad avenues, and these made it a desirable residence for well-to-do persons, who were ferried to the metropolis to pass their hours of business. Much of the cultivation for which wealth gives the opportunity was there to be found; and the meeting-house built for the new society was dedicated to a large and liberal faith. The chief peculiarity of the ministry now inaugurated was the disuse of the communion service. In Salem the observance of this rite had been found "formal, dry, short, and tiresome." To the majority of the society it was "a mystical ceremony with which they had no concern," while in some of the minority it was thought to encourage "a dangerous kind of self-righteousness." In the new society this "last attenuation of the Roman sacrament of transubstantiation" was dropped as an illogical adjunct to the liberal faith. But the criticism, as we are told in the "Recollections," applied only to the rite as it was then administered in Unitarian churches. He had attended an Episcopal communion service where "the invitation was large and inclusive, comprehending everybody

who, though far off, looked to the light, -- everybody who had the least glimmer of divine radiance." He acknowledges that a symbol often goes farther than an argument, and believes that one so ancient and consecrated should be preserved. "A friend of mine," he says, "included all religious teachers in his commemoration. This was a step in the right direction; but if the people are not ready for this yet, they may welcome an extension of the reign of spiritual love among disciples whom theological hatred has kept apart."

As it had been discovered that Theodore Parker was too rare a man to be confined to a little church in West Roxbury, so it became evident that the minister most nearly resembling him in ability and theological outlook must be brought nearer to the centre of things. Devoted hearers had journeyed from New York to attend the services of the Jersey church, and the word was passed that its pastor was wanted where the influence of his preaching could produce a maximum of effect. There was a desire for a third Unitarian society in the great metropolis; and as the former sectarian connection had never been distinctly repudiated, Mr. Frothingham was called to assume its pastorate. And so began those twenty years of mature and devoted service that made him a prominent figure among the clergy of New York. He was to come conspicuously to the front as the much-abused, much-loved, courageous worker upon religious lines. He was to be widely known as the eloquent protester against the defective liberality of the sect in which he had been nurtured, as the fearless advocate of unpopular reformations, and as the herald of a day when Science and Religion should work together in the service of man.

The society first met in Ebbit Hall, and it was not till three years after that a church was built for its reception. The Unitarian ministers of the city refused to attend its dedication, and in 1865, when the National Conference of Unitarian and other Christian churches was formed, Mr. Frothingham decided that he could not accept the terms of its fellowship. In the spring of 1869 the church was sold to another congregation. The acoustic properties of the building were not favorable, and it was felt that the peculiar work of the preacher could be better done if freed from all suspicion of ecclesiasticism. Certain persons whose presence it was desir-

able to secure were repelled by architectural display when employed as a stimulant to devotion. It were well that the break with Unitarianism should be formally recognized. A removal was made to Lyric Hall on the Sixth Avenue, and the society thereafter called itself The Independent Liberal Church.

The congregation was composed of all sorts and conditions of men; there were Unitarians and Universalists who had chafed within the limits of their respective folds, Spiritualists, come-outers, and miscellaneous unbelievers who could not be classified. Agencies were devised to carry the contagion caught from the pulpit into the moral and intellectual development of the week. A club was organized in connection with the society, where the reading of papers, followed by critical or approving comments of listeners, stimulated the imagination or fired the ideals of young people who have since made their mark in the world. There was a meeting for children on Sunday afternoon, and a special service for their use was prepared by the pastor. Lyric Hall during the week was used for dancing, and in 1875 there was a final removal to the Masonic Temple, which offered more spacious accommodation, fixed seats, and a good organ. The form of service scarcely varied from that of the Unitarian churches; the exercises, however, were more comprehensive in their character, and the scriptures of the older religions were as freely used as the Christian Bible. It was hoped to make every form of intellectual conviction conduce to the building up of character as well as to the sustaining of a high spiritual faith.

The ministry in New York ended in the spring of 1879. The physical force of the preacher had been exhausted by arduous labor; the mental power remained, but could no longer control the instrument of expression. Much work had been done outside the requirements of the parish, and it was necessary that rest be sought from the intellectual strain of twenty years of unbroken service. But the beloved pastor was requested to withdraw the resignation which infirmities at length forced him to tender. There was a hope that a year of rest in Europe might restore him to the service of the Liberal Church his exertions had created. A touching farewell was given by members of the society at the Union League Theatre. It was a magnificent testimonial from the

human lives that had been made better and purer, from the human hearts that had gone out to Mr. Frothingham as to their friend and comforter. Among the speakers were George W. Curtis, E. C. Stedman, T. W. Higginson, Samuel Longfellow, and Joseph May. Letters were read from R. W. Emerson, O. W. Holmes, William Lloyd Garrison, and others scarcely less known and respected. The pamphlet containing what was said or written upon that occasion is inspiring reading to-day; it is a noble and just recognition by the competent of services such as a man of exceptional gifts and of exceptional zeal to put them to the highest use is able to give the world.

The work accomplished in that fifth of a century of brilliant life cannot here be given in adequate detail. It is little to say that he was a refined yet forcible orator. That would feebly express the impression made by the strong yet graceful figure, by the penetrating quality of the blue-gray eyes. It would convey nothing of the spirit that went into "those marvellous discourses, every sentence containing an epigram, an image, a thought, a noble sentiment." The quoted words are those of Mr. E. C. Stedman, not a man to use language carelessly or gush into over-statement. His parishioner, Judge George C. Barrett of New York, after speaking of Mr. Frothingham's fulness of thought and keen analysis, declares that "what appealed to the judicial mind was his controversial fairness. He invariably understated the facts upon which his own position rested, while he gave full and adequate expression to the adversary's argument." The sense of equity was strong in his nature. However provoking the antagonist, I cannot find that he ever returned a blow of questionable fairness, — something that can scarcely be said of Phillips, Garrison, or Parker.

The side turned to the children of the society was singularly warm and sunny. His sympathetic insight penetrated to their needs, and he touched them at many points with a beneficent influence. He had the gift of impression; and the upward impulse given to young lives is to-day bearing abundant fruit. His Sunday-school books are delightfully simple and attractive; they scarcely leave the familiar lines of instruction. What he says of the privilege of prayer, the benefit of church-going, the duty of obedience to the teachings of Jesus, might be incorporated in any orthodox manual. The truth as he

would present it to the mature must be given to the weak imperfectly, and clothed in a temporary form. If a circle is to be shown in perspective, it must be drawn as an ellipse. That a man occupying his radical position seems to have seen this so clearly, is worthy of notice. A lady who received her early religious instruction from Mr. Frothingham, thus expresses herself: —

“The children learned to love and reverence him at Sunday-school, but not only there. To one young life at least, and one in such relations is but a sign of more, he was the inspiration of every day. The walk to Sunday-school with him crowned the week; the delight of taking a note to his house or of going there without a pretext stands out like gleams of light against the background of dim years gone by. It was the usual thing to ask no question of the maid who opened his door; and this privilege must have originated in his gracious understanding of childhood, to run breathless up the one flight that led to his study door, always open, and then, with almost reverent care, to steal in and see whether he were standing and writing at his high desk, and if he were, to wait until he was ready with the welcome that always came. There to wander among the books that lined the wall to the ceiling, and to borrow, with his wise permission, and take home to read, books that seemed doubly worth the reading because they were his. When he was away, a note scribbled and left on his table must often have made him smile. His smile never hurt, even when the maiden of fourteen asked for Mill's ‘Subjection of Women.’ ‘Why do you want that, child?’ The child confessed that she had a benighted friend of her own age who was unable to understand Mill, and she wished to read her this particular essay, and ‘explain it’ to her. ‘You must tell me about it afterwards,’ he said, with perfect sympathy — though the smile that twinkled through the sympathy is more apparent now than it was then.”

William von Humboldt excludes from the definition of language, the distinguishing characteristic of man, everything but actual speech. The conventional sign of it that we find in books is little more than an embalmed mummy from which the spirit has departed. There is no printed substitute for the life of inflection and emphasis imparted by a living personality. Bearing this in mind, while reading a random selection from the thirteen hundred and eleven sermons prepared by Mr. Frothingham, I cannot deny him a place among the memorable preachers of our century. Discourses so carefully studied, so

acute and delicate in criticism, so saturated with the upward aspiration of a devout soul, were in themselves no mean outcome of a total life-work. Most of them were given during the New York ministry; many of these were published in pamphlet-form and circulated in Europe as well as largely throughout the West. The great dailies began to report him in full; they found that the public they addressed wished to know what this vigorous and original teacher had to say. Strangers of intelligence who visited the city would not leave it without hearing him. Newspaper correspondents and writers for the weekly press endeavored to represent the general effect of his services. From one of the latter it may be well to quote an impression given in 1875:—

“Lyric Hall on Sixth Avenue, opposite Reservoir Park, is chiefly known as the meeting-place of an independent religious congregation of which Octavius Brooks Frothingham is the minister. Its entrance suggests concerts and entertainments of various kinds. Ascending the broad stairway, you enter a long narrow audience room, tastefully painted and frescoed, with seats close together facing a raised platform with a small desk upon it, which is usually covered on Sunday with expressive flowers. The room fills very rapidly. Most people seem to know each other. They have cheerful, earnest, intelligent faces, with a certain alertness and expectancy in countenance and air, as though they came to hear something and not to show their clothes. There is an organ voluntary, and still the people come in, some five or six hundred of them. Presently a man, spare but elegant in figure, of medium height, with thin earnest finely chiselled face, small gray eyes, full brow, and iron-gray hair, apparently fifty years old, appears on the platform and takes his seat. The people look at each other with a significantly pleased expression which seems to say, ‘He has come.’ The choir has sung, and he rises with a gravity and dignity you hardly expect; with a face which seems as though it were just brought from the studio of a sculptor who has done his utmost to express intelligence, refinement, and moral elevation, — a Boston face you would say, were you to meet it in San Francisco or Rome or St. Petersburg. He reads; the tones suggest Beacon Hill and Harvard College, — clear, deep, earnest, but not musical; the vehicle of thoughts, but not the carriage which the affections usually ride in. He prays; it is a prolonged thanksgiving and aspiration that uplifts whoever yields to it and almost transfigures him.

“After the singing comes an address. It begins simply enough, without text or parade of any sort, with the announcement of some fact

or principle. Soon it grows like a river fed by invisible tributaries. It taxes the mind; it enchains the attention. It elucidates a theme instead of driving platitudes like nails into the individual conscience and heart; and it takes history, literature, philosophy, science, and art to do it with. Grand things drop from the speaker's lips as he stands there, without book or paper, speaking out of a fulness that seems to increase faster than it overflows in the choicest words. You forget yourself in admiration, and only fear that he will stop before your mind is full; and when the silver stream ceases, and you catch your breath and come to yourself, it seems as though it had borne you to the gates of the Holy City, and left you just on the outside, with the earth behind you, but with infinity before. You no longer wonder that Lyric Hall is famous, and you ask, 'Who is this Mr. Frothingham?'

But for all that has been said there was about this man little of that personal magnetism which is physical rather than moral in its composition. Though a confessed influence in the metropolitan life of New York, he excited no gush of popular enthusiasm like that which supported the ministry of Beecher, Storrs, or Chapin. Without ecclesiastical accessories, impatient of all that looked like conformity to a conventional policy, careful to keep the underlying thought logical in its methods, his word was never mixed with any base alloy of sensationalism. Not the almost audible applause that could scarcely be restrained in some of the crowded churches, but a deeper silence, was the natural tribute to the moving effect of sermon as well as of prayer.

But the New York life was divided among many other activities. He wrote "The History of New England Transcendentalism," "The Religion of Humanity," an elaborate biography of Theodore Parker, and another of Gerrit Smith, as well as books for the religious instruction of children. He prepared articles for the "American Cyclopaedia," and was a frequent contributor to the "Christian Examiner," the "North American Review," the "Nation," the "Tribune," the "Independent," and other periodicals. For years he worked faithfully as Secretary of the National Freedman's Association. He visited the poor and afflicted, and it was Dr. Bellows's humorous complaint that no sooner had Frothingham emptied his own purse for a beggar's relief than he sent to him to do likewise. The reformers claimed the sympathy of one so widely known as a come-outer, and it is

needless to say abused him when he could not accept their specific for the ills of humanity. He spoke at meetings unconnected with his church,—one, for instance, in commemoration of “Dan Bryant,” a comic actor. “It would be pleasant,” he said, upon this occasion, “to think that I had ever done him as much good as he has done me. He was a benefactor in his way, and it was a much needed way. In a world full of care, anxiety, depression of spirits, and bitterness of heart, who has a right to be called a benefactor if he has not who promotes harmless merriment?”

The most notable work outside the parish duties was done in connection with the Free Religious Association. He was the organizing head of this body, whose object was the recognition of the religious sentiment, in its last analysis, in all human minds. The majority of its supporters believed “that religion was an eternal necessity, and the administration of it an absolute demand.” It proposed to remove all dividing lines, and — while leaving every one to his own judgment in matters of dogmatic belief — to unite in a common spiritual aspiration. “The underlying thought of the Association,” he wrote in a letter a few months before his death, “was the existence of a general, human, spiritual religion comprehending all modes of faith, but prior to them all and dependent on none.” His friends protest against any literal acceptance of the sense of his own shortcomings so freely acknowledged in the “Recollections.” “His stern self-criticism,” writes Rev. J. W. Chadwick, “will not be accepted by those who remember him as President of this Association, the perfect art with which he presided over the great assemblages gathered in its earlier years and at its banquet table, and the remarkable brilliancy and beauty which were married to the breadth and liberality of his annual addresses which reviewed the situation of the religious world from year to year. But it may be conceded that he had not ‘the natural impulse and vigor,’ the ‘rugged speech,’ and the ‘vivacity of humor,’ the lack of which he afterwards deplored.”

This is no place either to criticise or to commend the work accomplished by the Free Religious Association; it is sufficient to emphasize the object to be attained as Mr. Frothingham regarded it. This was to do away with prejudices which hindered the growth of normal religious sentiment, and inci-

dentally to foster the belief that reason, when guided by science, experience, and aspiration, was an authority superior to all others. It was probably the first society in the world based on the broad assumption that religion is innate in man, and that forms and dogmas, which do not touch its essence, are determined by circumstances. Many thoughtful men and women associated themselves with the new society ; but the world was scarcely ready to approve a platform where representatives of all faiths could meet upon equal terms.

It is worth while to correct an idle rumor to the effect that Mr. Frothingham was dissatisfied by the result of his years of devoted labor, and even doubted whether his energies had been wisely employed. The story arose from some remark, casually dropped to a newspaper reporter, of which the significance was misunderstood. The minister might indeed have felt that the destructive portion of the task committed to him had been sufficiently done, and that when he resumed work it would be on constructive lines more suited to his temperament ; his action would be continuous, but not necessarily identical. Yet it is not surprising if one passing into the shade of bodily infirmity, from a life lived at the utmost stretch of his powers, should have heard a whisper of sceptical interrogation as to whether his service had been given in the best way. Through the fogs of physical depression, what might have been done always looms larger than what has been accomplished ; the imperfections, the mistakes, the deficiencies common to mortality are unduly magnified. It is he who has gained the ten talents, not he who has buried his lord's money, who feels himself to be the unprofitable servant.

The period of rest and travel in Europe did not enable Mr. Frothingham to go back to his round of duties in New York as he had fondly hoped. He longed to return to his old place, to breast again the tide of metropolitan life, to battle with its waves as of yore. It was there alone that his energies could find adequate scope ; there were the tasks he had fitted himself to do. But he was stayed by that incompleteness of opportunity which mocks man's best equipment, and constitutes so large a part of the pathos of life. The spirit, mature in insight, in tact, in high enthusiasm, was more than ever willing ; but the flesh was weak.

The incipient paralysis that had set in advanced very slowly

during the sixteen years he had yet to live. It affected his articulation and spoiled his beautiful penmanship. He resumed his residence in Boston, a city endeared by so many old associations. He attended many public meetings of the Unitarians, feeling again drawn towards them by the increased liberality of their position which his own work had done so much to promote. He wrote the lives of his friends George Ripley and William Henry Channing, and prepared a brief memoir of David A. Wasson, a man admired by all who knew him as well for his clear and incisive thought as for his poetic imagination. Besides these were the book upon Boston Unitarianism and the interesting volume of "Recollections," from which extracts have been given. Of Mr. Frothingham's contributions to the Proceedings of this Society it is unnecessary to speak. His limitations were accepted with serenity; his interest in the improvement of the world was as vivid as ever, and was shown in such humbler ways as were now practicable. There was no noticeable falling off in his mental powers, and he was mercifully spared the one failure that he most dreaded. The end came peacefully on the day after his seventy-third birthday, November 27, 1895.

One more duty remained to be discharged. Mr. Frothingham had long believed that great social advantage would come from a better method of disposing of the dead. To support this belief in the only effective way, he left written directions that the body he had tenanted should be given to a quicker process of transmutation than is consistent with earth-burial. Like many other refined and thoughtful men, he was convinced of the advantages of cremation, not only for the sanitary reasons which in this day of ever-growing cities seem imperative, but as reducing to a minimum the necessary expenses of the poor. He saw that the money spent in buying land and constructing sepulchres in our ostentatious and tasteless cemeteries might be used in better ways for the gratification of the sentiments of love and reverence towards the departed. It is certain that the example of men of mark and influence can do more to encourage a beneficent change of practice than a hundred tracts devoted to its advocacy. Especially is this true of clergymen, who can thus testify against any remnant of the Egyptian superstition that the soul is in some way interested in the persistence of the body. It is

surely unfortunate that no less than four vice-presidents of the Cremation Society of this State failed to bear this testimony to a reform which they recommended for public adoption. Both as a citizen and a clergyman, Mr. Frothingham thought it right to declare his conviction in the only way in which it could have much influence upon others.

It is obviously improper that memoirs contributed to the Proceedings of this Society should have any savor of tracts for the defence of heresy or the strengthening of orthodoxy in regard to religious belief. But in the case of a man whose effective life was devoted to a single end — that of removing the restraints of social penalty from the freest questioning of an alleged supernatural religion — some adumbration of his intellectual attitude cannot be omitted. In giving what seems to me a fair impression of the general trend of Mr. Frothingham's opinions, I do not doubt that some of his friends will think that certain extreme or passing expressions should be more distinctly emphasized. The actions and reactions of the human mind upon the bewildering multitude of facts presented to it do not make for consistency. So long as the character is enlarging, there is, no doubt, an underlying consistency in its manifestations that is not represented on the surface. Mr. Frothingham never formulated any system; he was sensitive to the different and opposing aspects of things. His thought is often a passing effluence of mind and mood; it demands the correction which, upon some other occasion, he would readily supply. Mr. Chadwick speaks of his friend as "an optimist on Saturday night and a pessimist on Monday morning"; and Professor Adler resorts to paradoxes: "he was an inveterate doubter who never doubted; he was a liberal, expanding into a larger and larger freedom, who always remained a conservative."

An extract from a sermon of 1870 upon Personal Independence is a fair specimen of a prevailing tone heard through all his preaching: —

"The grand teacher and instigator of personal independence is, when all is said, religion; religion lays on the solitary soul the most tremendous responsibilities, and summons it to the most tremendous conflicts. Its first declaration is that each person is a living soul, placed on the earth

to work out its salvation, gifted with heavenly capacities, destined to immortal glories, and aided by celestial influence. Spiritual experiences must be strictly personal. Each soul must hope, pray, believe, trust, aspire for itself; must perform its own mission, and render its own account. The individual being is called to the front rank, and commanded to meet mortal foes in every conceivable form of care, suffering, sorrow, temptation; to be superior to want, pain, poverty, distress; to renounce the world; to live an eternal life. . . . That the discipline of personal independence is painful, there can be no doubt. It brings all kind of pain with it. It involves conflict with besetting foes, — foes of the tribe and of the household. It is full of sorrow and bitterness, of fear and terror. It entails loneliness often, sometimes solitariness, often depression. It tries the courage of the heart to the utmost. But there are great compensations, by the way. The feeling of personal self-respect and honor, — what a solace is that? worth all it costs and more. The enjoyment of one's own conviction; the joy of one's own approval; the knowledge that there is music in one's own heart!"

Elsewhere he avers that the faith cherished in the common forms of religion was feeble in the realm of immediate interests and concerns. Its unintermitted emphasis upon theology seriously impaired the available resources of the mind in practical directions. If the intellectual force expended in dogmatic speculations had been put to the study of man's condition, and in making that condition more desirable, questions at present unanswerable might long ago have received an adequate reply. He laments that minds engaged in these futile researches have been the choicest minds, "the best endowed, the most carefully educated, the most thoroughly trained; theirs was the eagerness for knowledge, the patience in research, the intellectual courage, the insight into principles, the literary skill to state their thoughts effectively. All this culture withdrawn from the practical duties of life!" He admits, however, that this pursuit of theology was inevitable, nay, even exalting, in the ages when the human mind had no other intellectual bent. But the question which the people ask of their teachers to-day is not whether God exists in a single or threefold personality, but whether human creatures are anything more than beasts; not on what terms the finite and infinite can be reconciled, but how a better understanding can be brought about between classes of men; not whether a

few are predetermined to everlasting blessedness, but whether the wretched many can have a more hopeful outlook in their earthly days. The preacher demanded a faith with knowledge, not a faith that dispenses with knowledge. However it may have been a quarter of a century ago, much of this will be to-day admitted by many ecclesiastics of what is loosely called the Broad Church, while any inference as to the present untenableness of their position will be as strenuously denied.

Like many men who have done conspicuous service in the world, Mr. Frothingham was swayed by the sudden uprush of feelings that in some sense were temporary. At one time he is struck with the splendor of human capacity and achievement, at another he finds his gravest doubt of personal immortality in the unworthiness of mankind to enjoy such a privilege. He faced the spectres of the mind, and did not lay them without making full report of their hideousness. He declared that every day in his life he had seen the righteous forsaken and his seed begging bread. The individual may now and then be perfected by suffering, but for every such example he knew ten where it had "crushed, soured, embittered, demoralized." That in some possible continuation of life beyond the grave justice would be done, was not apparent. The same Power must rule there that rules here, and here equity is not the rule. It was not evident that Lazarus would be more comfortable hereafter than when he lay at the gate of Dives, and looked to the dogs for mitigation of his suffering. The old consolations might do for idlers and sentimentalists, but clear-sighted men, facing the facts, were at least freed from the necessity of justifying the ways of God to man. The relief of this position he found measureless; he was not bound to apologize for things as they were.

But the man who stated all this more fully than it is here given, would under a more frequent inspiration put a ringing emphasis upon the trustworthiness of the religious sentiment. His noble sermon upon "The practical value of a belief in God" abounds in cheerful affirmations. Though associated with grotesque forms of thought, he urges that this belief has stood for perfect justice, absolute truth, and love that cannot be grieved away. It assists the conviction that truth is riveted to something permanent, that justice is no product of balanced experiences, but belongs to the organic structure of the world.

The idea may drop form after form, definition after definition, but the substance of the faith will remain and go on from strength to strength. Even in its last attenuation "it will lend power to the flickering will, and steadiness to the fluttering aspirations of man." Theodore Parker had led the army of radical religious thought with the vehement energy of Shakespeare's Henry V. His successor in the service explored the infinite in all directions with the meditative habit and keen intelligence of Hamlet, but with the added power of selecting a conviction from the fitting presentations of the brain, and of following where it led.

How far Mr. Frothingham was satisfied with the larger interpretations characteristic of the Unitarians of the present time is a question somewhat difficult to answer. Sentences from his later letters and other writings might be quoted which can be interpreted as pointing in either direction. In one of his essays he declares that "the coming religion must be Christian in name, because Christianity, as an ideal faith, has worked itself into our common life. It is the soul of our laws, of our customs, of our institutions." When the Unitarians broadened their terms of fellowship, it was his wish that the independent church in New Bedford, in charge of a favorite nephew, should renew its affiliation with their body. In a letter addressed to this gentleman, Rev. Paul Revere Frothingham, he says:—

"Some kind of limitation seems to be necessary to perfection of power. Just as the flame of a lamp (whence is all the light) must be confined within a chimney of glass in order that it may be serviceable, so must the absolute spirit be shut within a circle of sectarianism. But even as the glass chimney must be thin and clear and clean, so must the enclosing creed or organization be free from dogmatism, and be as transparent as possible. For my own part I do not believe that the ideal religion can be organized separately in 'avowed independence' of all existing or formulated institutions, though I am glad to have the experiment tried. New bottles may be best for new wine, but *some* bottle is required, else the wine is spilled."

But this must be interpreted as not incompatible with a very cordial interest in an independent church in Tacoma, which emphatically repudiates such restraints as may exist in the mildest form of Unitarianism. He believed that this west-

ern society, as well as that of his friend Dr. Adler of New York, might assert the spiritual value of life in affirmations broad enough to satisfy the religious element in man; and that this would be better than federation even upon the formula of the vaguest theism. In 1894 he writes thus of Unitarianism in the "Free Church Record," the organ of the Tacoma society: —

"It is not a form of religion as much as a form of opinion. It lacks historical continuity. It is a sect, a piece cut off from the mass of human tradition. It is wanting in fervor, glow, impetus, sweep. Emerson said that the born Unitarians were wanting in momentum. It is my hope that the new movement will restore the ancient push of conviction, the life without the dogma. We have had enough of criticism and division. Unitarianism is a parlor system addressed to the cultivated, educated, fastidious few. This has been said over and over again, and is as true now as it ever was."

To Rev. A. W. Martin, minister of the Tacoma church, he writes: "My sympathy with you is very warm, and I am not surprised at your zeal. Indeed, were I a young man I should do exactly what you are doing." From other letters to the same gentleman are taken the following extracts: —

"The longer I live the more I prize modesty, humbleness, and simplicity; the more I believe that others are as sincere as I am, know as much, have as full conviction, are led by as absorbing a love of truth. The cant of mere Liberalism, — as if to be a come-outer was enough to ensure justice of opinion, as if to be a conservative believer was surely to be wrong — is to me excessively unpleasant; I am glad to find you avoid it. The prevalence of gush is most deplorable."

"Avoid polemics as far as possible. Lay emphasis upon the universal principles of the religious life, and let the older systems go their way unassailed. If men see their limits, and how unimportant they are in the work of building up character and promoting humanity, they will gradually come to you. A new departure of a violent kind seems to me unnecessary. Your success will be your vindication. Would I were young and could throw myself into the cause of true Liberalism! But the next best thing is to see young people do it."

In Mr. Frothingham's sketches of his departed friends, their limitations were never omitted; the Cromwellian wart was

given its full prominence in their portraitures. In the "Recollections" the shortcomings of Dr. Bellows and Dr. Osgood are set forth in language as incisive as that which records their excellences. His memoir of the late President and benefactor of this Society displayed what were thought his defects in a positive, up-and-down manner somewhat at variance with a certain obligation to suave utterance which is commonly recognized as fitting in such compositions. But truth, as he saw it, was with this man a first consideration, and conventions, however amiable, must yield to its requirements. "Death is a great deceiver," he once wrote, "putting wings upon very earthly bodies." He never desired the concealment by such mortuary plumage of infirmities that any biographer of his might discover. Knowing this, I sought to find out what was deficient or second-rate in his character, and interrogated those who knew him well, as to the points wherein he manifestly failed to reach the ideal stature which the best of us cannot hope to attain. Surely they are fortunate who have so few failures to be noted. "His greatest fault," writes one of his intimate friends, "was a disposition to undervalue the importance of his adhesion to this side or that in any fight." And the same gentleman notices, what any careful reader of his books will discover, that "he lacked the instinct of minute accuracy in biographical and historical writing. The small mistakes in his 'Transcendentalism' and in his various biographies are numerous." It may be added that in taking his rapid and picturesque views of the past he sometimes looked through Brobdingnagian spectacles. A single instance of this will suffice. In his "Recollections" he tells us of one of his teachers, "a Mr. Capen, a poor humpbacked cripple, who could not get out of his chair," but who, nevertheless, "generously exercised a cowhide which he kept upon his table." To this it may be objected that, at the period in question, the most refined citizens in Boston would not have sent their children to a school in which cowhiding was considered a proper impulsion to learning. The present writer, having tested in person Mr. Capen's educational methods, deposes that, in his day at least, a mild application of a ruler, or often the back of a hairbrush, to the palm of the hand, fell lamentably short of those incentives to the acquisition of knowledge that the wisdom of our ancestors unhesitatingly commended.

The complaint is heard that there was something of aloofness in Mr. Frothingham's social habit, that he was affected by moods, and had a trick of self-depreciation not inconsistent with much genuine self-esteem. No one can read his sermons without observing that he often used the same form of words with widely different meanings, and we have seen that alternate aspects of things presented themselves with equal vividness. Seasons of undue depression were doubtless followed by corresponding reactions. At one time the locusts were devouring the harvests he had laboriously planted; at another, the grain was vigorously growing and likely to return the outlay a hundred fold. The results of such work as he was called upon to do could not be shown by any method of mental book-keeping. Only vague guesses could represent its final outcome, — and these must be affected by the weather and the hundred accidents which influence the ebb and flow of physical vitality. As to the charge of aloofness, it must be admitted that his quest for freedom in all things caused a certain shrinking from entangling alliances even upon high spiritual planes. Those most sensitive to ideals do not easily stoop to the enthusiasms of friendship. Yet worthy friends he had, men and women of courage and intellect, the best that his generation offered. Much might be said of this choice companionship; yet, when all had been written, there must be added, in the words of her who knew him best, "he was always a lonely man."

Mr. Frothingham nowhere echoes the complaint that the path of the reformer must, from a social point of view, be a *via dolorosa*. New teaching must win tolerance; it has no right to demand it. No great and heroic thing was ever done without bitter opposition. He who challenges beliefs entwined with the tenderest human emotions has no reason to complain of any social penalty his course may entail. Granted that the work ought to be done, it ought not to be easy to do. Intolerance, so much out of favor at present, is the wholesome law of the natural world in which we find ourselves. The confidence that, do or say what we will, we shall encounter no honest, outspoken antagonism has removed a salutary restraint in many departments of modern life. But giving this truth its full weight, it is difficult to see how any orthodox believer who has intelligence enough to make his opinion of

value, can fail to recognize the importance of Mr. Frothingham's work in the actual condition of things. Such a believer accepts the highly emotional methods of the Salvation Army as stimulating to better living a class that statelier forms of worship fail to attract. And, however he may deplore its existence, he must be conscious of another class, including many natural leaders of the community, to which sacred book and sacramental rite are as little uplifting as are the "knee-drill" and blast of discordant instruments to the refined church-goer. Yet it is plain that this abandonment of doctrinal belief has been followed — temporarily at least — by a weakening of the moral forces which make for veracity, honesty, and purity. And if this is true even now, when what may be called the modern ethical spirit has been so largely developed, it was far more true during the years of the New York ministry. Science, according to the interpretation of its representatives of undoubted fame and ability, testified that man was but a bubble floating for an instant upon the bloody stream of evolution, — a passing phosphorescence playing upon the surface of an iron necessity. And this doctrine of many of the educated was popularized to a fearful plausibility for half-educated minds. It tended to the degradation of life, to the loss of capacity for goodness, if not to the acquisition of qualities positively evil. Remembering this, all may well be grateful for a voice that could make itself heard in this sterile wilderness of unbelief, — even if it could utter no tenderer message than that "God is; not has been or will be. He is infinitely more than the best believe, or the happiest hope."

I suppose that most clergymen win expressions of love and gratitude from women whom they have assisted in bearing the burdens of life, and it may be well to note that this clergyman who made it his business to enthrone Reasonableness in the place of Authority did not lack them. We have seen how his ministry appealed to men of high competency in criticism and of acknowledged leadership in life. It also reached some of the best representatives of the sex most inclined to construe the order of nature after the theological methods that have long held supremacy. A lady says of Mr. Frothingham, "I owe him more than any other influence that came into my life; he opened my eyes to the

truth that makes free, showed me how to walk with uplifted head and see the light of the Divine Spirit shining through and beyond all clouds and complications." To another, well known in circles of philanthropy and literature, "he stood for the ideal of stainless manhood." Another speaks of the "comfort he gave me when the dark shadow fell upon my pathway"; and yet another affirms that "his views of death were the most uplifting and inspiring I have known." All which goes to show that no special form of consecration or creed is essential to the upward direction of the feminine life.

No careful reader of Mr. Frothingham's sermons can fail to see that the distinction between reason and faith, between the power of conceiving and the instinct of believing, is as clear to him as to many of his brethren who are in charge of the creeds of orthodoxy. He clung to the emotions produced by the old beliefs even while repudiating the fetters of the past from which, to his mind, a living present must escape. Yet he acknowledged no allegiance to the strictly scientific spirit that recognizes no truth incapable of demonstration; the boasted results of science were, after all, only hypothetical,—their veracity depending upon laws of thought which are scarcely open to investigation. His warm affirmations came as a much-needed glow in this our chilly "drift period of theology." While so many were withdrawing from ecclesiastical organizations, came his imperative warning not to break with the greatest of the historic manifestations of the religious spirit. He recognized that his own position was not final, nor even definite; it was in the nature of suggestion, nothing more. This "doubter who never doubted" worked on the side of constructive beliefs in religion; he breasted that movement towards negation which increase of knowledge had rendered inevitable. He imposed upon his hearers the law of his own personality, and stimulated to devotion those who could no longer be influenced by architectural display or the solemn music of organs. "In prayer," so runs the testimony of a visitor to his church, "the upturned boyish face with its look of rapt admiration, the apparent forgetfulness of self in which he returned thanks to the supreme Father for the many blessings of our daily life, impressed and subdued his audience into the perfect silence of heartfelt worship." A beam of light shot through his sermons which their printed words

—apt and beautiful as these are — cannot convey. He kindled hope, enthusiasm, love for humanity in human hearts well-nigh dazed into inactive scepticism by the innumerable molecules of science which rush hither and thither without explicable issue. No poor outcome this of any life born into the human history of our dying century!

The instructors of our race whose preaching and living make for righteousness, are no exclusive company. "The Bactrian, Samian sage, and all who taught the right" are admitted to their gracious fellowship. Between such impulsions to good living as inspire the unlettered enthusiast and the teachings of the instructed mind, whose workings seem to us normal and regular, there are innumerable gradations that shade one into another. But so far as they wrought for the strengthening of human character, all are entered among the world's benefactors. Some of these ministers stand out from their fellows; and from these we strip the tawdry ornaments of ecclesiastical title or college doctorate to lift them to the level of those who worked outside the range of contemporary approval that confers such decorations, — Cheverus, Channing, Brooks, Parker, names to be spoken together and revered alike, if not by us, then by our successors. And to these I do not hesitate to add the name of Frothingham.

"For he was Freedom's champion, one of those,
The few in number, who had not o'erstept
The charter to chastise which she bestows
On such as wield her weapons; he had kept
The whiteness of his soul, and thus men o'er him wept."

ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL, 1896.

THE Annual Meeting was held on Thursday, the 9th instant, at twelve o'clock, M.; the President, CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D., in the chair.

The record of the last stated meeting was read and approved; and the list of donors to the Library was read by the Librarian, who said that the records of the New South Church, consisting of nineteen volumes, deposited by the proprietors of that church with the Historical Society on November 11, 1869, and seven other volumes of the same records deposited on November 12, 1874, had been transferred to the keeping of the City Clerk of Boston; and a receipt had been given for the books by that officer. This action was taken in accordance with a vote of the Council, passed on March 12, in order to conform to the provisions of the Public Statutes, chapter 37, section 15, relating to public records.

The Recording Secretary, in behalf of Samuel Eliot, LL.D., who was unavoidably absent, communicated the memoir of the late Martin Brimmer, which Mr. Eliot had been appointed to prepare for publication in the Proceedings.

The Hon. James M. Barker, of Pittsfield, was elected a Resident Member.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN communicated the following paper by title:—

An Early Book-catalogue printed in Boston, with other Bibliographical Matter.

Among the books of the Prince Library, formerly in the keeping of this Society for more than half a century, but now in the possession of the Boston Public Library, is a pamphlet bound up together with a Catalogue of Harvard College (1723).¹ It contains a list of books previously belonging to

¹ According to this Catalogue there was in the College Library at that time an edition of "Shakespear's Plays" (London, 1709), in six volumes.

a New England minister, and offered for sale by a bookseller in Boston more than two hundred years ago. Considerable interest attaches to the pamphlet from the fact that probably it is the earliest instance in New England of a printed catalogue of books advertised for sale. About 1,000 titles, mostly in Latin, are given; and of these perhaps 200 are in English, which include not more than six or eight American ones. The books are arranged in the pamphlet both by subjects and sizes (folios, quartos, etc.), but without date or place of publication; and the general character of the works is furnished by the titlepage, of which a fac-simile is given below.

Presumably the following bore American imprints:—

“A Psalm Book”; “A New England Confession of Faith”; “Mather’s Mystery of Christ”; “Higginson’s Legacy of Peace”; “The Shorter Catechism with Exposition upon the same”; “Hubbard’s benefit of a well Ordered Conversation”; and perhaps a few others.

In Part I. of the Brinley catalogue of books which were sold in New York, on March 10–15, 1879, title No. 1669 is a catalogue of the Rev. Ebenezer Pemberton’s library advertised to be sold by auction in Boston, on July 2, 1717; and between quotation marks it is said in a note to be “perhaps the first instance in New England of a printed catalogue of Books at auction,” though no authority is given for the quoted paragraph. It will be noticed in the case of the Pemberton library that the sale was by auction, while in the other case the books were sold over the counter. Keeping in mind this difference in the manner of selling the two libraries, the statement may be correct.

The following is an exact reproduction of the titlepage of the pamphlet, and with it is given a collation of the same:—

THE
LIBRARY

O F

The Late Reverend and Learned
Mr. Samuel Lee

CONTAINING

A Choice Variety of Books upon all Subjects; particularly, Commentaries on the Bible; Bodies of Divinity. The Works as well Ancient, as of the Modern Divines; Treatises on the Mathematics in all Parts; History, Antiquities; Natural Philosophy Physick Chymistry; With Grammar and School-Books

With many more Choice Books not mentioned in this Catalogue

Exposed at the most Easy Rates, to Sale, By Duncan Cambell, Book-seller at the Dock-head over-against the Conduit.



Boston Printed for Duncan Cambell Book-seller at the Dock-head over-against the Conduit. 1693.

Mr B Green says - This was Printed by his Brother James
Letter, in Boston

Titlepage, *verso* blank; 1, 2, "Latin Folio's Divinity"; 2, 3, "Quarto's Latin"; 3, 4, "Octavo's Latin"; 4, 5, "English Quarto's Divinity"; 5, 6, "Divinity English Octavo's"; 6, "Physical Books Folio," "Physical Books in Quarto"; 6, 7, "Physical Books in Octavo Latin"; 7, 8, "Philosophy Folio's"; 8, "Philosophy Quarto's Latin," "Philosophy in Octavo"; 8, 9, "Mathematical, Astrological and Astronomical Folio's Latin"; 9, "Quartos," "English," "Astronomy English Quarto's"; 9, 10, "History Folio Latin:"; 10, "Histories in Folio English"; 11, "Histories in Octavo English," "Histories in Quarto Latin"; 11, 12, "Histories in Octavo Latin:"; 12, "School Authors in Folio," "School Authors in Quarto," "School Authors in Octavo"; 12, 13, "Juris Prudentia Libr.;" 13, "Misellanie Beoks"; 13, 14, "Box 21 Lat: Oct.;" 14-16, "Box 22 Latin Octavo's." Headlines as follows:—2, "Divinity Latin Folio's and Quart's"; 3, "Divinity Quarto's Latin"; 4, "Divinity English Folio's and Quarto's"; 5, "Divinity English Quarto's and Octavo's"; 6, "Divinity Quarto's English & Phisical Books in Folio & Quarto Lat.;" 7, "Phisick Books Latin Octavo, and Philosophy Folio"; 8, "Philosophy Quarto & Octavo Gosmograh: and Geograph. Folio"; 9, "Mathematical, Astrological, Astronomical, Folio's, Quarto's Latin"; 10, "History Latin and English. Folio"; 11, "Histories Octavo English. Histories Quarto and Octavo Latin"; 12, "Histories in Octavo Latin, School Authors Folio's & Quarto's Latin"; 13, "Miscelany Books Latin Octavo's"; 14-16, "Latin Octavo's."

The border-pieces used on the titlepage above the imprint are similar to those often seen in the issues of Green's press, whether coming from the father in Cambridge, or from either of the sons in Boston; but very rarely seen in the issues of other printers, such as Pierce, Harris, or Allen. Under the imprint, near the bottom of the page, in Mr. Prince's well-known handwriting, appears the following: "Mr B Green says—This was Prind by his Broth Samuel's Letter, in Boston." Bartholomew Green was a printer, as well as his brother Samuel, who died in July, 1690. Probably the meaning of the sentence is that Bartholomew using his brother's type printed the catalogue, as at the date of its publication he had a press in Boston. It is interesting to note the use of the word "letter" in the sense of "type," which was not uncommon in those early times. At the end of an Almanac for 1682, belonging to this Society, Chief-Justice Sewall has written: "The last half Sheet was Printed wth my Letters,

at Boston. S. S." During that period he had the official management of the printing-press in Boston, having been duly appointed by the General Court. The last four leaves of the Almanac, or half signature, are printed with a different font of type from the other pages, which explains Sewall's memorandum.

The Reverend Samuel Lee, the former owner of the library, was a native of London, where he was born in the year 1625. He was educated at Wadham College, Oxford, and was a Fellow in the same college, and later a Proctor in the University. For some years he was settled as the minister of an independent church at Newington Green, near London. During the summer of 1686 he came to New England in order that he might more freely exercise the functions of his office in accordance with his own sense of duty; and during the spring of the next year he was settled over the church at Bristol, Rhode Island. Here he remained for four years, when with his family he set sail from Boston for his native land. After a stormy voyage the vessel was captured by a French privateer near the coast of Ireland, when the passengers were taken to St. Malo, in France. While his family was allowed to proceed thence to London, he was held as a captive, and died in prison some time during the month of December, 1691.

In his *Magnalia* (Book III. page 223), Cotton Mather speaks warmly in praise of Mr. Lee, and says of him that "hardly ever a more *Universally Learned* Person trod the *American Strand*." Two sermons preached by Mr. Lee at Bristol, on October 7, 1687, were printed in Boston soon after his death; and one of them was "Accompany'd with Preparatory Meditations, upon the Day of Judgement," by Dr. Mather. Other works by him were also published in Boston, both before and since his death.

Book-catalogues printed in New England before the Revolution are now rare, but references to them are often found in the newspapers of that period. The following advertisement, taken from "The New-England Courant" (Boston), September 28, 1724, is an instance in point:—

 The Library of the Reverend and Learned John Leveret, late President of Harvard College in Cambridge, being a fine Collection of

very valuable Books of Divinity, Philosophy, Law, &c. is to be sold by Auction in Boston, the — Day of October next. The Catalogue will be printed as soon as possible, and given out by S. Gerrish and D. Henchman, Booksellers, near the Brick Meeting-House in Cornhill.

The four following advertisements are taken from "The New-England Weekly Journal" (Boston) of the respective dates, as given at the end of each one:—

On Thursday next the 14th. Instant will be Sold by publick Vendue at the Royal Exchange Tavern, a Choice and Valuable Collection of Books printed Catalogues with the Conditions of Sale, may be had at Mr. Eliot's Shop.

November 11, 1728.

A Collection of very valuable BOOKS, English, French, Latin, &c. To be Sold by Vendue at the Royal Exchange in Boston, on Thursday next the 23d Instant, at Three a Clock, P. M. The Books may be seen the Day before the Sale at the same Place, where Catalogues may be had gratis, as also at Mr. Benj Elliot's Shop in King-street.

January 20, 1729.

To be Sold by Vendue, at the House of Thomas Fleet, at the Sign of the Heart and Crown in Cornhill, Boston, a good Collection of BOOKS, consisting of Divinity, Philosophy, Classical Learning, &c. The Sale of which is design'd to begin on Wednesday the 7th of April next, at 4 P. M Printed Catalogues may be had at Mr. Henchman's Shop, and at the Place of Sale, where the Books may be seen, three Days before the Auction begins.

March 29, 1731.

There is just Arrived from London, a Large Collection of Valuable & Curious Books, Consisting of most Faculties, and in several Languages. Catalogues may be had at Messieurs Henchman and Hancock's Shops (Booksellers in Boston) against Thursday next.

N. B. The Books are mostly New, and in good Condition, and will be Sold very Cheap.

June 21, 1731.

Another instance is found in "The Massachusetts Gazette : and the Boston Weekly News-Letter," April 8, 1773, as follows :—

On *Wednesday 5th May*,
 At NINE o'Clock in the Morning,
 WILL be Sold by PUBLIC VENDUE, at the
 Auction-Room in Queen-street,
 A very large and valuable
 Collection of BOOKS,
 being the Library of a Gentleman deceas'd.
 Printed Catalogues will be delivered in Season
 by J. Russell, Auctioneer.

Still another is found in "The Boston-Gazette, and Country Journal," Supplement, May 17, 1773, as follows: —

The LIBRARY of
 SIR FRANCIS BERNARD,

CONSISTING of a very large and valuable Collection of BOOKS, will be sold VERY CHEAP at private Sale, at the Shop lately occupied by Mr. Fleeming, opposite the South Door of the Town House, from Monday the 24th to Friday the 28th Instant, inclusive. Gentlemen who may incline to purchase, are desired to apply within that Time, as the Sale will not be continued longer.

CATALOGUES may be had of Edes and Gill.

These extracts from the advertising columns of early newspapers — and they are by no means exhaustive — show that printed catalogues for the sale of books at that period were common; but specimens of them to-day are very rarely found.

There is on the shelves of the Historical Society a copy of "A Catalogue of Mein's Circulating Library; consisting of above Twelve Hundred Volumes, in most Branches of polite Literature, Arts and Sciences" (pp. 57), which was printed in the year 1765. Among all the books mentioned in the catalogue there is only one work bearing an American imprint, viz., "The American Magazine," published in Boston, 1743-1745. It is interesting to note that in the list there is a copy of "Shakespear's Works" (London, 1762) in eight volumes. The proprietor of the Circulating Library was "John Mein, Bookseller, at the London Book-store, Second Door above the British Coffee-House, North-side of King-Street, Boston." He

was a Scotchman by birth, and had come to New England in the autumn of 1764. Soon afterward he became associated in business with another Scotchman, John Fleming, a printer by trade, whose name is sometimes written Fleeming; and in connection with their other affairs Mein published "The Boston Chronicle," which Fleming printed.

In the Fourth Part of the Brinley catalogue of books sold in New York, on November 15-18, 1886, title No. 8024 is a bookseller's catalogue (pp. 24) issued during the last century by T. Cox, Boston, who discontinued his business in 1744. Without doubt the pamphlet was printed some years before that date.

Mr. A. C. GOODELL, JR., said : —

Mr. President, I hold in my hand an interesting paper from that rich repository, the Winthrop Papers, which, with the permission of the owner, Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., I offer to the Society. Before I sit down, I shall move to have it referred to a committee. The paper appears to be an index, for private use, to leading subjects of legislation in the lost volume of Colony Laws which our associate Mr. Whitmore has so cleverly restored in his essay accompanying his reprint of the edition of 1660, — the finest piece of critical, historical reconstruction from scattered hints and fragments that has ever been attempted, in this country at least.

The index, which Mr. Winthrop supposed to be a fragment, proves to be complete, although it refers only to particular topics and not to every ordinance. It is in the handwriting of John Richards, who was for a number of years a leading member of the Massachusetts General Court and in 1680 Speaker. In 1682 he was joint Agent to England with Joseph Dudley. He was one of the first bench of justices of the Superior Court of Judicature of the Province, on which he continued until his death; and he was also one of the commissioners of oyer and terminer appointed to try the cases of witchcraft at Salem. In this capacity he was addressed by Cotton Mather in a memorable letter in which that clergyman directed the judges how to proceed judicially in the detection of witchcraft and conviction of the accused.

Richards was born in England, the son of Thomas, one of

the founders of Dorchester. After a sojourn at the eastward, and subsequently for a brief period in England, he came to Boston. He was a member of the Artillery Company in 1644, ensign in 1665, and lieutenant in 1667. In the militia he was successively lieutenant, captain, and major. In 1681 he was chosen assistant, and held that office until the presidency of Dudley. He was one of the councillors named in the Province Charter, and was elected the next year; but before the expiration of his term he died, — April 2, 1694.

On the 3rd of May, 1654, he married Elizabeth, daughter of Capt. Thomas Hawkins, and widow of Adam Winthrop. She died November 1, 1691; and on the 2nd of September, 1692, he married Ann, daughter of Governor John Winthrop, of Connecticut. He left no posterity.

This paper, while bearing indubitable evidence of its reference to the first edition of the Colony Laws, does not clearly indicate, at least upon the examination I have been able to make, whether it refers to the original manuscript volumes or to the first printed edition. No man living is more competent to settle this point than our learned and ingenious associate, Mr. Whitmore, and I move that the paper be referred to him, to report upon at some future meeting.

The motion of Mr. Goodell was adopted by a unanimous vote.

Rev. EDWARD G. PORTER communicated some notes on the principal building of the McLean Asylum at Somerville, as follows: —

Demolition of the McLean Asylum at Somerville.

Mr. President, — Whoever has been out over the Lowell Railroad lately must have noticed the forlorn and dismantled appearance of the McLean Asylum at Somerville. We have been so long accustomed to enjoy the sight of that fine group of buildings, and the noble park in which they stood, in such agreeable contrast to the railroad purlieu of East Cambridge, that the present spectacle is a rude shock to our sense of the fitness of things.

Thus, one by one, the natural beauties of our metropolis are giving way to the imperious demands of our commercial growth. Fort Hill had to go; Charlestown and the older parts

of Roxbury have lost their fine gardens and shade-trees; and now this well-known eminence just over the river must not only surrender its half-dozen large and well-built structures of brick and stone, its stately elms and its terraced gardens and orchards, but the hill itself is at once to be levelled to make room for a network of tracks and freight-yards.

We have no regrets for the asylum. Although it has been admirably quartered here for the greater part of a century, it has found a quieter site for its future needs in the ample demesne out among the Waverly oaks.

But the transformation of this picturesque remnant of an earlier time should not take place without some record of its history; for soon the fact that there ever was a hill there, and a great institution upon it, will be known to but very few of the busy throng that pass that way.

Until near the close of the last century it was a rather rough, open area, used for pasture and tillage, and was commonly called "Cobled Hill," as spelled in letters of that time. About 1791 the whole promontory — then a part of Charlestown — was bought by Joseph Barrell, a wealthy merchant of Boston, who had a fine house on Summer Street, with gardens extending back to Franklin Place. Being on intimate terms with Charles Bulfinch, with whom he had shared a commercial venture in the expedition of the ship "Columbia"¹ to open trade on the northwest coast, he engaged that young architect to prepare the designs for a large mansion to be erected on the brow of the hill, some fifty feet above tide-water.

It was Mr. Barrell's ambition to create an ideal country-seat, adorned with all the accessories of lawns, trees, gardens, terraces, greenhouses, fish-ponds, dove-cotes, poultry-yard, stable, coach-house, a well-stocked barn, and an attractive boat-house. And here he was able to carry out his magnificent plan. All the resources of Nature and Art were combined to make Pleasant Hill — as it was then called — the most complete and sumptuous residence in the suburbs. The choicest plants² were imported from Europe, and gardeners to take care of them. Elms and poplars lined the winding avenues in different directions. At one time the place was called

¹ See Proceedings for May, 1892; also "New England Magazine" for June, 1892.

² See Memorial History of Boston, IV. 636.

Poplar Grove. Trout and gold-fish were domesticated near a fountain by the summer-house at the foot of the garden.

Access to Boston was made easy by a barge with liveried boatmen, which the owner maintained for himself and his friends. There being no Craigie's Bridge at that time, it was necessary, in driving, to go around by Charlestown; or one could take the longer route by the colleges and through Brookline and Roxbury. Dr. Everett says he remembers hearing that Mr. Barrell often drove into town that way with his fine horses. That he had a good stable is evident from the fact that at the time of Washington's visit, shortly before, he was chosen, with Samuel Breck and Dr. Eustis, as a committee of the town to escort the President from Worcester to Boston; and these gentlemen furnished their own equipages for that occasion.¹

The crowning feature of this fine estate was the elegant dwelling-house—74 by 42 feet—now in process of demolition. It was in Bulfinch's early style, taken from English models of the last century. The main part of the building had two equally imposing fronts; the eastern commanding a superb view over the garden and Charles River, and Boston with its many spires in plain sight. The western porch—for carriages—was supported by four Ionic columns, resting on massive square bases of Scotch granite. The steps leading up to the front door were of the same stone, as also the caps and sills and belt-course. A unique arrangement in the hall was a flying staircase, ascending at each end—32 feet long—and coming together at a landing in the centre, supported by four fluted posts, and again ascending three steps to another landing, and then diverging right and left to landings connecting with each wing of the house as well as the centre.

The swell eastern front formed an oval drawing-room, one story high, on the roof of which rested two Corinthian columns, 16 feet long, with pilasters against the house, supporting the upper roof covering the balcony.² The main building was three and a half stories high, and the wings originally had two stories.

¹ See Proceedings of the Lexington Historical Society, I. lxxvii. Address by the writer at the one hundredth anniversary of Washington's visit to Lexington.

² A good picture of this vine-clad front may be seen in the "New England Magazine" for November, 1890. Also a fine old engraving in the "History of the Massachusetts General Hospital."

The walls were thoroughly laid in brick; and the timber of hewn pine, brought from the Kennebec, measures 12 by 12, and sometimes even 16 by 16, inches. In some cases, where the timbers were not long enough, ingenious splices were made with bolts and nuts, so that they were as rigid as the main timber. All the framing shows great care in providing against strains and for the support of weights.

The building has many other features not found in our modern houses. The floors are deadened by brick laid between floor joists, and an under floor laid over them. Back of the base boards are brick laid in mortar, forming what we should call fire-stops, but what may have been intended for rat-stops. The same precaution was taken where spaces were unused, back of partitions and around the big chimneys. And so perfect was this work that the contractors tell me that the usual signs of vermin in such an old house are totally absent.

All the inner partitions, not of brick, are of two-inch pine plank set tight together, and split hemlock laths fastened with hand-wrought threepenny nails, forming a stiff partition only four inches thick when plastered. The wood cornices and paneling of the principal rooms were finely carved.¹ The outside columns are remarkably well preserved, owing to the free use of white lead and oil in the joints when put together. As to the masonry, the workmanship was everywhere a solid mass, without a crevice. The building, as I examined it in partial ruin yesterday, reminded me somewhat of Kenilworth Castle or of some old Yorkshire Abbey.

Here Joseph Barrell lived until his death, October 13, 1804.² He always exercised a large hospitality, and was generous in allowing strangers to visit his charming grounds. His son-in-law, Benjamin Joy, sold this part of the estate in 1816 to the trustees of the Massachusetts General Hospital, who added another story to the mansion, and made it the residence of the Superintendent and other physicians. The neighboring buildings, north and south, with their graceful domes also show the hand of Bulfinch. There were two fine rows of elms near them, which were allowed to stand for a while, but they were

¹ All the best wood-work is to be transferred to the new country-seat of Mr. Francis Shaw in Wayland.

² He was buried at night, by his own request, in the family vault at King's Chapel.

cut down afterward at the suggestion of Dr. Wyman. It was remarked at the time that the Asylum buildings were erected to accommodate the trees, and then the trees were cut down to accommodate the buildings. But they are all disappearing now together; and soon there will be nothing left of Pleasant Hill.

Mr. JUSTIN WINSOR presented, in behalf of Miss Palfrey, of Cambridge, a small miniature of John Howard Payne, author of "Home, Sweet Home," which was for many years in possession of her father, the late Hon. John Gorham Palfrey. Accompanying the miniature was a lock of Payne's hair.

Incidental remarks on the various communications, and on some connected subjects, were made by the Hon. WILLIAM EVERETT, Messrs. WILLIAM S. APPLETON, and R. C. WINTHROP, JR., the PRESIDENT, the Hon. EDWARD L. PIERCE, and Rev. Dr. EDWARD E. HALE.

The regular business of the Annual Meeting was then taken up; and the Report of the Council, which had been drawn up by Rev. Dr. Edmund F. Slafter, who was detained from the meeting by illness, was read by Mr. HENRY W. HAYNES.

Report of the Council.

During the past year the Society has held nine stated meetings, at which important historical documents have been presented, and communications, written and oral, have been made by our members. Most of these papers have been printed in our Proceedings. The value of diaries and letters, relating to current events, by intelligent and well-informed citizens in the colonial or later years of our Commonwealth, can hardly be overstated. They throw light and shade upon the current of our history that cannot be obtained from any other historical documents.

A new volume of our Proceedings has been issued, entitled Volume IX. of the Second Series, making the whole number issued, including the Index, thirty volumes. It contains portraits of the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, of Mr. Edwin L. Bynner, Prof. Henry W. Torrey, Dr. Henry Wheatland, and Mr. Edward J. Lowell, deceased members of the Society. Included in this volume, in addition to important diaries and

letters, is a catalogue of all the American imprints in our Library, issued anterior to the close of the year 1700. This cannot fail to prove of great convenience to the historical student, as much of our history is scattered in bits here and there in these publications. It is greatly to be desired that some enterprising antiquary may be induced to complete this catalogue by bringing together, as an addendum to this work, all the colonial imprints of the same period not already in our archives.

Memoirs have been published, in this volume of our Proceedings, of our late President, the Rev. George Edward Ellis, D.D., by the Rev. Octavius B. Frothingham, and of Edward Bangs, LL.B., by Judge John Lowell.

A volume of Collections, being the fifty-eighth in our series, entitled Volume Eight, Sixth Series, has been published. It is an historical index to the Pickering Papers belonging to our Society, a collection left by the late Hon. Timothy Pickering, the distinguished statesman, whose life was largely spent in the public service of the United States. They are contained in 58 massive volumes, and relate to important matters with which he was personally connected. This index covers 580 pages royal octavo, together with an historical preface giving a full account of these papers. In it the subject of each of the papers is clearly but succinctly given, thus rendering the whole collection of the Pickering Papers, which may probably always remain in manuscript, nevertheless easily accessible to the historical student. This index is similar, though not on so extensive a scale, to the Calendars of the English state papers, whose great value and convenience are appreciated by the historical investigator.

The following gentlemen have become Resident Members of the Society during the year, viz.: Thomas Jefferson Coolidge, May 9, 1895; William Wallace Crapo, November 14, 1895; Francis Cabot Lowell, January 9, 1896; Granville Stanley Hall, February 13, 1896. Alexander Agassiz has been elected, but is absent from the country, and his acceptance has not been received.

Leslie Stephen, LL.D., of London, England, and President James B. Angell, LL.D., of the University of Michigan, have been received as Corresponding Members.

Seven members of the Society have died during the year.

The following is a list of their names, together with the names of those appointed to prepare memoirs of them to be published in our Proceedings :—

Leverett Saltonstall, died April 15, 1895. Memoir by Charles R. Codman.

Hamilton Andrews Hill, died April 27, 1895. Memoir by the Rev. Dr. Samuel E. Herrick.

Octavius Brooks Frothingham, died November 27, 1895. Memoir by Josiah P. Quincy.

William Steele Shurtleff, died January 14, 1896. Memoir by George S. Merriam.

Martin Brimmer, died January 14, 1896. Memoir by Dr. Samuel Eliot.

William Goodwin Russell, died February 6, 1896. Memoir by George O. Shattuck.

Benjamin Marston Watson, died February 19, 1896. Memoir by the Rev. Dr. Edward E. Hale.

We have to record the death of two Corresponding Members. Pierre Margry, of Paris, France, died May 27, 1894; but the notice of his death had not been received at our last Annual Meeting. He was born in Paris, December 9, 1818. In 1867 he published two volumes relating to discoveries by the French in America. He subsequently published his great work, relating to the same subject, entitled "*Mémoires et Documents*," contained in six royal octavo volumes of about six hundred pages each.

William Wetmore Story, D.C.L., died in Italy, October 7, 1895. He was born in Salem, Massachusetts, February 12, 1819. He graduated at Harvard College, and was admitted to the bar in Boston. He published several treatises on legal subjects, and three volumes of Reports of Cases tried in the United States Courts. After 1848 he resided in Rome in Italy. He is the author of numerous volumes in prose and verse. His life has been chiefly devoted to sculpture. Among his works may be mentioned a statue of his father, the late Justice Joseph Story, of George Peabody, of Josiah Quincy, of Edward Everett, of James Russell Lowell, and of Theodore Parker. Of ideal figures may be mentioned the Shepherd Boy, Little Red Riding-Hood, and Sappho. He left a wide fame both in literature and art.

The publications by members of the Society during the year have been as follows, viz. :—

The Journeyman's Retrospect. Speech of Charles Francis Adams at the Harvard Alumni Dinner, Commencement Day, June 26, 1895.

Abstracts of Early Woburn Deeds Recorded at Middlesex County Registry, 1649-1700. By Edward F. Johnson. With some Explanatory Notes.

Howland Holmes. By Edward G. Porter.

History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850. Vol. III. 1860-1862. By James Ford Rhodes.

Diocese of Massachusetts. The Enlargement of its Diocesan Library. Being the Twelfth Annual Report made to the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Massachusetts, held in Trinity Church, Boston, May 15 and 16, 1895. By the Rev. Edmund F. Slafter, D.D.

The Teaching of English Law at Universities. By James Bradley Thayer. Read at Detroit, August 27, 1895, as the Chairman's Address before the section on Legal Education of the American Bar Association.

A Report (26th) of the Record Commissioners of the City of Boston, containing the Boston Town Records, 1778-1783. By William H. Whitmore.

Eighteenth Report (1895) of Justin Winsor, Librarian of Harvard University.

The Harvard College Portrait of Washington Painted by Edward Savage. Reprinted from the Harvard Graduates' Magazine, 1895. By Justin Winsor.

The Mississippi Basin. The Struggle in America between England and France, 1697-1763. With full cartographical illustrations from contemporary sources. By Justin Winsor.

Massachusetts in the Army and Navy during the War of 1861-65. Prepared under the authority of the State by Thomas Wentworth Higginson, State Military and Naval Historian. Vol. II.

Monroe Doctrine. Speech of the Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts, in the Senate of the United States, December 30, 1895.

Old School Street, Boston. From the New England Magazine for April, 1895. By Henry F. Jenks.

Joan of Arc. By Francis C. Lowell.

The Peabody Museum of American Archæology and Ethnology. Report of Frederick W. Putnam, November 23, 1895.

The Seventy-fifth Anniversary of the Consecration of Saint Paul's Church, Boston, Sunday, May 26, 1895. A Sermon by the Rt. Rev. William Lawrence, D.D., Bishop of Massachusetts.

Visions and Service. Fourteen Discourses delivered in College Chapels by William Lawrence, Bishop of Massachusetts, 1896.

Baccalaureate Sermon, Harvard College, Class of 1895. By William Lawrence, D.D. 1895.

Second Annual Address to the Convention of the Diocese of Massachusetts, in Trinity Church, Boston, May 15, 1895. By the Rt. Rev. William Lawrence, D.D. Boston, 1895.

The above-named publications have been presented to the Society by their several authors.

On the sixth day of August, 1895, the Society purchased an estate of William O. Ruggles, being an unimproved lot of land in Boston at the corner of the Fenway and Boylston Street; containing ten thousand six hundred and four and three tenths square feet. On this property it is intended to erect a building for the occupation and uses of the Society. Its situation for this purpose is highly satisfactory to the Council, having abundant capacity for light, and as a corner lot, commanding on one side a view of the Park known as the Fens, and on the other Boylston Street, which at that point is of convenient and ample breadth. It is accessible by all the Back Bay and Cambridge surface cars, and at no distant day it will doubtless be in the centre of the population of Boston. The acquisition of this property may be regarded as particularly fortunate.

On the twenty-fourth day of September, 1895, the Society sold to Miss Ellen Upton for the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars the house and land numbered one hundred and ten Marlborough Street, Boston, the estate devised to the Society by its late President, the Rev. George E. Ellis, D.D. The avails of this sale are to be invested in the contemplated new building, an apartment in which is to be set apart as a memorial of Dr. Ellis.

On the twentieth day of December, 1895, the sum of thirty thousand dollars bequeathed to the Society by Dr. George E. Ellis was paid by his executor, George S. Hale, Esq. This sum is not to be invested in the new building, but to be kept as a separate fund, the income to be expended for the maintenance of that part of the building set apart as a memorial to our late President. To this sum has been added, as will appear from the Treasurer's account, about five hundred dollars, the avails of a sale of such articles bequeathed by Dr.

Ellis as could not be useful to the Society, making the whole property devised and bequeathed by our late President a little more than fifty-five thousand five hundred dollars, besides his library and some other articles of *virtu*, upon which no commercial value has been placed.

The estate numbered 30 Tremont Street, adjoining the King's Chapel burial-ground, now owned and occupied by the Society, has been offered for sale; and when a sale is effected, the Society will be in a condition to enter upon the construction of a new building on its recently acquired property already described.

Plans for a new building have been before the Council and a committee of the Society, but have not been fully matured and adopted.

EDMUND F. SLAFTER,
Member of the Council.

The Report of the Treasurer and the Report of the Auditing Committee were presented in print, as follows:—

Report of the Treasurer.

In compliance with the requirements of the By-Laws, Chapter VII., Article 1, the Treasurer respectfully submits his Annual Report, made up to March 31, 1896.

The special funds held by him have been increased in number and amount by the receipt, Dec. 20, 1895, of the bequest of our late President, Dr. George E. Ellis. They are now fifteen in number, and are as follows:—

I. THE APPLETON FUND, which was created Nov. 18, 1854, by a gift to the Society, from Nathan Appleton, William Appleton, and Nathaniel I. Bowditch, trustees under the will of the late Samuel Appleton, of stocks of the appraised value of ten thousand dollars. These stocks were subsequently sold for \$12,203, at which sum the fund now stands. The income is applicable to "the procuring, preserving, preparation, and publication of historical papers."

II. THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL TRUST-FUND, which now stands, with the accumulated income, at \$10,000. This fund originated in a gift of two thousand dollars from the late Hon. David Sears, presented Oct. 15, 1855, and accepted by the Society Nov. 8, 1855. On Dec. 26, 1866, it was increased

by a gift of five hundred dollars from Mr. Sears, and another of the same amount from our late associate, Mr. Nathaniel Thayer. The income must be appropriated in accordance with the directions in Mr. Sears's declaration of trust in the printed Proceedings for November, 1855. The declaration contains also the following clause: "And when hereafter the accumulations of said fund — by its investments of income; by additions made to it; by gifts, bequests, or otherwise — shall amount to a sufficient sum, in aid of other means, to purchase or secure a suitable site for the library and halls of said Historical Society, or to enable said Society to appropriate and improve the whole of their present premises, — then, and in either of the cases, the said Trustees may, under a recorded vote of authority of the Society, draw out and receive the whole, or any part, of said accumulations of said fund, to be expended by them in the above-named purposes. . . . Provided always, that in no case whatever shall the original trust-sum be encroached upon or diminished."

III. THE DOWSE FUND, which was given to the Society by George Livermore and Eben. Dale, executors of the will of the late Thomas Dowse, April 9, 1857, for the "safe keeping" of the Dowse Library. It amounts to \$10,000.

IV. THE PEABODY FUND, which was presented by the late George Peabody, in a letter dated Jan. 1, 1867, and now stands at \$22,123. The income is available only for the publication and illustration of the Society's Proceedings and Memoirs, and for the preservation of the Society's Historical Portraits.

V. THE SAVAGE FUND, which was a bequest from the late Hon. James Savage, received in June, 1873, and now stands on the books at the sum of \$6,000. The income is to be used for the increase of the Society's Library.

VI. THE ERASTUS B. BIGELOW FUND, which was given in February, 1881, by Mrs. Helen Bigelow Merriman, in recognition of her father's interest in the work of the Society. The original sum was one thousand dollars; but the interest was added to the principal to bring the amount up to \$2,000, at which it now stands. There is no restriction as to the use to be made of this fund.

VII. THE WILLIAM WINTHROP FUND, which amounts to the sum of \$3,000, and was received Oct. 13, 1882, under the will of the late William Winthrop, for many years a Corre-

sponding Member of the Society. The income is to be applied "to the binding for better preservation of the valuable manuscripts and books appertaining to the Society."

VIII. THE RICHARD FROTHINGHAM FUND, which represents a gift to the Society, on the 23d of March, 1883, from the widow of our late Treasurer, of a certificate of twenty shares in the Union Stock Yard and Transit Co., of Chicago, of the par value of \$100 each, and of the stereotype plates of Mr. Frothingham's "Siege of Boston," "Life of Joseph Warren," and "Rise of the Republic." The fund stands on the Treasurer's books at \$3,000, exclusive of the copyright. There are no restrictions on the uses to which the income may be applied.

IX. THE GENERAL FUND, which now amounts to \$9,868.56. It represents the following gifts and payments to the Society:—

1. A gift of two thousand dollars from the residuary estate of the late MARY PRINCE TOWNSEND, by the executors of her will, William Minot and William Minot, Jr., in recognition of which, by a vote of the Society, passed June 13, 1861, the Treasurer was "directed to make and keep a special entry in his account books of this contribution as the donation of Miss Mary P. Townsend."

2. A legacy of two thousand dollars from the late HENRY HARRIS, received in July, 1867.

3. A legacy of one thousand dollars from the late GEORGE BEMIS, received in March, 1879.

4. A gift of one hundred dollars from the late RALPH WALDO EMERSON, received in April, 1881.

5. A legacy of one thousand dollars from the late WILLIAMS LATHAM, received in May, 1884.

6. A bequest of five shares in the Cincinnati Gas-Light and Coke Co. from the late GEORGE DEXTER, Recording Secretary from 1878 to 1883, received in June, 1884. This bequest for several years stood on the Treasurer's books at \$900, at which sum the shares were valued when the incomes arising from separate investments were all merged in one consolidated account. Besides the regular quarterly dividends there has been received up to the present time from the sale of subscription rights, etc., the sum of \$268.56, which has been added to the nominal amount of Mr. Dexter's bequest.

7. A legacy of one thousand dollars from the late EBENEZER ROCKWOOD HOAR, received in February, 1895.

8. Ten commutation fees of one hundred and fifty dollars each.

X. THE ANONYMOUS FUND, which originated in a gift of \$1,000 to the Society in April, 1887, communicated in a letter to the Treasurer printed in the Proceedings (2d series, vol. iii. pp. 277, 278). A further gift of \$250 was received from the same generous friend in April, 1888. The income up to the present time has been added to the principal. The fund now stands at \$1,941.29.

XI. THE WILLIAM AMORY FUND, which was a gift of \$3,000, under the will of our associate, the late WILLIAM AMORY, received Jan. 7, 1889. There are no restrictions on the uses to which the income may be applied. The income has been allowed to accumulate, with the view to the publication of a volume of Collections at some future period.

XII. THE LAWRENCE FUND, which was a gift of \$3,000, under the will of our associate, the younger ABBOTT LAWRENCE, received in June, 1894. The income is "to be expended in publishing the Collections and Proceedings" of the Society.

XIII. THE ROBERT C. WINTHROP FUND, which was a gift of \$5,000, under the will of our late associate, received in December, 1894. No restrictions were attached to this bequest; but by a vote of the Society passed Dec. 13, 1894, it was directed that the income "shall be expended for such purposes as the Council may from time to time direct."

XIV. THE WATERSTON PUBLISHING FUND, which was a gift of \$10,000, under the will of our late associate, the Rev. ROBERT C. WATERSTON, received in December, 1894. The income is to be used as a publishing fund, in accordance with the provisions of Mr. Waterston's will printed in the Proceedings (2d series, vol. viii. pp. 172, 173).

XV. THE ELLIS FUND, which originated in a bequest to the Society of \$30,000, by our late President, Dr. George E. Ellis. This sum was paid into the Treasury Dec. 20, 1895; and to it has been added the sum of \$574.71 received from the sale of various articles of personal property, also given to the Society by Dr. Ellis, which it was not thought desirable to keep, making the whole amount of the fund \$30,574.71. No

part of the original sum can be used for the purchase of other real estate in exchange for the real estate specifically devised by Dr. Ellis's will.

The Treasurer also holds a deposit book in the Five Cent Savings Bank for \$100 and interest, which is applicable to the care and preservation of the beautiful model of the Brattle Street Church, deposited with us in April, 1877.

It should not be forgotten that besides the gifts and bequests represented by these funds, which the Treasurer is required to take notice of in his Annual Report, numerous gifts have been made to the Society from time to time, and expended for the purchase of the real estate, or in promoting the objects for which the Society was organized. A detailed account of these gifts was included in the Annual Report of the Treasurer, dated March 31, 1887, printed in the Proceedings (2d series, vol. iii. pp. 291-296); and in the list of the givers there enumerated will be found the names of many honored associates, living or departed, and of other gentlemen, not members of the Society, who were interested in the promotion of historical studies. They gave liberally in the day of small things; and to them the Society is largely indebted for its present prosperity and usefulness.

Besides the bequest in money mentioned above, Dr. ELLIS by his will gave to the Society the dwelling-house No. 110 Marlborough Street, with substantially all its contents. In the exercise of the discretion which the Society was authorized to use, this house was sold for the sum of \$25,000, and the proceeds invested in the more eligible estate on the corner of the Fenway and Boylston Street. The full sum received from the sale has been entered on the Treasurer's books, to the credit of Ellis House, in perpetual memory of Dr. Ellis's gift.

The stock and bonds held by the Treasurer are as follows: \$10,000 in the five per cent mortgage bonds of the Chicago and West Michigan Railroad Co.; \$5,000 in the four per cent bonds of the Rio Grande Western Railroad Co.; \$5,000 in the four per cent bonds of the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad Co.; \$5,000 in the five per cent gold bonds of the Cincinnati, Dayton, and Ironton Railroad Co.; \$5,000 in the four per cent general mortgage bonds of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé Railroad Co.; and \$3,000 in the second four per cent bonds of the same corporation, received in exchange for

their income bonds for the same amount; \$11,000 in the five per cent collateral trust bonds of the Chicago Junction Railways and Union Stock Yard Co.; \$30,000 in the five per cent mortgage bonds of the Metropolitan Street Railway Co. of Kansas City; \$6,000 in the four and one half per cent bonds of the Boston and Maine Railroad Co.; fifty shares in the Merchants' National Bank of Boston; fifty shares in the State National Bank of Boston; fifty shares in the National Bank of Commerce of Boston; fifty shares in the National Union Bank of Boston; fifty shares in the Columbian National Bank of Boston; twenty-five shares in the Second National Bank of Boston; thirty-five shares in the Boston and Albany Railroad Co.; twenty-five shares in the Old Colony Railroad Co.; five shares in the Cincinnati Gas Light and Coke Co.; three shares in the Boston Real Estate Trust (of the par value of \$1,000); five shares in the State Street Exchange; and two shares in the Pacific Mills (of the par value of \$1,000).

The following abstracts and the trial balance show the present condition of the several accounts:—

CASH ACCOUNT.

1895.	DEBITS.	
March 30.	To balance on hand	\$2,730.04
1896.		
March 31.	„ receipts as follows:—	
	General Account	2,239.60
	Consolidated Income	4,404.48
	Income of Richard Frothingham Fund	85.40
	Income of Ellis Fund	38.57
	Bequest of George E. Ellis	30,000.00
	Sale of Ellis House	25,000.00
	Sale of Ellis personal property	574.71
	General Fund	600.00
	Investments	2,275.00
	Notes Payable	35,000.00
		<u>\$102,947.80</u>
March 31.	To balance brought down	<u>\$1,442.91</u>

CREDITS.

1896.

March 31. By payments as follows:—

Investments	\$30,613.00
Income of Ellis Fund	810.39
Income of Savage Fund	143.37
Income of William Winthrop Fund	136.35
Income of Appleton Fund	1,766.13
Real Estate	23,500.00
Notes Payable	35,000.00
General Account	9,535.65
„ balance on hand	1,442.91
	<u>\$102,947.86</u>

GENERAL ACCOUNT.

DEBITS.

1896.

March 31. To sundry charges and payments:—

Salaries of Librarian's Assistants	\$2,940.00
Printing and binding	1,875.58
Stationery and postage	77.85
Fuel and light	186.25
Care of fire, etc.	370.17
Miscellaneous expenses and repairs	183.96
Editing publications of the Society	2,000.00
Interest on mortgage and notes	811.25
Examination of title	153.25
City Tax, for 1895, on Fenway estate	455.68
Accrued interest on bonds bought	481.66
	<u>\$9,535.65</u>

March 31. By balance brought down \$4,029.55

1895.

CREDITS.

March 31. By balance brought forward \$2,048.31

1896.

March 31. „ sundry receipts:—

Rent of Building	150.00
Interest	46.95
Income of Dowse Fund	463.36
Income of General Fund	754.83
Admission Fees	75.00
Assessments	960.00
Sales of publications	1,007.65
„ balance carried forward	4,029.55
	<u>\$9,535.65</u>

Income of Appleton Fund.

1896.		DEBITS.	
March 31.	To amount paid for binding and printing		\$1,766.13
	„ balance carried forward		1,093.04
			<u>\$2,859.17</u>
1895.		CREDITS.	
March 30.	By balance brought forward		\$2,293.73
1896.			
March 31.	„ proportion of consolidated income		565.44
			<u>\$2,859.17</u>
March 31.	By balance brought down		\$1,093.04

Income of William Winthrop Fund.

1896.		DEBITS.	
March 31.	To amount paid for binding		\$136.35
	„ balance carried forward		159.28
			<u>\$295.63</u>
1895.		CREDITS.	
March 30.	By balance brought forward		\$156.62
1896.			
March 31.	„ proportion of consolidated income		139.01
			<u>\$295.63</u>
March 31.	By balance brought down		\$159.28

Income of Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund.

1895.		CREDITS.	
March 30.	By balance brought forward		\$1,260.96
1896.			
March 31.	„ proportion of consolidated income		463.36
			<u>\$1,724.32</u>
March 31.	By amount brought down		\$1,724.32

Income of Dowse Fund.

1896.		DEBITS.	
March 31.	To amount placed to credit of General Account		\$463.36
1896.		CREDITS.	
March 31.	By proportion of consolidated income		\$463.36

Income of Richard Frothingham Fund.

1895.		DEBITS.	
March 30.	To balance brought forward		\$503.68
1896.			
March 31.	To balance brought down		\$279.27
1896.		CREDITS.	
March 31.	By copyright received		85.40
	„ proportion of consolidated income		139.01
	„ balance carried forward		279.27
			<u>\$503.68</u>

Income of Peabody Fund.

1895.		DEBITS.	
March 30.	To balance brought forward		\$1,078.63
1896.			
March 31.	To balance brought down		\$53.51
1896		CREDITS.	
March 31.	By proportion of consolidated income		\$1,025.12
	„ balance carried forward		53.51
			<u>\$1,078.63</u>

Income of Savage Fund.

1895.		DEBITS.	
March 30.	To balance brought forward		\$211.40
1896.			
March 31.	„ amount paid for books		143.37
			<u>\$354.77</u>
March 31.	To balance brought down		\$76.75
1896.		CREDITS.	
March 31.	By proportion of consolidated income		\$278.02
	„ balance carried forward		76.75
			<u>\$354.77</u>

TRIAL BALANCE.

DEBITS.

Cash	\$1,442.91
Real Estate	156,780.19
Investments	131,414.45
Income of Peabody Fund	53.51
Income of Richard Frothingham Fund	279.27
Income of Savage Fund	76.75
Income of Ellis Fund	771.82
Coupon Scrip	375.00
General account	4,029.55
	<u>\$295,223.45</u>

CREDITS.

Building Account	\$103,280.19
Ellis House	25,000.00
Appleton Fund	12,203.00
Dowse Fund	10,000.00
Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund	10,000.00
Peabody Fund	22,123.00
Savage Fund	6,000.00
Erastus B. Bigelow Fund	2,000.00
William Winthrop Fund	3,000.00
Richard Frothingham Fund	3,000.00
General Fund	9,868.56
Anonymous Fund	1,941.29
William Amory Fund	3,000.00
Lawrence Fund	3,000.00
Robert C. Winthrop Fund	5,000.00
Waterston Publishing Fund	10,000.00
Ellis Fund	30,574.71
Income of Appleton Fund	1,093.04
Income of William Winthrop Fund	159.28
Income of Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund	1,724.32
Income of William Amory Fund	1,094.10
Income of E. B. Bigelow Fund	173.80
Income of Lawrence Fund	239.01
Income of Robert C. Winthrop Fund	249.72
Income of Waterston Publishing Fund	499.43
Notes Payable	30,000.00
	<u>\$295,223.45</u>

The operations of the Society as an organization "to collect, preserve, and communicate" the materials for American history have been seriously embarrassed by the continued loss of income from the two lower stories of the building on Tremont Street. But it was not thought advisable, in view of a probable sale of the estate, to make a lease which might interfere

with the plans of a purchaser; and the question of a sale or lease still rests with the Committee to whom the matter was referred. It is expected that an early decision will be reached on this matter, and the future policy of the Society be thereby determined. The income from the invested funds has shown a slight improvement over the preceding year. There is reason to anticipate a further improvement during the next twelve months; and the income of the Ellis Fund, from which nothing has yet been received, will also become available.

During the year the Society has published the long-delayed Historical Index to the Pickering Papers, being the eighth volume of the sixth series of Collections, the cost of which has been charged to the Income of the Appleton Fund. A volume of the Proceedings — volume nine of the second series — has also been published; and it is expected that the tenth volume will be ready in a few months. The cost of both of these volumes has been charged to the General Account. Considerable progress has been made in the preparation of the very important and interesting volume of Bowdoin Papers, for which provision has already been made.

It will be noticed that various sums incident to the purchase of the Fenway Estate have already been charged to the General Account; and future payments of a similar character, until the land is built upon, should be charged to the same account.

CHARLES C. SMITH, *Treasurer*.

Boston, March 31, 1896.

Report of the Auditing Committee.

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society, as made up to March 31, 1896, have attended to that duty, and report that they find them correctly kept and properly vouched; that the securities held by the Treasurer for the several funds correspond with the statement in his Annual Report; that the balance of cash on hand is satisfactorily accounted for; and that the Trial Balance is accurately taken from the Ledger.

A. LAWRENCE LOWELL, } *Committee.*
T. JEFFERSON COOLIDGE, }

Boston, April 4, 1896.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN submitted the Report of the Librarian : —

Report of the Librarian.

During the past year there have been added to the Library :

Books	1228
Pamphlets	836
Bound volumes of newspapers	62
Unbound volumes of newspapers	10
Broadsides	27
Maps	10
Volumes of maps	2
Portfolios of maps	21
Bound volumes of manuscripts	5
Unbound volumes of manuscripts	6
Manuscripts	749
In all	2,956

Of the books added, 1,036 have been given, 40 bought, and 152 bound. Of the pamphlets added, 791 have been given, 38 bought, and 7 procured by exchange.

From the income of the Savage Fund, there have been bought 40 volumes, 38 pamphlets, and 2 unbound volumes of newspapers.

From the income of the William Winthrop Fund, 152 volumes, containing 296 pamphlets, have been bound, and 12 volumes repaired.

Of the books added to the Rebellion Department, 25 have been given, and 4 bought ; and of the pamphlets added, 49 have been given, and 4 bought. There are now in this collection 2,138 volumes, 4,763 pamphlets, 804 broadsides, and 105 maps.

In the collection of manuscripts there are 815 volumes, 189 unbound volumes, 75 pamphlets with manuscript notes, and 8,017 manuscripts.

The Library contains at the present time about 39,000 volumes, including files of bound newspapers, the bound manuscripts, and the Dowse Collection. The number of pamphlets, including duplicates, is about 96,652 ; and the number of broadsides, including duplicates, is 3,862.

During the past year there have been taken out 47 books and 5 pamphlets, and all have been returned.

Since the last Annual Meeting Dr. Ellis's library has been received at these rooms. Agreeably to the terms of his will, an inventory of the books was made, though they are not as yet catalogued and placed on the shelves; nor are they included in the present annual enumeration. Owing to the prospect of a removal from this building in the near future, it has been thought best to defer the work of cataloguing, etc., for the present. According to the inventory of his library, there are 5,035 books, and about 2,000 pamphlets including duplicates, among which are many of his own works.

The most important accessions during the year are from the libraries of the late Robert C. Winthrop and the late Richard Frothingham, which were duly mentioned at the meetings in June, October, and February. Another valuable addition is the gift of 44 volumes of bound newspapers from our associate Dr. James F. Rhodes.

Respectfully submitted,

SAMUEL A. GREEN,
Librarian.

Boston, April 9, 1896.

The Report of the Cabinet-keeper was then read:—

Report of the Cabinet-keeper.

The Cabinet-keeper respectfully reports that there has been no change in the condition of the Cabinet during the past year. There is the same want of space for the best arrangement and classification of the various articles, and there is the same impossible opportunity to display its valuable contents to the public, without whose aid and approbation it is almost hopeless to expect accessions.

Were we obliged to remain under the present crowded condition of this building for even a few years, the future of the Cabinet would be forlorn indeed. But such prospect is qualified by a present hope, which promises a great relief and satisfaction in a new building of the near future, where it is imperatively demanded that there be provided floor and wall spaces sufficient to arrange properly, and exhibit for the in-

formation of the public, the principal treasures of the Society, which have been concealed too long.

A neighboring Society much younger than ours has manifested such method and care in the arrangement and exhibition of its gifts and loans of historic articles as to attract the attention of many citizens of Boston and vicinity, who have undoubtedly diverted to such Society many interesting and valuable articles which ought to have had a resting-place in our Cabinet.

At the meeting of this Society held in October, 1895, the Cabinet-keeper reported at length upon the accessions derived from the bequest of Rev. Dr. Ellis and from other sources. Since that date there have been received the following gifts, viz. : —

Eight engravings, John Adams, James Madison, and James Monroe, after Stuart; Washington Irving after G. S. Newton; "A View of the City of Boston," drawn on the spot by Governor Pownall in 1757; the North Battery, Boston, by Paul Revere; the "Retreat of the British from Concord," by James Smillie after Chappel, and the "Battle of Bunker's Hill," by Phillibrown after Chappel, both published by Johnson and Fry, New York, 1859. Three colored lithographs, the "Old Warehouse — Dock Square, Boston," by L. Prang & Co., two copies; and "The Battle at Bunker's Hill, June 17th, 1775," published in 1875, by C. Frank King, Boston, after a drawing by Henry A. Thomas. Two heliotype reproductions, a "View of the Attack on Bunker's Hill, with the burning of Charles Town, June 17th, 1775"; and "An Exact View of the Late Battle at Charlestown, June 17th, 1775," by B. Romans. Given by Thomas G. Frothingham.

A silver shield or badge, being a part of some ornament used by a member of a colored company called "The Bucks of America," bearing the device of the company and the initials "M. W." Given by William S. Appleton.

A medal made of aluminum struck to commemorate the meeting of the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, Boston, July, 1895. Given by Charles Augustus Fernald.

A pencil drawing made by George Edward Head in 1847, showing a view of Beacon Street looking toward the State House from a point west of Charles Street. Given by Mr. Head.

Respectfully submitted,

SAMUEL F. McCLEARY,
Cabinet-keeper.

Mr. JAMES F. RHODES read the Report of the Committee to examine the Library and Cabinet, as follows: —

Report of the Committee on the Library and Cabinet.

The Committee on Library and Cabinet report that they examined the Library and Cabinet March 18th, assisted by the Librarian and Cabinet-keeper. They find the Society under the shadow of a moving-day, and with that prospect in view it would be idle to formulate a new policy were a new policy needed. They discussed with the Cabinet-keeper his ideas of the arrangement of the treasures under his charge in the future new building, and think that, when the proper time arrives, there will be little difficulty in arriving at a correct plan.

In regard to the Library the suggestions and recommendations of several committees of former years should be carefully considered when the time of leaving this building shall come. That quality not quantity, that specialization instead of universality, should be our aim, seems to be agreed. Differences of opinion, if any there be, arise in the application of this general principle. It may be depended on that books which the Society purchases are such as are suitable for an historical library. The question arises whether there should be any limitation as to what the Society should receive or retain of gifts coming from individuals, or of public documents which reach us, in the usual manner of distribution, from the national government, the State, or the city.

Certain books which the Society now owns should obviously be disposed of, as to which the Librarian, your Committee, and we believe the Council, are at one. Already, under the direction of the Council, the Librarian has disposed of material. Your Committee would recommend the continuance of such a policy, and would also recommend that the Society sell or give away many of its United States public documents. We should except the Congressional Globe and Record, and the Annals of Congress; the War of the Rebellion, Official Records of the Union and Confederate armies; the Report of the Committee on the Conduct of the War; volumes containing Diplomatic Correspondence; and many reports of Congressional Committees which have become part of the legis-

lative history of the country. But there are a mass of United States documents which are likely to be of little or no use to members of the Society that it would be well to dispose of as opportunity offered. Moreover, a complete set may always be found in other libraries of the city.

Accessibility to books in a library of this kind is desirable. Your Committee cannot speak too highly of the arrangement of the works relating to our Civil War, and the room devoted to this purpose appears to be a convenient place for study. The books which it contains, and the government publications at hand, make an admirable collection; and were some of the more recent works on the subject added, it would be a substantially complete library of printed material relating to the War of the Secession.

JAMES FORD RHODES,
WM. R. THAYER,
FRANCIS C. LOWELL.

In the absence of Rev. Dr. Slafter, the Report of the Nominating Committee was presented by Mr. R. C. WINTHROP, JR., who explained that the Committee had not anticipated being called upon to deal with any other vacancies than those regularly occurring among the members at large of the Council; but they had found, to their great regret, that the engagements of Professor Goodwin compel him to retire from the office of Corresponding Secretary after only two years' service, as it is inconvenient for him to attend the meetings of the Council. The following list was then elected by ballot:—

For President.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

For Vice-Presidents.

JUSTIN WINSOR.

SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN.

For Recording Secretary.

EDWARD JAMES YOUNG.

For Corresponding Secretary.

HENRY W. HAYNES.

For Treasurer.

CHARLES CARD SMITH.

For Librarian.

SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN.

For Cabinet-keeper.

SAMUEL FOSTER McCLEARY.

For Members at Large of the Council.

ARTHUR LORD.

EDWARD L. PIERCE.

THORNTON K. LOTHROP.

ABBOTT LAWRENCE LOWELL.

CHARLES R. CODMAN.

On motion of Rev. HENRY F. JENKS, the thanks of the Society were voted to the retiring members of the Council.

The PRESIDENT then addressed the Society as follows:—

Gentlemen, Members of the Society,—Some of you doubtless remember that when a year ago I took this chair, as the successor of Dr. Ellis, I intimated a purpose of preparing, and delivering at some not remote day, an address in the nature of a formal inaugural. In this address I had intended to review the past history of the Society, and to offer a résumé of results already accomplished by it. I then further proposed, after considering present conditions and aspects of historical research, to outline a policy to be pursued with a view to maintaining the efficiency, increasing the usefulness, and systematizing the activity of the organization in the future. For entering into such a résumé and attempting such a forecast, the occasion also seemed to me not inopportune, inasmuch as practically the Society is now only just started on its second century; and, with the deaths of Mr. Winthrop and Dr. Ellis chancing so close upon each other, its development has passed into the hands of another generation. How great is the gap thus quietly and almost unconsciously bridged, may be judged by a simple statistical statement: Mr. Winthrop and Dr. Ellis, so long the President and Vice President of the Society, were graduated, respectively, in the years 1828 and 1833; their successors in those positions belong to the classes of 1853 and 1856. As was observed here when we met to pay our last tributes to my predecessor, those dates mark

the difference, historically speaking, between a generation which drew its cast of thought and modes of treatment from the teachings inspired by the Mosaic dispensation, and a generation which draws them from the methods and science of Darwin.

Thus the occasion is at least suggestive. And I will at once admit that there are thoughts connected with it interesting at least to me, and entitled perhaps to more or less consideration on your part, which I had intended before this to present as best I might; but, on the threshold of preparation, I found myself confronted with other problems of a less inviting but a more immediate and pressing character. They were, it is true, in the nature of preliminaries; but none the less they are, so far as this Society is concerned, essential preliminaries, and more careful reflection only served to convince me that, if any really substantial and satisfactory results are to be secured, those preliminaries must be disposed of, and satisfactorily disposed of, before the larger and much more attractive field of inquiry can profitably be entered upon. I refer, of course, to the material and financial issues connected with the Society's present position.

I will add that, upon the whole, I also felt that the other and more remote, even if in the end much the most important, matters of consideration might just as well be deferred to a subsequent time. It is to be remembered that, though as a Society we are fairly across the threshold of our second century, the year 1900, though not yet here, is close at hand. If any conceivable time is appropriate for a backward glance, as well as for an effort to peer into the future, it is at the point where two centuries merge; and especially will this be the case when, so few years hence, and between the sunset of one day and another day's sunrise, the momentous nineteenth century ends, and the yet more momentous-to-be twentieth begins. So far as our Society is concerned, I apprehend also that the whole of the short intervening period will be found hardly to suffice for the disposition of those material and financial preliminaries to which I have referred.

Recurring, therefore, to the consideration of our immediate present, I will say at the outset that questions of habitation, locality, and finance have occupied the anxious attention of the Council throughout the whole of the past year, and the

position of the Society in these respects should now, in my judgment, be clearly set forth. And in the first place it may, I submit, be laid down as a fundamental proposition that learned societies constitute no exception to the rule which applies to political and business organizations, — to States as well as to individuals, — the fundamental rule that sufficient means and a sound financial condition are essential to success and real usefulness. In the case of societies like ours, money cannot of course make good a lack in the community of education or of intellectual activity; but the existence of these assumed, — and over these we here can exercise but slight control, — it follows that the results attained are to a large extent a question of the material means at the disposal of those engaged in the work of attaining. Without adequate resources an historical society is, in hardly less degree than a manufacturing company, crippled at every step. The foundation must, in the nature of things, precede the superstructure; and before formulating any plans of future work and activity, financial conditions must be fully considered and adequate provision made.

In accordance with our established custom, the regular annual report of the Treasurer has to-day been submitted, and is now in the hands of the members. It merits a study more than ordinarily careful. Briefly stated, it appears that the Society now owns real estate, including this, the Tremont Street building, and the Ellis building-site recently purchased at the West End, valued at \$225,000. The West-End building-site is subject to a mortgage of \$30,000. The Society further holds personal property in the form of stocks and bonds which stand on its books at a valuation of \$131,000, but which, bought at a time of higher prices, is, at current market quotations, worth about \$126,500. It enjoys, therefore, a total accumulated endowment, over and above all debts, of some \$320,000.

In addition to the above, the Sibley and Waterston bequests, estimated together at over \$160,000, will, under certain restrictions, become available at some future period which cannot now be very remote.

An Historical Society such as ours, endowed to this extent, cannot be said to be otherwise than handsomely provided for. But, as is usually the case, our needs have, in the passage of

time and of the changes worked thereby, grown with our means, and it so chances that an entire readjustment of affairs is at this time forced upon us by a fortuitous concurrence of circumstances. It cannot be deferred.

It will be observed, on examination of the Treasurer's report, that though the accumulated endowment of the Society reaches the large sum already stated (\$320,000), its available income derived from investments during the last year has been only \$4,936.83, a considerable portion of which (\$3,500) was from securities representing funds the income of which can only be devoted to specific purposes. The entire income from what may be called the free maintenance fund of the Society was, therefore, during the last year but \$1,500; and it is of course almost unnecessary to add that this inconsiderable sum did not suffice to meet the requirements of the organization when reduced to the most economical basis, much less to leave any balance, as in former years, to be passed to the credit of our accumulating endowment. This unsatisfactory condition of affairs, so far as current and available revenue is concerned, is due to circumstances connected with the building we are now in, to which the attention of the Society was called at our meeting in October last, but which will now bear repetition. This Tremont Street estate, it will be remembered, represents a book investment of \$102,000, and a market value in excess of half of the Society's entire endowment. The building, erected immediately after the great Boston fire of November, 1872, was specially designed for the use of this Society, and for occupation by certain departments of the County of Suffolk. It was not planned, nor is it adapted, for general business purposes. The County of Suffolk, in advance of construction, took a fifteen years' lease of the two lower stories, agreeing to pay therefor an annual rental of \$9,000. This lease expired on the 1st of January, 1888; but the County continued in occupancy as a tenant-at-will until October 1, 1894, when its departments were removed to the new Court House in Pemberton Square. During the last year of occupation by the County, the rent (\$9,000) received from the leased premises constituted seventy per cent of the available income of the Society derived from investments. The premises occupied by the County have since remained vacant for the reason, already stated, that, constructed for a special

use, they are not adapted to general business purposes ; and to adapt them to such purposes, even in so far as that is practicable, would involve a large expenditure of doubtful expediency. The Society has therefore already sustained a serious loss from this cause, and the amount of that loss is constantly increasing. With seventy per cent of our whole available income cut off, we are for the time being financially crippled.

As I have said, the tenancy of the County of Suffolk terminated in October, 1894, and the death of our late President, Dr. Ellis, occurred in the following December. So far as our Society was concerned, the two events had a close bearing on each other, and combined to precipitate questions which might otherwise have been for some time deferred. But it so chanced that just when this building ceased to be available as a steady source of revenue, provision came to us under the will of Dr. Ellis for the purchase of a new building-site elsewhere, and in a locality which in view of the growth and development of the city was in many respects better adapted to our needs than this.

Under these circumstances the course to be pursued hardly seemed open to question. The alternative was obvious and apparently unavoidable. It lay between a costly and unsatisfactory remodelling of this Tremont Street building, on the one hand, with the chance of subsequently securing a satisfactory tenant for the two lower stories, while the Society, holding its new building-site unimproved at a considerable annual cost, remained for an indefinite period in its present quarters ; or, on the other hand, taking steps to dispose wholly of the present building, to erect a new one on the Ellis site, and thus make now a change which, for well-understood reasons connected with our work and collections, could in any event be deferred only for a limited number of years. It was therefore decided, after full and careful consideration, to make the change now ; and to this work the attention of those having the affairs and interests of the Society more especially in charge has during the past year been almost exclusively devoted.

Substantial progress has been made. In the first place, the course to be pursued had to be definitely decided upon. This was done, reported to the Society, and its approval of the course recommended was obtained at the meeting of October

10th last. The bequests under the will of Dr. Ellis had next to be considered, and these presented questions not free from difficulty. The bequests were in some degree conditional, and the purpose of the testator had to be considered and carried out to the letter as well as in spirit. How best to do this could not, for reasons with which the Society is familiar (*supra*, pp. 150-155) be decided at once, and it was not until a year after Dr. Ellis's death that all difficulties were overcome, and both bequests — that of the house in Marlborough Street and the legacy in money — converted into cash were applied towards carrying out the proposed change. Preliminary plans and approximate estimates of the cost of a new building were then prepared, and a financial scheme arranged; and of the latter I propose to speak more at length presently. It only then remained to dispose of this building. The Committee having the matter in charge had confidently hoped to be able at this meeting to report that a satisfactory sale of the entire property had been effected to the City of Boston. The expediency of the purchase by the city is so manifest that, for public considerations, those having the matter in charge on the part of the Society have been most anxious to bring it about. Did private interests control the large city holdings — the City Hall, old Court House, and Probate Building — lying between School and Court Streets, and abutting on this estate, the increased value which would be given to the whole by securing through this property an opening on Tremont Street, would leave no question as to the course to be pursued. In order to merge it with the others, this property would be acquired at any reasonable cost. After looking the situation over, the present Mayor at once took this obviously rational business view of the matter, and he has recommended the appropriation of the money necessary to effect the purchase by the city. There the matter now rests. Should the recommendation of the Mayor be followed and the purchase made, the question before the Society will be solved at an early day. Should other considerations prevail, and a sale to the city not be effected, it will become necessary either to dispose of the estate in other quarters, or to remodel the present building in whole or in part, and let it for a term of years. The Society cannot of course continue to hold it in its present untenanted condition.

The financial arrangements involved in the proposed change remain to be fully considered and provided for. At the stated meeting of the Society in May last, this matter was somewhat considered and preliminary estimates were submitted. Looking at the complete future needs of the Society and providing for its more fully developed activities, it was suggested that four separate funds would be needed:—

A Building Fund of	\$250,000
A Maintenance Fund of	250,000
A Library Fund of	100,000
A Publishing Fund of	100,000
Total	\$700,000

In view of the fact that a sale of this estate to the city would probably necessitate the immediate removal of the Society with all its collections to temporary quarters until a new Society Building on the Ellis site could be made ready for occupancy, the two funds the condition of which has more especially occupied attention have been those for Building and Maintenance. The other two funds, those for the Library and to carry on our publications, admit of economies, and can wait, as was stated in May last, “with a reasonable assurance that, through future bequests, adequate provision for them will be forthcoming.” At the same time it was further said that “nothing in the way of building can possibly be done until the Sibley bequests become available” on the death of Mrs. Sibley. Though this statement was made only eleven months ago, events have since then moved rapidly, and the problem now is how to do that at once which was then pronounced practically impossible.

The estimates submitted in May last were general only, and made in advance of the preparation of even preliminary plans. Since then such plans have been submitted, and approximate estimates made upon them. In May it was assumed that the proposed new building would cost \$250,000, the site being included in that amount. The site has since been purchased at a cost of \$55,000, leaving \$195,000 of the May estimate for the construction of the building. I have since, for my own satisfaction, carefully gone over the original figures, and with, I regret to say, the usual results. They do not seem to me

to have been sufficiently liberal. As now advised, I should feel disposed to place the ultimate cost of the site and a completed fire-proof building upon it, furnished and in all respects adequate to the future needs of our Society, at \$300,000, or \$50,000 above the amount then suggested. The building itself, with its furniture and ultimate ornamentation, would then, apart from its site, be estimated at \$245,000. On the other hand, and on this point I wish to be explicit, it is not necessary, nor, in my judgment, would it be desirable even if it was either proper or prudent, that the building should be completely finished, ornamented, and furnished at the cost of the Society, or that the whole of this large amount should be spent at once. On the contrary, I submit that, by pursuing this course, the best results would not be secured. The wiser plan would be now to design the complete building; to finish at once only so much of it, and that in such a way, as would suffice for the immediate accommodation of the Society; and to leave the rest to be done hereafter and by degrees. The Society would then be far better accommodated than it now is, and, judging by the experience of the past, to complete the work it could safely depend on the falling in of legacies already made to it, and on additional future gifts and bequests. Indeed, the pursuing this course holds out an inducement to liberality, whether posthumous or in advance of death. Take for instance the entrance, the staircase, or the great hall of the proposed building. Each of these in the shape ultimately proposed is a costly ornamented structure of elaborate design, the supplying of which out of the resources of the Society would not, in my judgment, be justifiable; and on this point I do not wish to be misunderstood. It is said that all things come to him who waits; and if this is true of the individual, it is far more true of a society like ours. Any plan of construction and method of ornamentation we may adopt, should, I submit, however simple at the outset, not only admit of very great development, but should invite it. The cost of this, or of much of it, is included in the estimate I have given; but for the immediate use of the Society, the building can be neatly finished, in a temporary but serviceable manner, at greatly reduced expense, and yet in a way to serve every immediate purpose. In this form it would do its work, while the Society awaits the development of events; nor is it in any

way improbable that the mere fact of incompleteness will from time to time induce wealthy and public-spirited members to complete hall or stairway or entrance as their private contribution to a public work. The desire, and the very laudable desire, to leave memorials in this way is, as we all know, largely on the increase in our community, and it is no more than reasonable for a Society such as ours to count somewhat upon it. The last few years have, it is true, not been propitious for liberal giving; but a change in this respect may be safely anticipated, and it is to be remembered that in the single year 1894, a year of great financial stress, the Society was the recipient of bequests amounting to not less than \$75,000.

Begun on this basis, the proposed building can, it is believed, be finished so as to answer every immediate Society requirement for \$140,000. The site (\$55,000) is already provided. So far as the question of immediate construction is concerned, the problem is, therefore, the comparatively simple one of providing from the Society's various funds the sum of \$140,000 without in so doing crippling its general resources. Should the Tremont Street property be sold to the city at the price proposed, to wit, \$200,000, the difficulty would at once be solved, as the amount needed (\$140,000) could be taken in part (\$100,000) from the selling price, and in part (\$40,000) anticipated from the Sibley bequest by means of a mortgage on the new building, leaving a balance of over \$100,000 derived from the sale of the Tremont Street estate in our treasury the income from which could be applied to maintenance.

The Maintenance Fund presents greater difficulties. Adequately to meet the needs of the Society in the proposed building in its finished form, and to pay mortgage interest (\$3,200 per annum), would, it is estimated, call for an annual expenditure of not less than \$15,000. The fund the income of which is applicable to maintenance does not now exceed \$45,000, to which is to be added the Ellis fund (\$30,000), and the balance, say \$100,000, of the money received from the sale of the Society's present Tremont Street building, making a total of \$175,000. From this might possibly be derived an income of nearly \$9,000 per annum. To it could be added the annual fees received from our membership, estimated at \$900, making a total of \$10,000.

As, even on the most economical basis, the cost of annual maintenance cannot be reduced below \$12,000, there would remain under this head a deficit of at least \$2,000, and more probably \$3,000, per annum to be made good from other sources. This may be supplied through a rental to be derived from leasing a portion of the proposed building to some other Society of a character similar to this; for the building on the plan proposed must almost necessarily be larger than this Society now requires for its own immediate use. Or if no such joint tenancy could at the outset be arranged, some plan might not improbably be devised, by the aid of members of the Society, through which the income from the Maintenance Fund would be increased for a few years at least, and until the use of a portion of the Sibley Fund would become available. Under any circumstances, however, it is apparent that for some years to come the management of the finances of the Society will call for the exercise of very considerable skill and judgment, while in any event a severe economy will have to be practised. On the other hand, the problem, though difficult, does not seem to be insoluble.

I have thus taken occasion to set the financial situation before the Society as clearly and forcibly as I can. In view of the difficulties presented, the more conservative course naturally suggests itself,—that the Society should remain where it now is for an indefinite period, or at least until the maturing of bequests and the practice of a rigid economy shall have increased the Maintenance Fund to an amount sufficient to justify the increased annual expense incident to a removal. But even were this otherwise practical under present conditions, it would entail a continuance, so far as our collections and usefulness are concerned, of the present situation throughout the active lifetime of the existing membership. The members of the Society fully understand what the present situation is. So long as it continues, we can in no respect do justice to the Society, to its collection of books, works of art, and cabinet; nor is any inducement to liberality held out to our members. In a word, the Society is and must remain thoroughly hampered and restricted. If evidence of this is desired, it can be found in the reports of the Council and the various committees spread on our records through a series of years, and notably those of 1889 and 1893, prepared by Mr.

R. C. Winthrop, Jr., and Dr. Herrick, and that to-day submitted by the Cabinet-keeper. I do not hesitate to give it as my own opinion, reached as a result of a year's careful observation as President of the Society, that to infuse into it new life and activity, and to hold it in its proper position among the increasing number of similar organizations, a complete change and renovation is necessary,—a change and renovation the effecting which would under any circumstances extend over a period of at least five years.

But even if a conservative course of patient waiting and sure though slow accumulation should be decided upon as, on the whole, wisest, such a course would, for reasons already given, be found under existing conditions hardly practicable. This would not have been the case had the lease of the lower premises of the Tremont Street building to the County of Suffolk not expired; but unfortunately, it has expired, and those premises, as I have already stated, are not only unoccupied, but they are not adapted for any profitable occupation. Were the Society now in receipt of an income of \$9,000 a year from this building, a policy of waiting and accumulation, notwithstanding the dangerous loss of prestige it entails, would be my own decided recommendation. I am most reluctant to incur risk of financial embarrassment. Unfortunately, perhaps, but unquestionably, the facts are not as we would have them. Since the lease to the County of Suffolk expired, the Society has already sustained a gross rental loss of \$14,000, and that loss is steadily increasing at the rate of \$25 per diem. To put a stop to it would involve an expensive and most unsatisfactory remodelling of this building, amounting probably to a further loss of at least two years' rent. I cannot, as the result of most careful deliberation, see my way to recommending this course.

A removal, then, at the earliest date that a sale of the Tremont Street estate can be effected seems to be the only alternative. What this involves I have already endeavored to set forth. I can only add that, so far as restriction as to means and the hampering of action due to enforced economies are concerned, the position of the Society after a removal would be in no way worse, and in some ways would be materially better, than apparently it must of necessity be should it continue where and as it now is.

For a Society of the character of this, there is of course no practical method of increasing its revenue except through rigid economy, slow saving, and occasional gifts and bequests. It is not, for instance, desirable that the entrance fee or the annual dues should be made greater, for it is and should always remain our policy to have membership of the Society open to all on conditions, so far as money is concerned, which present no insuperable obstacle to any desirable candidate. There is, however, one source of slow accumulation to which attention may, perhaps, not unprofitably be called. Many years ago, in 1873, a by-law went into effect under which the regular annual dues might be commuted into a life-membership on the payment of \$150. As the sum of \$150 thus paid represents an annual income in perpetuity of seven dollars a year, it is obviously for the interest of the Society that the largest possible number of commutations should be made. It is, on the contrary, somewhat noticeable how few members of the Society have ever availed themselves of this option. They number but ten in twenty-three years. Among these was the late Judge Hoar, who took out his life-membership in a way characteristic of the man; for having paid his annual dues with regularity for over twenty years, in 1887, when he already felt that the end was not very remote, he called on the Treasurer, and stating that he did so for the benefit of the Society, he, a man making his final arrangements for this world, took out a life-membership. That more have not pursued the same course is due probably to the fact that the existence of such a rule is not generally known. Formerly the money derived for life-memberships was passed into the general account of annual receipts, and appeared merely in the surplus income added to the accumulated fund of the Society. Since 1877 a different practice has prevailed, and the receipts from life-membership constitute a fund by themselves, the ever-increasing income of which is free to be applied to any end the needs of the Society may most call for. It constitutes the nucleus of that most desirable thing,—a free fund. I should now further recommend that all future admission fees be also paid into this fund. At best it will accumulate but slowly, though in a quarter of a century it might easily be made to amount to \$20,000; and that sum, had it been accumulated in this way since 1870, would now go far towards solving the present

financial problems of the Society. The income from it would almost make good the threatened deficit in our Maintenance account.

The foregoing statement will, I hope, explain to the Society why I have not hitherto cared, nor now care, to attempt to outline for it any measures of administrative reform, or any definite policy in the line of researches, or new fields of activity in publication. These are not the questions immediately pressing upon us. Before they can be approached the material and financial problems must, as I have said, be met, and in some way disposed of. During the coming year, as during the year just passed, they will call for our undivided attention. I therefore now make but one recommendation. Whatever is done, the results of the action now taken, so far as the Society is concerned, will make themselves felt through a long series of years, probably far outlasting the connection with it of the great body of the present membership. The responsibility attached to action, therefore, is great, and it does not seem right that it should devolve wholly on the Council,—the ordinary executive organization. I would therefore recommend the continuance for another year of the special committee appointed at the stated meeting of October 10th last; and to that end shall close by asking some member to oblige me so far as to offer the following vote:—

Voted, That a Committee of three be appointed from the Society at large, to constitute together with the Council a Joint Special Committee to which shall be referred the statement submitted by the President; and that said Joint Special Committee be clothed with full power to decide and act on behalf of the Society on all questions of finance or policy therein discussed.

On motion, the vote suggested by the President was unanimously adopted.

After the adjournment, the members and invited guests were entertained at luncheon by the President, at his house on Gloucester Street.

MEMOIR

OF

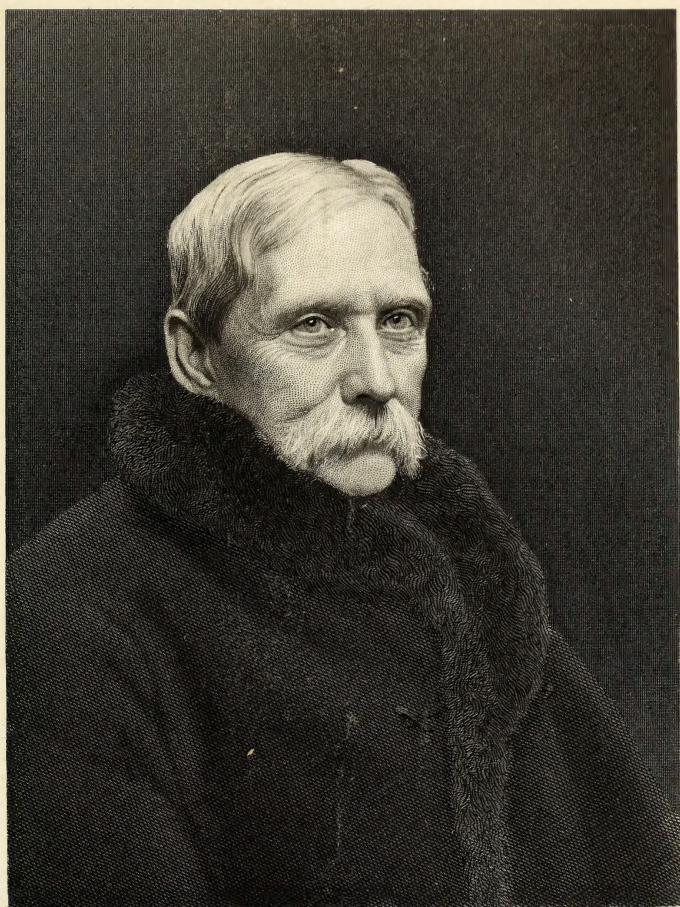
MARTIN BRIMMER.

BY SAMUEL ELIOT.

MARTIN BRIMMER'S death in the midst of a life devoted to the general welfare caused universal sorrow among those who knew him, and very widespread regret among those who had merely heard of him. He proved to have been an object of personal consideration such as a man wins only by rare character and equally rare service. What these were in him we are to attempt to understand.

He was a man of great activity. His mind was always alert, ready to catch at every opportunity of study, effort, and well-doing. Constantly intent on the highest interests of Boston, Massachusetts, and the whole country; drawn towards the letters and arts of Europe and other continents; quick to perceive and earnest to share the whole human heritage,—his intellectual and moral powers were almost unbrokenly in exercise. His administrative faculties were equally active. He knew how to organize and to execute; he knew how to give of his abundance, and to lead others in the same open paths; he was greatly depended on for wise advice, nor did he ever disappoint those who sought his lead. Sensitive, conscientious, and far-seeing, he was a remarkable leader.

At the same time he was quite collected; untouched by the delusion that one's usefulness is in proportion to his agitation; as willing to wait, when necessary, as to push forward; and utterly untempted to wear his heart upon his sleeve, or unveil his inner self to mere lookers-on. His reserve was, indeed, a life-long trait. He was calmness itself, and neither irritation nor folly on the part of a follower or an opponent had any power to disturb him visibly. His rector preached a memo-



J. A. Wilson, Boston

Martin Brimmer ~

rial sermon on his gentleness, rightly making that his dominant characteristic, — dominant because unassuming, as full of power as of charm. He literally

“Lived the most
Within the eventual element of calm.”

Born in Boston, December 9, 1829, he was happy in family, in estate, in everything personal except physical vigor, for this was lessened by constitutional delicacy, and a lameness that continued through life, though he was taken to Paris for surgical treatment while yet a child. The sufferings occasioned by this were borne with wonderful fortitude.

He was, above all, happy in qualities inherited from those who went before him. His father, grandfather, and great-grandfather were all of the same name. The great-grandfather, born in Germany, came to this country early in the last century, and married Susanna Sigourney (Séjourné), of Huguenot origin. Our friend's mother, Harriet, was the daughter of James Wadsworth, born in Connecticut, but resident for a great part of his life on his vast and beautiful estate at Geneseo, New York. He was the founder or supporter of normal schools and school-district libraries, and distributed educational books throughout the State. Mr. Brimmer, the father, was also helpful to schools, and had a large edition of a work by Alonzo Potter and George B. Emerson printed at his own expense for circulation among school committees and teachers. The son and grandson of such men could not but serve the cause of education; nor merely that cause. All high concerns, literary and charitable, prison discipline, the elevation of society, were dear to his father and his grandfather, and could not, with his sympathetic nature, but be dear to him. When his father entered upon his second term as Mayor of Boston, in 1844, he spoke of “the importance of enlarged views in relation to the improvements of the city, in extending and beautifying the streets and public places, in a careful attention to internal health and police, in an enlarged system of internal and external intercourse, in a liberal encouragement of charitable and literary institutions, in a far-sighted preparation for the moral, literary, and physical education of the rising generation.” All this sounds almost as if the Mayor were forecasting his son's career. If to this

we add the gentle traditions of the mother, a very lovely woman, who died when her boy was little more than three years old, we have wonderfully promising sources from which the new life was drawn. There were side influences. The boy's uncle, George W. Brimmer, was a man of public spirit. He bought Sweet Auburn, then so called, to save its beauty from destruction; and when he transferred it, as Mount Auburn, at small cost, to the Horticultural Society, it was a service for which this community should not cease to be grateful. Thus, an inheritor of a great spirit as well as of a great fortune, Martin Brimmer bore the stamp of future service upon him.

His boyhood at home was a sober one, but he had companionship at one school after another. He much enjoyed his visits to Geneseo, and there learned that love of nature which brightened his maturer years. He was a well-trained youth of sixteen when he entered the Sophomore Class of Harvard College, and he graduated in 1849. Looking back from his later stages, one would not expect to find him distinguished according to college standards, and he was not. Some time after his degree, he entered a law office in Boston, but without much zeal. His fellow-student in the office says that on a good-natured remonstrance as to the lateness of his appearance, he replied, "You don't know my hours; they begin at twelve, and end at five minutes after twelve." He was left entirely to his own control. His grandfather, who would have exercised great authority over him, died in 1844, and his father in 1847, when he was less than half-way through college. Then came Europe. He went thither, not merely to enjoy himself, but to study, and to follow courses of lectures at the Sorbonne and elsewhere. It is uncertain how far we can venture to take account of him at this period, when he was twenty-three or twenty-four years old. He appears to have been regarded as quite above the average, intent not so much on professional or conventional successes as on a line sure to issue in gain for himself and for others; a young man of large fortune and of large purpose, not yet to be analyzed, much less ticketed, but promising to live to some purpose, if he lived at all.

Then he came home. He seems to have been snapped up at once. A Trustee of the Athenæum at the age of twenty-

four, he began that sort of service early. A year or two later, in 1855 or 1856, probably in the earlier year, when he was but twenty-five, he went on a chivalrous expedition to Kansas. It was the time when the opponents and the supporters of negro slavery were struggling for that Territory as for the soil on which the final result of the long, long struggle was to be achieved. An Emigrant Aid Society had been organized in Massachusetts to send out freemen to settle in the Territory, and to secure it for freedom. To make certain of its work, that it should be for good and not for evil, the Society determined to send one of its directors to inspect the state of things and to report upon it. Martin Brimmer was not a director, or an officer of any kind; but he had probably been a contributor, and now he offered to go with the director to the scene of action. They went together; they travelled in an old army ambulance, slept in strange beds, ate strange meals, and encountered strange adventures. But Brimmer is described by the survivor of the journey as never complaining, never over-excited or over-depressed, a delightful companion, with fairness, cheerfulness, unselfishness, and quickness of apprehension. "The only time," the director writes, "Brimmer referred to his lameness, was on our returning at night from a visit, when, having a ravine and a brook to cross, he said that a very thick-soled shoe was sometimes useful in keeping one's foot dry." On his return home he became a director of the Society in whose interest he had been an adventurous traveller.

In 1860 he was made a State Trustee of the Massachusetts General Hospital, and from that time forward was on all sorts of charitable boards, — the Farm School, the Perkins Institution, the Provident Association, and others, — not serving very long on any of these, but much interested in them all, and a liberal giver to many of them, apart from any official relations. One of the charities he most valued was the Children's Aid, — a fact the more striking because he was himself childless. But this was characteristic of all his helpful relations. He did not enter any of them because of their special claims upon his own experiences or sympathies.

In 1859 he served in the Massachusetts House of Representatives, and again in the two following years. In 1865 he was in the State Senate. This public life was neither particularly congenial nor uncongenial to him, and he had a good

deal of influence in it, considering his aloofness from what we call politics. It is said of him that he was remarkably keen in scenting a legislative job, and vigorous in baffling it. His health suffered from the bad air of the chambers, and he refused further service in the State House. In 1876 he was a Presidential Elector. Two years later he consented to stand for Congress, saying, as he did so, that he must not be expected to contribute as freely towards election expenses as he had done when not a candidate; and the campaign had not proceeded far, when he told his wife that his chance was over, for he had declined to pledge himself to protection as called upon to do by an influential committee. One cannot wonder that Congress is, and has been, what it is when such a man is refused admittance.

In 1864 he became, at an unusually early age, a Fellow of Harvard College, and, after a few years in the Board of Overseers, he was again elected to the Corporation in 1877, and there continued till his death. He served the College for nearly thirty years in all, and every testimony goes to prove that his service was of the highest order. At once a liberal and a conservative in academic counsels, ready to enter upon new courses as he found them commendable, never adopting any for the sake of change, or resisting any for the sake of repose, always generous in supporting movements which needed money, dignified and serene in argument, perfectly conciliatory towards every associate, he made even those who differed from him content when his will prevailed against theirs. One year, in the President's absence, he presided at Commencement, to the great gratification of the day's graduates and of all the alumni, not one of whom but recognized in him a servant of the University such as, with all its wealth of service, it has rarely had. "The Corporation record with inexpressible sorrow and sense of loss the death of their honored and beloved associate"; and in this lamentation no loyal son of Harvard can have failed to share.

Only one other public interest rivalled the University in our friend's devotion, and that is the Museum, of which he was the chief founder. In 1869 three friends, one the late Charles C. Perkins, thought it possible to combine the paintings and sculptures, engravings, casts, and other works of art then scattered hereabouts, and make at least a beginning of

an Art Museum. It depended upon enlisting, not only the institutions possessing these collections, but still more the men who would bring them together and build on them as a foundation. The choice of a head and the inducement to him to accept the charge were all important. When Martin Brimmer consented to take the post, and enter upon the long labors it involved, no friend of the enterprise but believed it would succeed. He possessed every qualification, — birth, estate, broad and delicate training, wise judgment, and an absence of self-seeking, a quietness and modesty very exceptional in a man of his position; being indeed, an ideal chief of this or of any other work for the community which he felt called upon to assume. The hopes of those early days were never disappointed. He gave of his fortune, he gave of his learning, he gave of his wisdom; and his neighbors, seeing in him an example which they could follow, a guidance which they could trust, gave also, some of their wealth, some of their poverty, some of their power, some of their weakness, but all in an enthusiasm largely caught from him. Two months more here, and he would have been identified with the Museum for twenty-six years. It is, and will be, his monumental memorial.

His literary and artistic studies have been mentioned. What they were can be gathered in part from his published writings. The principal one of these is a volume on Egypt, which he said his niece and he wrote together to instruct themselves during a journey in that country. "We are amusing ourselves," he informed a correspondent, "by writing a book about Egypt, the conditions and ideas that have governed its history, religion, etc. Since we take turns in furnishing the ideas, and I give the forms and the sentences, and M. supplies the handwriting, you will justly infer that no one but ourselves is likely to understand it. Having sufficiently alarmed you by this statement, I hasten to relieve you by saying that this will be superior to all other books in this, that it will not be printed." Of this, however, he was led to think better, and three years later the volume appeared in a beautiful form. It is a study of deep questions concerning Ancient Egypt, its physical and political conditions, its religion, and its art. "The columns of Karnak . . . give one an impression of massive strength and of human power over matter more striking than one receives from any other building in the world." "The obelisk

is the only aspiring form in Egyptian architecture." "Apart from its size, the Sphinx is one of the greatest of ideal works." "The more we consider the arts and religion of Egypt, the more we are struck with the indigenous character of both, and the more strongly do we feel that both were evolved out of the powerful and yet simple impressions made through uncounted centuries upon a homogeneous people by the great forces and aspects of nature." "The religion was anchored on eternal principles. . . . It had, indeed, one characteristic of a great religion, namely, its many-sidedness." "Apparently polytheistic, . . . the essence of the faith was essentially ideal; the worship of one God exhibiting himself to man in a multiplicity of attributes." These, with many observations on the Egyptian moral law, not here cited, may serve as suggestions of the volume, and explain the respectful interest with which it was received.

Mr. Brimmer printed two addresses in recent years. One, at the dedication of an Art Building at Wellesley College in 1889, shows the importance of studies in art, and unfolds the causes which promote the arts. It contains a tribute to Millet, an artist whom Mr. Brimmer ranked very high, and of whom he was fond of acquiring beautiful examples. The other address was in 1894, at the dedication of an Art Building at Bowdoin College. Of this the governing thoughts are that art is a language, that it is addressed to us, and that if we do not respond, the language has failed by our fault.

This last train of reflection was not unusual with him. He wrote to a friend, "Museums and libraries do something for those who are reaching out; they do not, of themselves, reach in." And again: "I have been reading a little of Green [T. H.], and have increased appetite for more. Is not this condensed truth the lesson which man learns from external nature: 'He finds that it is only what he gives to it that he receives from it, yet by some mysterious affinity it evokes what he has to give, and then it bears witness with his own spirit that what he gives is not his own, but inspired from above'?" This was his love of nature, this his love of art, as each called out his latent powers, broadened and uplifted his course, and made him more and more the perfect man. What he sought for himself, he sought for others; and so all his association with them was ennobled.

One of the administrative matters at the Museum which most engaged him was the Sunday opening; and when that was carried, and the galleries were filled week after week with men, women, and children who could come on no other day, he was satisfied. We must not interpret his calm nature according to our uneasy purposes; but no one entirely of his mind with regard to Sunday admissions could avoid feeling that when they were ordered, the President of the Museum was better pleased with this than with any other measure, even subscriptions or gifts, that had as yet been brought to pass.

His growing interest in the Museum increased his concern in kindred enterprises, such as the Art buildings at Wellesley and Bowdoin Colleges, the Museum at Norwich, Connecticut, and especially the Archæological Institute, and the American School at Athens. In all such undertakings he was constantly appealed to for the help which he always gave, whether intellectual or financial. These labors may be grouped together; and as we thus consider them, the tribute of the Museum Trustees applies to them all, — “He was one of the few who shape and maintain the best ideals of the community.”

Nor was he absorbed in what may be called ideal matters. When the immediate necessities of losers by the Boston fire of 1872 had been met, a trust for the relief of sufferers from injuries at the fire and of their families was created, and Martin Brimmer was the first on the roll of trustees. When the public schools were threatened by a proscriptive movement against Roman Catholic School-Committee members and even teachers, he sprang to the rescue, took part in meetings and in public correspondence, and waxed so unusually fervent as to call the fanatical party “the enemy.” He was much concerned after this in securing better nominations for the School Board. The decline of this body in character, collective and individual, was much lamented by him, and for several years he endeavored by private and disinterested conferences to propose to the political bodies such names as they might accept with advantage even to partisanship. One of the very last meetings he could have attended was to this end; and though his impaired health prevented him from any laborious exertion, the moral strength of his co-operation was invaluable.

We have now passed over his public career as well as our limits allow. His private life cannot be described with any justice, but it must be touched upon. His childhood was spent among his elders, — father, grandfather, uncles, and aunts, — and could not but be serious. School, college, and travel were more enlivening, and society made him very welcome. His marriage in 1860 to Miss Marianne, daughter of Henry Timmins, was a happy event to him, and to all who cared most for him. His homes in Beacon Street and at Pride's Crossing were seats of refinement and hospitality. Nowhere in our neighborhood were strangers more generously or more gracefully entertained. As a host he shone by his simplicity, as well as by his power to converse with every guest within his doors. He was especially engaging as a fellow-traveller. Phillips Brooks wrote from London in 1883, "I left the Brimmers at Biarritz. . . . Mr. Brimmer has been the most charming company." Intercourse with him was the more attractive because of the impression that beneath the quiet surface there was untold depth.

Some signs of his sense of humor have appeared in quotations here. Let us make room for one or two more. He visited Bar Harbor in 1884; and while gratified by his social reception, and appreciating to the full the "delightful things" "Nature has to show," he was struck by the idiosyncrasy of the place. "As far as I can make it out, it is an attempt to get Newport, a White Mountain House, and the Adirondacks inside of every twenty-four hours." From Egypt in 1888: "When I was in the East, years ago, I had ridden many a mile on that beast [the Camel], and I was pleased now to assure myself that he was as disagreeable as I remembered him. When he walks, you wish he would trot; and when he trots, you wish he would walk again. But one forgot the camel in the beauty of the ride." His pleasure in story-telling or in story-hearing is vivid in our recollections of him; and when his ordinarily grave expression was transformed into laughter, it was a genuine gayety. But the lingering association with him is of the variety and freshness of his subjects. One who would seem to have had little in common with him speaks of constant surprise on meeting him at the evidences of recent and serious thought or reading.

He was a parishioner of Trinity Church, which he served as

vestryman and delegate to the Diocesan Convention. In the Convention of 1891 he bestirred himself to secure the election of his then rector, Dr. Brooks, to the bishopric of Massachusetts. Between these two there was deep and manifold sympathy, and their memories are now blended among the best traditions of Trinity Church. Mr. Brimmer was a model layman in many respects, and in none more than in his consistent magnanimity.

He had his trials and his sorrows. The orphan children of his wife's brother were almost as his own sons and daughters. One of them, a nephew of great promise, was early called away. Another, a niece to whom he was deeply attached, died after an illness during which his anxieties had not been concealed; and from the poignant grief that followed, some of his friends thought that he never recovered. He was more than once alarmingly ill during late years; and when the final weeks of suffering came, and every hope of recovery vanished, he died without protracted struggle, on January 14, 1896. He lives on, as such men do, and will still be remembered after all his immediate friends are gone.

“Lofty designs must close in like effects:

Loftily lying,

Leave him — still loftier than the world suspects,

Living and dying.”

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